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British Columbia Historical News

Journal of the B.C. Historical Federation

Sawmills, May Days and Sheep

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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.

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Volume 28, No. 2 **Spring 1995**

EDITORIAL

Whether our readers delight in uncovering new facts about B.C.'s history, or analysing the politics and sociology of pioneer communities, or chuckling over anecdotes, this issue should satisfy all. We have stories about a gun-totin' grandmother, a surveyor turned politician, Captain Vancouver, a riverboat captain, and May Day celebrations. We are privileged to peek into the diary of a lady who came to visit her fiance in Hope, B.C., in 1906 and be introduced to a scarcely known era in our agricultural history. Each of these required considerable research; our student contributor Julian Brooks describes the wide spectrum of papers examined to provide material on Joseph Hunter.

Captain Armstrong is one of the most frequently mentioned characters in East Kootenay history. He raised funds to build the hospital in Golden by jovially challenging all and sundry to contribute larger amounts than originally intended. He would sit in a bar in Athalmere or Fort Steele and buy a mining claim, sight unseen, from a discouraged prospector – then likely sell it on his next visit to the same establishment. He had the foresight to purchase (in his wife's name) half the townsite of Wardner. He sold lots to settlers coming in to Wardner on his steamer *Gwendolyn* and made his wife a tidy sum within a few weeks. His brother James, Government Agent in Golden, Fort Steele and then Cranbrook, was a very correct and conservative gentleman – a dramatic contrast to Captain Frank ... but that's another story.

Naomi Miller

COVER CREDIT

The illustration on our cover is a reproduction of a watercolour titled "The Watering Place at Rowe's Stream" and is the only known picture of the original Hudson's Bay Company sawmill on what is now called Millstream at the head of Esquimalt Harbour. The painting was made by Midshipman Richard Frederick Britten of HMS *Topaze* in December 1860 while waiting for a rising tide to enable him to move barrels of water from the stream to his ship. Historian Maureen Duffus of Victoria recently located this watercolour. Courtesy of B.C. Archives and Records Service PDP5448.

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Grandmother and Granddaughter: The Pioneer Spirit

by Pat Foster

Research by Helen Forster

Pauline Durbin began her life in the small city of St. Louis, Missouri, on April 12, 1812, and spent her early years in various parts of Kentucky, Illinois and Missouri. In 1833, she met and married Benjamin Franklin English, a young man of eighteen, and together they moved to Clay County, Missouri, where they worked long and hard to clear a small tract of land and establish their first home.

Clay County, on the western border of Missouri, was at that time the extreme frontier, with only Indian hunting grounds to the west. It was in this hostile environment that Ben and Pauline began to raise their family. Here were born David in 1834, Daniel in 1836, Sarah Ann in 1838, Charles Henry in 1840, Benjamin Franklin Junior (Ben) in 1841, Warren Perry in 1843, and Thisley Jane in 1845. It is hard to imagine the difficulties Pauline must have faced in giving birth to and raising seven children in this remote area, with no relatives at hand to give support, with Ben away often hunting to feed their growing family, and with the constant threat of Indian attack.

On one occasion when she and the children were alone, she saw a band of Indians approaching the edge of their clearing and suspected that they were bent on plundering her home. Quietly she hustled the children out of the house to the opposite side of the property and hid them in the woods, warning them to stay there and make no sound. She then returned to the house and faced the marauding natives. A good shot, she raised her rifle and fired at the chief, shattering his jaw. The Indians, dumbfounded by this turn of events and certainly not expecting such a response from a mere woman, withdrew into the bush. However, they did not leave but menaced her until nightfall. Determined not to be driven out and leave her home to the savages, she stood fast until Ben returned. He sized up the situation, rounded up a group of other frontiersmen and, as soon as there was enough light the next day, drove the Indians back across the Missouri River, killing a number of them.

Doc English, his son Buss and part of Mrs. English.
Photo courtesy of Kamloops Museum

Ben felt the need to explore new frontiers – possibly life in Missouri was no longer exciting or challenging enough for him – so in 1846, after thirteen years in Clay County, he, Pauline and the seven children undertook the long and hazardous trek across the plains to the Willamette Valley of Oregon along the famed Oregon and Applegate Trails. The logistics of such a move – food and clothing to last nine people for at least six months, wagons and animals to transport people and supplies, grain and livestock to start afresh when they arrived at their desination – is mind boggling, but many families of that time made such preparations, as did Pauline and Ben.

Once on the trail there were many pleasant days when the weather was good and the trail comparatively easy, but also many days of intense heat and dust on the plains, rugged terrain that sapped the strength of man and beast, swift and deep rivers to cross with horses, cattle and wagons, and later, snow, cold and incredibly difficult climbs as they began the last stage of the journey over the mountains. All along the trail they were harassed by Indians. Some tribes were friendly but many were not and there was always the threat of attack by the savages. When the party was camped near Klamath Lake, the men of the party went hunting for game, leaving all of the women and small children in camp. A band of thirty to forty Indians started shooting arrows from the surrounding bush. Many of the women, panic stricken, began to cry and pray, but not Pauline English. She grabbed her rifle and ordered the others to arm themselves with guns or axes or whatever else was at hand and fight off the invaders. "It's all right to pray, but you must fight also," she admonished them and, inspired by this intrepid lady, fight they did and drove off the Indians long before the men of the party returned.

Finally they arrived in Oregon and settled near the Luckiamute River in Polk County, where they lived until 1863. The first winter they spent in Oregon was a very hard one indeed. There was an urgent need for shelter and they had to

Nellie English married Dr. Baker from Quesnel.
Photo courtesy of Kamloops Museum

survive on game and pemmican in order to save what grain they had for spring planting and the cattle for starting a new herd. One day while Pauline and the children were alone, their home was attacked by Indians. The natives were so close that an arrow shot into the house broke the arm of one of the boys but, with her rifle, Pauline held them at bay for several hours, shooting four Indians in the course of the afternoon.

Despite the hardship and dangers, Pauline gave birth to Lucretia in 1848, Harmon Hamilton in 1852, Lawrence Buchanan in 1853, and Eugene in 1854. Ben and Pauline lived and raised their children in Oregon until 1863 when they moved to California, where they lived until Ben's death twenty years later. Little is known of their life there but it was no doubt much less exciting than their earlier years. After her husband's death, her son Ben Junior urged Pauline to live with him and his family so, early in 1884, she moved to his home on Bonaparte Creek, twelve miles from Ashcroft, B.C., where she was a well-liked and respected member of the community. She was eighty-four years old when she passed away in 1896 and, at her request, she was buried on the ranch where she had spent her last years in peace and contentment.

While she was living with Ben, now known as "Doc," and his wife, their daughter Ellen Elizabeth (Nellie) was born in 1888. Nellie inherited her grandmother's and her father's courage and determination, as well as his love of horses. She delighted in the wagon trains common on the Cariboo Road and knew all the teamsters personally, including the legendary Cataline, as well as the expert drivers who drove the B.X. Stage coaches.

Nellie and her brothers and sisters – Lily, the first white child born in the Chilcotin, Thomas (Buss), Alice and Benny III – attended the Cache Creek Boarding School. This was the first school in the area, attended by students aged seven to seventeen from all over the interior of B.C. A. Irwin was the only teacher for between thirty and sixty students of all grades. Nellie remembers him as a kind, but very strict, religious man who had studied for the ministry and had prayers and Bible reading every night. There were three dormitories upstairs, the one for the boys carefully partitioned from the two for the girls to avoid any unseemly behaviour. They were "cold as the dickens at night" with "snow drifting through the cracks" so even the straw mattresses and piles of blankets and quilts didn't keep them any too warm. The English children only boarded at the school in the winter when it was too cold to drive the five miles from the ranch. The rest of the year they loaded hay on the buggy and drove to school. Her only sad memory of the school was an epidemic of scarlet fever which took the lives of a number of students, including her best friend. Such diseases were often fatal back then.

Nellie, Lily and Buss took delight in teasing the local Indians, chasing the children through the creek and lassooing their tents from horseback and pulling them down. Doc, always a strict father, strapped them for this but it didn't stop them from pestering the Indians every chance they had – not from meanness or dislike, it just seemed like good fun at the time.

Nellie used to break her father's racing colts, always bareback and always in a skirt because girls simply did not wear trousers back then. She became a fine horsewoman at a very early age. When ten years old, she rode a greased pony in a circus, bareback, three times around the ring with no rope to hang on to. With her fifty-dollar prize, she bought a cow and started her own small herd of cattle.

When the family moved to a ranch in the Venables Valley, they found about three hundred head of wild horses which came around mostly in the fall and winter, ate the cattle's food, broke fences, stole Doc's racing mares, and made a general nuisance of themselves.

Lily English married Jim Veasey from Hat Creek.
Photo courtesy of Kamloops Museum

Nellie and Buss rounded up most of these mustangs by adding "wings" to the corral and herding them in. For months the children collected tin cans. They invited their friends from Ashcroft to come to the ranch, usually on a Sunday, tied the cans to the tails of the wild horses, and enjoyed the show as the animals bucked and raced around in a frenzy.

Doc often hired Indians to help with the gardening and haying. They used to bring good-tasting roots that they picked nearby. Nellie and Buss figured that they would pick some for themselves but by mistake picked wild parsnips. After eating only a few, Nellie got very tired and fell asleep, but Buss kept digging and eating and when he couldn't wake Nellie, he walked home. Shortly after he had a convulsion and was unconscious for three days. Nellie eventually woke up and found her way home, although she was very ill. Both children recovered from the feast.

Late one fall Nellie and Buss were sent to retrieve some of their horses that had strayed about twelve miles from home. It was cold but the young teenagers decided it would be quicker to swim the Thompson River. The river was low, but fast and treacherous. They started swimming upstream, rested on a gravel bar in the middle of the river, then continued their way home. Even riding with their knees on their saddles they got wet and chilly, as did the poor animals which had icicles on their tails when they reached home. Their father couldn't believe that they had been so foolhardy and in later years Nellie admitted that she "wouldn't do it for a million bucks today."

Nellie was always frightened of the rattlesnakes that are common to the area, which, contrary to popular belief, do not always rattle before they strike, and she remembered vividly the longest one she ever killed: "six feet and a real fighter." She was never bitten but remembered Mrs. Barkley, Judge Cornwall's daughter, who was bitten and died a day and a half later. Nellie also told of a character named Jack Wilson from Savona who was a pretty heavy drinker. He found a rattler and secretly sewed up its mouth – a pretty good trick in itself – and put it on the bar, saying he would take it off if someone would buy a round of drinks. He enjoyed many free drinks until threatened with police action.

Nellie went to New Westminster to finish her education and it was here that she met Jack Howison, her future husband. Soon after their marriage Jack developed a serious chest condition and the couple moved to Salt Lake City, hopeful of finding a cure. Their daughter, Nellie Lutheria, was born there in 1908. In 1910 the family moved to Quesnel where Jack opened the first hardware and tinsmith shop in town. In 1915 he again became very ill and died.

Nellie's life took a new and eventful turn when she married Dr. Gerald Rumsey (Paddy) Baker. Dr. Baker arrived in Quesnel in 1912. He had taken his medical training at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London, England, worked as armed guard and doctor for Wells Fargo in Nevada, travelled to Alaska and several islands off the B.C. coast, and practiced at St. Joseph's Hospital in Victoria. He was an ardent hunter and fisherman and an accomplished horseman. He and Nellie seemed to be an ideal couple, and indeed they were. She would drive the democrat many miles into the country while he kept his hands warm and ready to perform whatever medical procedure was required to help his patients. He was a devoted man of medicine and no one, regardless of race, colour, creed or ability to pay, was ever turned away. He would even try his hand as an animal doctor if necessary, there being no veterinarians in the territory at that time.

In order to be more help to her husband, Nellie took a course in anaesthesia at St. Paul's Hospital in Vancouver. Surgery was often performed on the spot on someone's kitchen table and Nellie would hold the lantern, administer the ether, and generally assist Paddy. She fainted twice at her first operation but, "The patient lived and so did I." Her calm and soothing manner and the stories she told them as the anaesthetic took effect made the ordeal much less frightening for the patients.

One very dark night, Paddy and Nellie drove far out into the bush country where he was to perform a post-mortem on a young girl. When he had thoroughly examined the body and found the cause of death to have been a faulty heart, Paddy went with some of the local men to have a drink, leaving Nellie to finish up the procedure. All alone, with only a coal oil lamp and "scared to death," she put the body back together and sewed it up. When Paddy returned, he was surprised that Nellie was upset – he just assumed that she could deal with anything.

When she wasn't assisting Paddy, Nellie was cheering up patients with treats from her kitchen or garden or taking them for a buggy ride. She took messages for Paddy and when there was an urgent case and she didn't know where he was, she would fire three shots with a shotgun, their emergency signal.

Life was not all work. Both Nellie and Paddy took great pride in the racehorses they raised on their North Star Ranch just out of Quesnel. They won many trophies all over the province and Nellie, dressed in the costume of the early west, for many years led the Quesnel parade on her big grey stallion. She competed in race meets at Wells and Barkerville, usually racing against the men although there were ladies' races, and she often won. She entered the mile derby in Quesnel when she was fifty-two years old and won the $500 purse, but decided that this would be her last race – she would quit while she was ahead.

After his death, the new Quesnel hospital was named in honour of Dr. Baker, and Nellie was given a special invitation to the opening. In 1952 her daughter came to live with her on the North Star Ranch. Mother and daughter retained their love of horses and operated the ranch for several years. Nellie died in Quesnel on June 29, 1971, at the age of eighty-four. Her headstone is aptly inscribed: "A tender mother and a faithful friend."

****

Pat Foster and her husband, recently retired, now make their home in Ashcroft. She spends many hours at the Ashcroft Museum collaborating with Museum Curator Helen Forster to prepare short stories of South Cariboo history.

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Kamloops Museum – photographs

Captain Frank Armstrong

by Winnifred Ariel Weir

They called him the "Father of Navigation in the Kootenays" and they called him "the biggest little man on the Columbia." The Indians called him "Chief Strongarm."

He was Captain Francis Patrick Armstrong. He has not lacked tributes for his exploits, either in his day or since. Oldtimers in the Columbia Valley still recount tales of his enterprise, enthusiasm and determination. He started the saga of paddlewheels on the Upper Columbia and he had a hand in every noteworthy enterprise of his day in the valley.

Pioneer Robert Randolph Bruce is credited with saying: "He bumped a lot of scenery along the Columbia but he always got through."

No doubt it helped to have the blood of St. Lawrence River men in his veins. Born at Sorel, Quebec, in 1861, a member of a prominent United Loyalist family, he came of three generations of harbour masters. His father was the Honourable James Armstrong CMG, Chief Justice of St. Lucia and Tobago. His grandfather, Captain Charles Logie Armstrong, a St. Lawrence River pilot in the War of 1812, had fitted out privateers to fight the Americans. His great-grandfather was a harbour board commissioner a hundred years before Frank's death.

The adventuresome blood of those ancestors raced in his veins, urging his indomitable spirit to achieve what he wanted, though occasionally the law took a somewhat dim view of some of his exploits. He was much admired, respected and oft times loved throughout the Kootenays.

When Frank Armstrong joined the engineering staff of the CPR in 1881 as a young man of twenty, he had no idea of the adventures that lay before him in the west.

In 1882 he was one of an exploring party of engineers under Major Rogers and, with the Hon. Fred Aylmer, was blazing a trail through the Kicking Horse Pass to the summit of the Rockies. They were surveying the route known as Rogers Pass for a railway through the mountains.

Captain Frank Armstrong taken in London, England, in 1916 prior to leaving for Egypt.
Photo courtesy of E.F. Horsey

He arrived at La Cache (later Golden) little knowing how that settlement was to colour his future. When he brought a string of horses to pasture in the Columbia Valley, he was so impressed with the area that on July 9, 1882, he pre-empted 320 acres of land on the east side of Columbia Lake. The area is still known today as the Armstrong Range.

Construction crews were busy out of Golden as the Canadian Pacific Railway crept closer to the Rockies and Armstrong foresaw a market there for potatoes to feed the workers. He decided to be a farmer and brought in seed potatoes from Montana, 150 miles south, to plant on his range.

During the winter of 1882–83 he made a trip on snowshoes from La Cache to Joseph's Prairie (now Cranbrook) and return, a distance of some 300 miles, pulling a toboggan with mail and supplies.

That winter, too, he saw Galbraith's Ferry (now Fort Steele) for the first time. Years later he decribed that trip. "On February 4, 1883, we had come [from what is now Canal Flats but was then called Canal Flat]. It was extremely cold and though we had horses, we were forced to walk to keep ourselves warm."

In 1884 he sold his first crop of potatoes in Golden for seven cents a pound, $140 a ton. To transport them he built two bateaux from lumber whip-sawed on his own land and he hired Indian rowers.

This engrossed him for two years but the mode of transportation was too slow for Frank Armstrong so he conceived the idea of a paddlewheeler on the river.

The CPR was nearing completion to Golden and Frank, being a visionary, foresaw miners and settlers needing transport and supplies to the Columbia Valley.

With plans in his head, which were never put on paper, he obtained slabs and any rough lumber he could lay his hands on from an abandoned sawmill at Donald, sixteen miles west of Golden. He bought nails and oakum and paint and sawed and hammered and caulked until he had fashioned a boat. And what a boat she was ...

The hull was seventy-four feet, beam seventeen feet, and her loaded draft fourteen inches. The engine had seen forty-five years' service in a catamaran ferry on the St. Lawrence. It arrived in Golden on the first CPR train from the east.

His slab-sided, flat-bottomed creation was no beauty. Frank said himself: "She's a pretty crude steamship." But she floated and he named her "The Duchess." Someone said the paddlewheeler looked like an overgrown lawnmower.

The second* Duchess *with Captain Bacon at the rail, deckhand A. Wixon with arms akimbo, the Chinese cook on the winch, and Dave Good on the piling.
Photo courtesy of Golden & District Museum, #P0224B

Her keel was laid March 26, 1886. The August 21, 1886, issue of *The Calgary Herald* carried the following item:

"On March 15, Francis P. Armstrong left Montreal via Canadian Pacific Railway with a gang of men and machinery for building a steamer bound for Golden, B.C., just across the Rockies on the Columbia River.

"He had no hull awaiting the machinery but had to go into the woods to get timber to build one. In just fifty working days, he had accomplished the task. Fifty days from the laying of the keel until steam was raised and the steamer 'The Duchess' started on her maiden voyage from Golden City to the source of the Columbia."

No one believed that he could combat the sandbars and side channels of the river to sail up the Columbia to its source. Doubters said: "Come and have another drink. Forget this foolishness."

The Shuswap Indians had gone to Golden to see "the white man's folly." They reported that she was too long and too clumsy to be handled by oars.

People scoffed at the idea of steamboat service on the Columbia. "The river is too narrow," they said, "too shallow, too crooked. It runs dry in the fall and freezes in winter."

Frank's determination proved him right. He was not to be deterred. With the blood of his riverboat ancestors stirring in his veins, the opposition spurred him on.

June 8, an eventful day, with whistles blowing and flags flying and an exultant captain at the wheel, *The Duchess* steamed away from Golden and sailed serenely up the Columbia.

Her boiler was fueled by wood cut by settlers who lived along the river. It was piled on the bank and as *The Duchess* drew near, the crew and male passengers would roll up their pant legs and clamber overboard into the shallows to load the wood. For the passengers it relieved the monotony of the trip and hastened the passage of the steamer.

Settlers cheered the craft as she passed, bringing a new era to the Upper Columbia River. Southward it steamed past landings to Peterborough (now Wilmer), then to the Salmon Beds (now Athalmer) where Lake Windermere flows into the river. Then on to Windermere.

At Sam's Landing, at the south end of Lake Windermere, she became stuck on a sandbar, to the delight of the Indians who swooped down fifty strong to help push her off. "What a great chief is Strongarm," they shouted. "He will make us rich." Surely the captain of the *Queen Mary*, decades later, could not have been prouder than Frank Armstrong.

For two years *The Duchess* steamed up and down the Columbia, serving the valley well. She carried the few settlers and their furniture, food, cattle, chickens and goats. She carried merchandise for the few stores and liquor for the bars. Often the deck of *The Duchess* lacked space for all the freight, but the liquor was never left behind on the dock at Golden.

Armstrong got the mail contract and advertisements of the service appeared in newspapers. Arrangements were made to feed passengers on twice-weekly trips from Golden to Windermere and return. The steamer made five or six miles an hour against the current and better time downstream.

Financial setback the first year was a disappointment but the advent of the North West Mounted Police at Galbraith's Ferry (now Fort Steele) boosted freight rates and the prospects looked better for 1887.

Then disaster fell July 7 when *The Duchess* ran into snags while carrying a cargo of oats for the NWMP. She sprang a leak in the Canyon Creek rapids and was heading for a sandbar, but sank

before reaching it. No passengers were lost but the cargo was a sorry mess as it floated down river. Major Steele, in charge of the detachment, had contracted for seventy-five cents a hundred pounds with guaranteed schedule. When *The Duchess* sank, what was left of the cargo was transferred to the *Cline*, Armstrong's opposition on the river. She also met disaster and the river floated the red uniforms of the police and many supplies downstream.

The Duchess was refloated and in three weeks was plying the river again, but her appearance was more dilapidated than ever. Finances dogged Captain Armstrong's ambitions but he persevered and in 1887 he raised enough money to build two new steamers.

The first was the second *Duchess*, a more traditional craft for she was built of lumber from a sawmill and had cabins and a dining salon. The old *Duchess* was put out to pasture. Her engines were removed and placed in her successor.

The second boat built in 1887 was the *Marion*. The second *Duchess* was used in high-water periods and the *Marion* took over when the water was low. The *Marion* drew only eighteen inches with a full load, which was a benefit when passing over the shifting sandbars. These two boats transported ore from the mines, horses, cattle, chickens and people with their supplies. The passengers paid four dollars a trip.

Help for financing these two boats had come from Lady Adela Cochrane who, with her husband, was interested in a placer mine at Canal Flat. That may be the reason that the small lake between Columbia Lake and Lake Windermere was named Lake Adela (now often known as Mud Lake).

In 1888 the Donald newspaper, *The Truth*, in its June 30 issue, reported: "The staunch new sternwheeler *Duchess*, F.P. Armstrong, Master, will leave her landing at Golden every Monday and Thursday at 1 p.m. for Hayes' Landing, Spillimacheen, Windermere and the landing at the head of lower Columbia Lake; returning on Wednesdays and Sundays, arriving at Golden at 4:30 p.m.

"On Thursday, *The Duchess* will carry her Majesty's mail and make connection at the upper landing with the stage for Fort Steele, Wild Horse and Cranbrook.

"Rates of fare: to Jubilee Landing $2.00, Windermere $4.00, Windermere and return $6.00. Meals and berths extra. For freight rates apply F.P. Armstrong, Golden, B.C."

In 1890 Frank married Maria Howden Barbour in Montreal and brought her west.

That year he bought a bateau, the *Alert*, and converted her into a shallow-draft sidewheeler, renaming her the *Pert*. She was the first steamer on Columbia Lake.

Norman Hacking, then marine editor for *The Province*, told the story of the skipper-deckhand-engineer of the *Pert*, George Drake, universally known as "Dirty Drake." As a result of many complaints, Captain F.P. Armstrong, of the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company, took Drake to Golden and ordered a barber to give him a bath. The barber took one look at him, shuddered, and said, "I dare not. The shock will kill him." But Armstrong was adamant and Drake was bathed, perhaps for the first time in his life. It was his last bath. In a week he was dead.

The advent of the second *Duchess*, the *Marion* and the *Pert* had made a distinct change to life along the Columbia. The settlers enjoyed the regular visits of the boats passing their farms, stopping for cordwood on their docks.

On the earlier boats, passengers often had to sleep on deck with their own blankets or sleep on bales of hay. The hundred-mile trip from Golden often took two days but Frank Armstrong tried to make the trip as fast and as easy for his passengers as possible. His cheery baritone ringing from the wheelhouse, singing his favourite French-Canadian songs, relieved the tension of the trip.

Many settlers would put a flag on their dock to alert the captain of some need. The shallow draft of the steamers allowed them to nose into the bank and a gangplank provided a wobbly passage from deck to shore.

In 1891 Captain Armstrong was instrumental in incorporating the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company. The shareholders included Thomas and Adela Cochrane and the Hon. Frank Lascelles, son of the Earl of Harewood, who were Columbia Lake residents, and Lord Norbury, also an area resident.

The new company had a man-

Captain Armstrong (white cap in hand) is shown here talking to the Governor General of Canada, Earl Grey. The occasion is the official opening of Lady Grey School in Golden in 1912. Lady Grey wore a dark dress and is holding the large bouquet of flowers.

Photo courtesy of Golden & District Museum, #P0086

date to build a one-mile tramway from the railway depot at Golden to the steamboat landing on the Columbia and another small tramway between Lake Adela and the Upper Columbia Lake. The latter was to take freight the three and a half miles from one lake to the other through the white water section. The trams were cars pulled by horses.

The company was formed by an Act of Parliament in 1891 with Thomas Cochrane as president and Captain Armstrong as manager. It was dissolved by an Act of Parliament in 1927.

In 1892 another sternwheeler, the *Hyak*, joined the fleet of the company.

Dominion Government Engineer F.C. Gamble of Victoria, Lt. Thomas Cochrane, R.N., and Frank P. Armstrong with four hired hands left Golden Friday, April 20, 1894, and arrived in Revelstoke Sunday, April 29. They made this ten-day trip around the Big Bend in an open boat to ascertain whether the Columbia River was navigable around the Bend. They found too many barriers east of the mouth of the Canoe River to warrant any attempt to make the river navigable. The presence of snow made it a hectic trip. They made portages over ice-covered Kinbasket Lake and through the Surprise Rapids.

One of the more famous of Captain Armstrong's boats was the *Gwendoline*, named for the daughter of the Earl of Stradbroke. She was built at Hanson's Landing (later Wasa) and launched there in October 1893. Frank decided the finishing building would be better done in Golden shipyards. In May 1894, en route, he found that the lock gates at Canal Flat had been dismantled to save the community from being washed away by a spring freshet. Frank dismantled the vessel, set the hull on rollers, and hauled her across the flats. He was never daunted by the perversities of nature. At Golden she was made seaworthy.

Tuesday, May 22, 1894, was another proud day for Frank. With a cry of "Shove her off, boys," the little sternwheeler slid into the Columbia on her maiden voyage. Two hours later she was sailing serenely up the Columbia.

By 7:30 p.m. she had reached the landing at the Hog ranch, where a load of wood was waiting for her boiler. During the transfer the engineer fell overboard and passengers rushed to alert the captain. With the man safely on board again, the boat tied up for the night and at 5 a.m. was steaming south again. At 11 a.m. there was more excitement, another man overboard, another rescue. Frank's trips were seldom uneventful.

When the *Gwendoline* reached Lake Windermere every inhabitant was on the bluffs above the lake, waving to welcome the first boat of the season.

Later Frank took the *Gwendoline* back through the repaired locks, making her the only steamer to go through the locks both ways.

Frank formed an American subsidiary of the Upper Columbia Navigation and Tramway Company. He got a well-known shipbuilder, Louis Paquet of Libby, to build a fine sternwheeler and to enlarge the *Gwendoline*. The new steamer was named the *Ruth* for Frank's younger daughter.

The company now had a 300-mile-long continuous service from Golden to Jennings, Montana, on the Kootenay. The *Ruth* handled the Fort Steele to Jennings route. Here fate decreed disaster for the *Ruth* and the *Gwendoline*. May 7, 1887, both vessels were laden with ore when a log caught in the wheel of the *Ruth*. In moments the *Gwendoline* had piled on top of her. Captain Armstrong's own description of the disaster is recorded in Norman Hacking's *Steamboat Days on the Upper Columbia* (p. 28). The vessels were patched and continued to haul ore.

Anyone but Frank Armstrong would have been disheartened by the mishap. The company lost some $40,000 and that same year lost the mail contract between Golden and Fort Steele.

The settlers along the Columbia persisted in flagging the steamers to hand out letters to be posted in Golden. It took time and money to offer that friendly service so the company had to have some remuneration. The solution was to print stamps. They resembled official government stamps with the letters "U.C.Co." printed in red surrounded by a wreath of red leaves. These were issued in perforated sheets and sold to the settlers on riverside farms and towns at five cents a stamp. At Golden the government stamp would be placed beside it.

This was popular from July 1899 to August 1900 when the government heard of the service and notified the U.C.Co. in no uncertain terms that the sale of stamps was a government monopoly and an illegal practice for others.

Two stamped envelopes were known to exist some years ago, one dated August 22, 1899. They were valuable artifacts.

Frank, always ready to serve, continued to pick up letters while settlers still had company stamps they had purchased from him, as long as they also bore the government stamps.

The Fort Steele mining boom faded in 1898 and many prospectors went to the Klondike gold rush. Business on the Columbia wasn't good and Frank could smell adventure in the Yukon. He organized a party of forty men, mostly from Golden, to go north. He took machinery for a river steamer, the *Mono*, planning to build the hull for which he cut lumber in Alaska. He installed the machinery in the winter, then left for his base in spring just before the Alaska customs officers found him.

He operated on the Stikine River that summer, then started for the Yukon with his steamer. En route the steamer was wrecked. He collected the insurance, then bought the wreck back "for a song" from the underwriters. He patched the steamer, refloated it, and went on to the Yukon River. Later he piloted the steamer *Gleaner* on Lake Bennett and a steamer on Tagish Lake.

Then, hearing that business had improved on the Columbia, he returned to his first love in 1900, throwing his energies into mining enterprises and picking up family and community life. Two daughters had been born, Charlotte in 1892 and Ruth in 1894, and he was involved in many valley enterprises.

In 1902 Frank picked up a larger steamer, the *North Star* at Jennings, Montana. Someone said "picked up" was descriptive of the transaction. He faced the problem of getting the craft up the Kootenay River to Canal Flat and through the Baillie-Grohman canal into Columbia Lake.

It took two weeks to get up the Kootenay and at the flats he found that the boat was too long for the canal and nine inches too wide for the lockgate. Undaunted, Frank tried hacking down the gates, then in frustration burned them. Finding too little water in the canal to float the *North Star*, he filled ore

sacks with sand and dammed both ends. Then he dynamited the forward dam and with a small volcano of mud, rocks and water, the *North Star* burst through into the lake.

Frank's wife Minnie and the two daughters had been on the boat but were waiting at the Grohman hotel while he vented his frustrations. Later they recounted that they heard the shrill whistle of the steamer signal a triumphant passage. Then they heard Frank's baritone leading a chorus to the tune of the old Christmas carol: "O come let us be joyful, the *North Star* is through."

There had been a close call on the trip when a tree crashed into the cabin where Ruth was sleeping. Minnie, terrified, rushed in to find Ruth missing. They found she had crawled into the lower portion of the cabinet where drinking water was kept. She was unharmed.

The passage of the *North Star* through the canal was considered a feat worthy of celebration. The Wilmer *Outcrop* on June 6 reported: "Captain Armstrong is the most enterprising man we know of in this province. There is nothing too big for him to undertake." The steamer docked in Golden to an enthusiastic welcome.

In recognition, Frank was honoured at a dinner held in the Delphine Hotel at Wilmer on July 9, 1902. Prominent citizens from the length of the Columbia Valley attended to honour the enterprising captain. The wine flowed as freely as the Columbia River as guests vied in proposing toasts. The first was to His Majesty and the second to the U.S.A. president. Then toasts to the guest of honour, the provincial legislature, the mining industry, the ladies, the lawyers and anyone else they could think of. The printed program mentioned Frank's indomitable energy in achieving the passage of the *North Star*.

The *North Star* made a couple of trips to Golden, hauling ore. Then a curious customs official asked to see Frank's papers. Undismayed, he said he was in a hurry and couldn't find them. The official was not sympathetic and impounded the boat as an American vessel on which the duty had not been paid. Such formalities were easily overlooked with Frank concentrating on other issues. He said he didn't care, the boat was too big for the river anyway.

In 1903 Frank launched the *Ptarmigan*, built at Golden during the winter with scaffolding set on the ice on the riverfront. She had improved accommodation for the tourists arriving in large numbers. That year the Upper Columbia Transportation and Tramway Company sold its assets to the Columbia River Lumber Company. This company became the Upper Columbia Transportation Company with Frank Armstrong as manager.

Mining and logging were bringing many settlers which was good business for the river boats. There were land booms and talk of the railway linking the main line of the CPR at Golden with the Crow's Nest branch line. Surveys for the Kootenay Central started in 1905 but got only as far as Spillimacheen so the river boats still operated on the Columbia.

In 1905 a new boat appeared on the river, a gasoline launch, *Gian*, owned by an eccentric Scotsman, Captain Northcote Cantlie. In 1905 the *Golden Star* had an item: "Boat racing furnishes lots of excitement on the upper Columbia River. A big race is to be pulled off shortly between the *Gian* and the *Ptarmigan*, commanded by Captain Northcote Cantlie and Captain F.P. Armstrong."

Colonel Cantlie operated a motor launch and bet that he could beat Captain Armstrong in the *Ptarmigan* if he had a half-hour start.

Cantlie had a valet, Ferguson, who played the bagpipes. Norman Hacking in *Steamboat Days on the Upper Columbia* wrote of Cantlie: "This eccentric Scotsman was one of a long succession of 'characters' for which the Columbia Valley was famous. He preferred champagne for breakfast and always kept with him as a personal attendant a piper in full Highland regalia. In the summer of 1906 Captain Cantlie, always a sportsman, made a proposition to Captain Armstrong, also a sportsman of the first order. He offered to stake $100, payable to the Golden Hospital, that the *Gian* could outrace the *Ptarmigan* between Wilmer and Golden. The race started bright and early one Sunday morning, although there were a few false starts, perhaps due to Cantlie's propensity for breakfast. The *Gian* finally got away and flew down the river in fine style, the *Ptarmigan* thrashing and blowing some distance behind. Captain Armstrong knew the river much better than his adversary and after two hours the *Ptarmigan* drew alongside the *Gian*. Cantlie's piper piped as he had never piped before ... Armstrong drew ahead. Then came the crowning indignity. As the *Ptarmigan* passed the *Gian*'s stern, two daring young men aboard the sternwheeler reached across, then plucked the piper bodily from the *Gian* and lifted him aboard the *Ptarmigan*, which then crossed the boom at Golden in triumph. It is said that the piper did not miss a beat during the transfer. One can imagine Frank Armstrong chortling over this adventure for such a challenge was dear to his heart."

Another Armstrong tale is of his feud with a lumber mill which had a boom of logs lashed to a cable across the Columbia. Frank came along in his steamer and couldn't pass. The watchman, who was supposed to be in charge, went off for a drink and while he was gone Frank ordered the cable cut. That released the logs and they went rolling down the Columbia with the steamer after. There was threat of a damage suit but it was settled amicably.

In 1911 Captain Armstrong launched the *Nowitka*. Her boilers were from an ancient sawmill, her engine from an 1840 catamaran ferry on the St. Lawrence used in the first *Duchess*, then in the second *Duchess* and in the *Ptarmigan*. Her pilot house and capstan had been "borrowed" from the *North Star* while she was impounded by customs. Frank's Scotch ancestors would have approved his thrift and ingenuity. He had also appropriated the steering wheel of the *North Star*, saying he had a special fondness for that wheel.

Then came World War I. In 1915 Frank had joined the Department of Public Works of Canada. He worked with J.P. Forde on a survey of the Columbia River from Lake Windermere to the International Boundary, studying possible access to Canadian waters of the Columbia by deep-sea vessels. The task involved a canoe trip from Lake Windermere to Astoria, Oregon.

Then in 1915 Frank moved to Nelson, B.C., to a position as Works Foreman for the federal Department of Public Works.

World War I stirred Frank's desire to be of service. He offered his abilities as

a river man to the British government and in 1916 was commissioned in the Inland Water Transport branch of the Royal Engineers. He was fifty-six years of age.

He saw distinguished service on the Tigris River and later on the Nile, where he was superintendent of all military vessels on the river. He had offered to ship to Mesopotamia materials for a light-draft steamer suited for navigation on the Tigris and agreed to put it together thirty days after its arrival there. Frank liked to take on seemingly impossible tasks. His offer was not accepted.

Later he was sent to Egypt to improve wartime navigation on the Nile. It was said that he never fully recovered from the effects of the Egyptian climate.

Once he was torpedoed in the Mediterranean and had to swim for his life, but he and his party reached safety.

After the war Captain Armstrong rejoined the Dominion Public Works Department and was in charge of river improvements in East and West Kootenay.

Then came a nostalgic trip for Frank Armstrong. Thirty-four years almost to the day that the *Duchess* sailed triumphantly up the river from Golden, the *Nowitka* sailed from Golden, towing a barge loaded with construction materials for a bridge at Brisco that was to close paddlewheel navigation on the river forever. The era of railroad traffic had begun.

Frank wrote of his emotion as he stood at the wheel of the last steamer on the river. "Having been in charge of the first boat as well as the last, memories crowded me." He described his first *Duchess* and then wrote of the *Nowitka*: "[She] is a successful little freight boat, drawing only 16 inches of water. With the barges ahead, we made a craft 246 feet long and 23 feet abeam. The water is as low as it has ever been so navigation may be considered to have gone out with a flourish.

"It shows what has been done to the river. Besides the clearing of sweepers and snags, side channels have been closed and the water confined. It would have been impossible to have operated such a craft in the early days.

"The trip was made without incident except for the clearing of a big cottonwood or two lying over the river and dodging others that have been thrown into the river by beavers.

"Oh, yes, an enterprising rancher had put a telephone line across the river since my day and we, of course, carried it away, putting the whole rural telephone system on the blink for a couple of days."

Later he said of the *Nowitka*: "[She] would make a splendid nucleus of a museum of early steamboating. Her engines were built in 1840 and were originally in a catamaran ferry near Montreal. The man I bought them from told me that they were good for 50 pounds steam. Poor old Man! I wish he could have seen us the other day with 130 pounds. The old engines did all right with considerable grunting and groaning.

"The boiler is modern and built for some sawmill. The pilot house and capstan are from the *North Star* and so on. The object of this trip is unique. To put a stop to navigation, an object I hate to be connected with, and incidentally to get some ore I left on the river bank 24 years ago."

In October 1922, while inspecting the wharf being constructed at Kaslo, Frank Armstrong clambered atop the federal government pile driver. A cable broke, lashing him off the platform. He sustained a broken hip and multiple internal injuries. The Kootenay Lake steamer *Moyie* was preparing to sail later but cast off immediately to rush Captain Armstrong to the Kootenay Lake General Hospital.

Weeks later, in agonizing pain, he was transferred to Vancouver General Hospital where, on January 26, 1923, he died on the operating table.

A poignant incident was the fact that his long-time friend and associate pilot, Captain Francis Bacon, died in the same ward of the hospital on the same day.

A memorial service for the two was held at Golden in St. Paul's Anglican Church.

The *Golden Star* issue of February 9, 1923, reported on the service: "Companions on the last long hike ... through many years of pioneering ... were separated by death by only a few hours."

Tributes to Frank Armstrong came from throughout the Kootenays. One pioneer said: "He wrote his name on the history of riverboating as a true western pioneer."

John P. Forde, with whom he had travelled down the Columbia, said: "No man with an equal number of acquaintances had more friends or fewer enemies. He was always ready with a cheerful smile or a song and often with aid of a more substantial nature to help a lame dog ... No person ever appealed to him in vain."

Tributes recorded his value as a member of Mountain Masonic Lodge No. 11 and his deep interest in St. Paul's Anglican Church and the Golden hospital, of which board he was a director. He had been a Scout master.

Pioneer Robert Randolph Bruce said of him: "He was the sort of man who never got stuck whatever the obstacles." Lewis R. Freeman, in his book *Down the Columbia*, described Captain Armstrong as "a man who has been one of the most picturesque personalities in the history of British Columbia."

In the Windermere Valley his name is remembered by the Armstrong Range on the east side of Columbia Lake and by Armstrong Crescent in the community of Invermere.

At Radium Hot Springs a memorial pavilion was built a few years ago and dedicated by his daughter Ruth, the late Mrs. F.G. Horsey of Victoria, in memory of Captain Frank Armstrong and her late husband, who had been superintendent of Kootenay National Park in the 1930s.

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Winnifred Weir of Invermere has been a vice-president of the British Columbia Historical Federation, curator of the Windermere District Museum, and author of* Tales of the Windermere. *She is a great-niece of Captain Frank Armstrong.

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With special appreciation to E.L. Affleck, Norman Hacking, and to E.F. Horsey, grandson of Captain Francis Patrick Armstrong

Kamloops Children's May Festivals

by Wayne Norton

You must wake and call me early,
call me early, mother dear;
Tomorrow'ill be the happiest time of all
the glad New-year;
Of all the glad New-year, mother, the maddest
merriest day;
For I'm to be Queen o' the May, mother, I'm to be
Queen o' the May.
– *Alfred Tennyson*

At the turn of the century, the city of Kamloops, like most communities in the Canadian West, was much concerned with enhancing its image as a dynamic and progressive place to live. Rivalries with Vernon and Revelstoke were well developed, but it was the rapid development of the coastal cities of New Westminster and Vancouver that Kamloops most sought to emulate. At the same time, the small middle class here shared in the emerging national consensus that the education and nurture of children were responsibilities to be shared by parents and the community. These attitudes combined to produce one of Kamloops' most enduring traditions. The May festivals, begun in 1903, enjoyed remarkable popularity for thirty years.

The first community in British Columbia to establish a May festival was New Westminster, where the local fire department organized the event as early as 1870.[1] Members of the Kamloops Fire Department, eager to prove that Kamloops was a match for any coastal city, made plans in the spring of 1903 for a "Firemen's May Day" to be held on the first day of May. Their intention was to create an event that the children of the city could look upon as their very own. Activities were to include a programme of sports and dances, as well as ceremonies that would appeal to a generation of children fascinated by tales of fairies, pixies, pirates and Robin Hood. Expenses would be covered by charging a nominal entrance fee to those wishing to observe the activities. The high point of the day would be the crowning of the young girl selected by the children themselves as their "Queen of the May." Although the crowning of a queen and the dance around a maypole were directly borrowed from ancient Egyptian spring festivals, there was no suggestion that associated fertility connotations were to form a part of the Kamloops festivities.

The royal party of 1910.

Photo courtesy of the Kamloops Museum & Archives

The organizers made it clear that the events were to be open to all children, regardless of school affiliation. The Sisters of St. Ann's nevertheless, perhaps uncomfortable with the pre-Christian origins of May festivals, decided not to take part. The public school, however, embraced the idea with enthusiasm and trustees willingly declared Friday, May 1 to be an official school holiday. In mid-April, the children, by secret ballot, elected thirteen-year-old Edith Lee as their first May Queen.[2] She in turn selected her maids of honour: Trixy Vicars, Irene McCrum, "Tottie" Irwin and Annie Phillips. Pearl Campbell, for ceremonial purposes, was chosen to play the role of "ex-queen." The business community, too, endorsed the firemen's proposal and asked Mayor J.R. Mitchell to proclaim a full public holiday. He did so, and all was ready for the city's first May Day.

The sports events began at 10 a.m. at Alexandra Park near the north end of the old White Bridge, while the parade participants started to gather at the Kamloops Musical and Athletic Association Hall (KM & AA Hall) to prepare for the procession down Main Street and across the bridge to the park. Rather later than planned, the parade finally set off just after one o'clock. It included the sixteen-piece Rocky Mountain Rangers Band in its first public appearance, a guard of honour from the boys' brigade, uniformed firemen, a special carriage for the mayor and his aldermen, and numerous other carriages and pedestrians. A separate carriage carried Pearl Campbell, Edith Lee and her maids of honour who, according to the *Inland Sentinel*, all "looked dainty and sweet and made a pretty picture in the royal carriage."[3]

Amidst speeches and applause and the strains of *God Save the Queen*, Edith Lee was crowned and commanded the festivities to continue. The maypole dance was performed and the dancers each received a piece of the ribbon as a souvenir of Kamloops' first May Day. All children in attendance were given candies and oranges and the sports events were then resumed. The parade was reformed to accompany the "royal party" to Queen Edith's home, where her mother provided dinner for her royal and civic guests.[4] At eight o'clock the dance at the KM & AA Hall began, with adults permitted on the floor before ten

o'clock only if their dance partners were children. By the time the last waltz was played at 2 a.m., the firemen and city officials were assured that the day had been an unqualified success.

With only minor variations, the firemen repeated their successful May Days for nearly a decade. In 1904 it was decided to begin the sports events after the crowning of the new queen. From 1905 onwards, unless the designated day fell on a Saturday, city council declared a half holiday rather than a full day. Beginning in 1907, the festivities were held in the grove near the new Red Bridge because the Alexandra Park grounds were thought to be "too dry and dusty for comfort."[5]

A large part of the appeal of May Day was the decoration that accompanied the event. The carriage conveying the royal party to the park was always festively decorated with bunting and ribbon, while other decorated carriages and bicycles became more numerous with each passing year. The home of the queen was usually decorated both inside and out, often including garlands of flowers and ribbons on or around the dinner table.[6] For the queen, her maids of honour and the female maypole dancers, the most enchanting decorations were the dresses made especially for them by their mothers from the finest and most expensive fabrics. The families involved clearly donated significant amounts of both time and money to sustain the magic of the May Day.

Laura McCall, May Queen 1917.

Photo courtesy of Kamloops Museum & Archives

Occasionally the May Queen was expected to assume civic responsibilities. In 1905, for example, Queen Mary Barnhart laid the cornerstone of the new fire hall, "using an elegant silver trowel, presented for the occasion by Mayor Stevens, and suitably inscribed with the date, description of the function and the May Queen's name."[7] Buried in a time capsule beneath the stone were copies of the *Sentinel* and the *Standard* newspapers, as well as photographs of the mayor, his aldermen and the firemen. Queen Mary was presented with the silver trowel as a keepsake. For a few years before the Great War, the queens acted as representatives of the city by sending telegrams of congratulation to their counterparts in New Westminster. In 1913 Queen Olive McLean wired to the queen of New Westminster her "cordial greetings and sincere wishes for a bright and joyous reign over a happy people in a prosperous realm." She in turn received the following message, phrased in the required regal style:

> *On the occasion of your accession to the throne of Kamloops we Jean McPhail, today crowned Queen of New Westminster, extend cordial greetings [and] express our heartiest wishes for a successful and prosperous era in your kingdom during your rule. May your youthful subjects be as loyal and true to Your Majesty as our subjects here promise to be. May Peace and Prosperity attend all the days of our reign.*
>
> *Queen Jean of Westminster*[8]

Throughout the pre-war years, the May festivals were well covered by both the Kamloops newspapers and consistently were front-page news. The queens and their entourages were invariably described as charming, pleasing, picturesque, sweet or dainty. As early as 1907, just four years after it had begun, the papers began to refer to the event as a "time-honoured" Kamloops tradition. Estimates of the numbers of children involved, of carriages and decorated motor cars in the procession, and of spectators were used to gauge the success of the day's activities. As many as 1,000 children evidently took part in 1912 and 1913, and thirty automobiles were counted, in addition to the horse-drawn rigs, in the May Day parades during the years just before the First World War. The firemen received annual accolades from the newspapers for their efforts, and the *Standard* in particular took great delight in reporting on the "Fire Laddies' Annual Day."

The May Day was not without its critics. Expressing concern about the loss of instructional time for such a purpose and about the emotional strain upon the candidates for queen, the school trustees voted to deny the school holiday in 1908. However, pupils and teachers united with the organizers in ignoring the trustees' wishes and the festivities went ahead as planned. Two of the three school trustees resigned in protest, only to see their resignations applauded by the local press.[9] Evidently, public opin-

ion was strongly in favour of the continuation of the annual event.

The firemen, however, were forced to admit in 1912 that the festival had expanded to require more time and energy than was available within the fire department alone. In 1913 a committee of interested individuals took over responsibility for the Kamloops May Day. The committee made no changes to the structures it inherited from the firemen, but did provide the newspapers with a statement of receipts and expenditures. The statement revealed that ticket sales had been very nearly sufficient to cover expenses, which had included candies, oranges, ribbon and flowers, the hire of rigs, bands and hall rental, as well as prize money for the sports events. When other donations were included, the committee was pleased to be able to bequeath $98.46 to the organizers of the 1914 May Day festivities.[10]

Despite the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, the Kamloops May festival was repeated annually from 1914 through 1918. Certain aspects of the event – most notably the parade – were reduced from the grandeur of the pre-war years, but the crowning ceremonies and the sports events still commanded the attention of children and adults alike. The city council granted full holidays for the first three festivals during the war, returning to the half holiday only in 1918. The event continued to find a space on the front pages of the newspapers, though the reportage was often linked to the war in Europe. One paper insisted that "men begrimed with the ravages of war, fighting on the battlefront or suffering from wounds in the hospital, will rejoice in the fact that the kiddies of Kamloops ... enjoyed the day."[11]

The address of the May Queen to her loyal subjects, which followed a set pattern modified only slightly to suit the circumstances of the year in question, was customarily delivered by the appointed Master of Ceremonies. The preparation of the speech certainly occurred under watchful adult eyes. During the war, the addresses underwent some predictable changes and urged upon the youth of the community an enhanced patriotism and a willingness for sacrifice. The festival of 1915 raised $62 "for the installation of a bed in an English hospital for Canadian soldiers wounded at the front."[12] Queen Reta McLean's address of 1918, like the speeches of the civic leaders and military men with whom she shared the podium, referred to the city's fighting men in Europe and to those at home who worked to support them. She concluded by advising all to invest wisely and to work for victory. Nevertheless, her proclamation urging these virtues upon her subjects was signed in traditional May Day fashion:

> *Reta, May Queen by virtue of election of the Dominion of Kamloops, North Kamloops, Powers Addition and the territories adjacent thereunto, Ruler of Entertainment and Empress of Hearts.*[13]

The May festival of 1915 was remarkable in that, with only one exception, the queens of the previous thirteen years were all present.[14] Their continuing residence in Kamloops indicates that the city, in the early years of the century, enjoyed a notable degree of social stability. It is also worth noting that, viewed collectively, the dozen former May Queens represented many of the families who formed the city's pre-war Establishment. At least seven came from well-known business or ranching families; six were daughters of mayors or aldermen.[15] Poorer families were simply not able to permit their daughters to become May Queens. The costs involved in dressmaking and in providing the May Day banquet for as many as eighteen people were substantial.

The royal party of 1917.

Photo courtesy of Kamloops Museum & Archives

The decade following the war saw the May festivals achieve their greatest heights. Gathering at the public school grounds (presently Stuart Wood School), the processions became more spectacular with each passing year, reaching a peak in 1923 and 1924 when 150 automobiles, many of them elaborately decorated, were used to transport well over 1,000 children down to Riverside Park.[16] The longest parades stretched for nearly three kilometres and attendance at the park was reported at 3,500 people in 1921, at a time when the population of the city was barely 4,500.

In fact, the festival had become a genuinely profitable event. Ticket sales for the day's events and the evening dance generated sufficient profit in the early 1920s to enable the organizing committee to donate funds to both the Royal Inland Hospital and the Parks Board. A sum of $100, for example, was given to the Parks Board in 1921, and the May Day Committee in 1925 began its preparations for the year with a balance of nearly $400 in the bank.[17]

The festivities experienced a remarkable expansion after the war. The celebrations of 1920 were particularly notable as the Hudson's Bay Company paid all expenses involved to commemorate the company's 250th anniversary. Cash prizes were offered for the best-decorated floats and automobiles, and proceeds from the evening dance

Junior maypole dance, 1922.

Photo courtesy of Norman Stoodley of Kamloops

permitted donations of nearly $200 to both the Royal Inland Hospital and the new Parks Board. The company presented strings of pearls to the queens and maids of honour of 1919 and 1920, gave a commemorative signet ring and an engraved pencil case to the new queen Jessie MacKay, and estimated that 6,000 people attended the festivities.[18] The manager of the Kamloops Hudson's Bay Company store authorized a "six-day selling event" and stated that its generosity in sponsoring the May festival should "surely be a means of endearing the name of the Company in the hearts of the people."[19] In her address, read by Mr. H.R. Ireland, Queen Jessie stated that the company had indeed won a place in the hearts of her subjects, and commended the Hudson's Bay Company "as an eminent example of energy, of resourcefulness and of unfailing loyalty."[20]

The 1920 May Day also witnessed another change as boys, for the first time since the earliest years of the festival in Kamloops, took part in the plaiting of the maypole. This renewed interest partially explains the increase in the number of maypoles required, from one as late as 1918 to five in 1924. Much excitement was generated by the news that the Fox Film Company planned to film the dances and ceremonies in 1924.[21]

Another innovation, probably dating from the war years, was the obligation of the queen and her maids of honour to pay a visit to the Royal Inland Hospital. The visits were necessarily brief as they occurred between the end of the sports events and the banquet, but the royal party was invariably well received. In 1921 returned soldier-patients at RIH insisted that the whole party should accompany them to the hospital roof to have photographs taken by Kamloops photographer John Scales. Sometimes the plaiting of the maypole was repeated for the entertainment of the residents of the Tranquille Sanatorium. Also customarily visited were the Sisters of St. Ann's Academy, who welcomed their visitors with a short speech and a bouquet. Their initial opposition to the event evidently waned over the years and, in 1925, St. Ann's student Elsie Giddens was one of the candidates for May Queen.

So successful was the Kamloops festival that a number of neighbouring communities launched their own May Day celebrations after World War I. Both Falkland and Chase began their annual May festivals at this time. Just across the river, the village of North Kamloops established its own May Day event in 1921. In order not to conflict with the larger Kamloops event, the organizers chose to celebrate their festival on Victoria Day weekend. Throughout the 1920s their parade would form at Ellsay's store and follow a route to the Home Farm grounds where, courtesy of the BC Fruitlands Company, the sports events and maypole dances occurred. Just as the Rocky Mountain Rangers Band had performed at Kamloops' first May Day, so too did it lead the first parade in North Kamloops in 1921.[22]

In Kamloops itself, the May festival looked as if it would go on forever. Each year the event was described as the best ever as it consistently drew large and appreciative crowds. A ten-day election campaign in 1925 saw a recount of ballots become necessary as Althea Lynes defeated Kathleen New by just two votes. (Ironically, an accident placed

Althea in hospital and Kathleen became queen.) Delighted parents saw their favourites plait the four maypoles in singles, doubles and "spider's web" or watched more than 100 children perform the Danish dance of greeting, the Shoemaker's Dance, Hickory Dickory Dock and the Ace of Diamonds. An exuberant poem entitled "To The May Queen" appeared in the *Sentinel*, and the public school children presented Queen Kathleen with a wristwatch.

Competition for May Queen became particularly keen in 1926 when nearly thirty candidates came forward. Jean MacKay from Stuart Wood emerged as the winner, thus following in the footsteps of her sisters Flora and Jessie who had been May Queens in 1911 and 1920 respectively. In 1929 Jean MacKay was again part of the royal party, this time as a maid of honour. Though the McLean brothers are much better known to students of Kamloops history, the achievements of the MacKay sisters should certainly not go unnoticed.

In 1927 the first signs appeared that all was not well with the Kamloops event. The school board refused to give a school holiday, stating that it was unwilling to interfere with the students' learning for such a purpose. Though the board did again grant the holiday in the following years, it was not as a result of the kind of united opposition to an unpopular decision by students, teachers and the public that had occurred in 1908. The festival of 1927 did take place on 24 May, unfortunately competing with the scheduled North Kamloops May Day.

The festivals of 1927, 1928 and 1929 proceeded as usual, with newspaper headlines such as "May Day Delights Its Thousands In Smiling Weather" again being typical page-one fare. However, the "annual red letter day in the juvenile calendar" was finding it increasingly difficult to attract juvenile attention. Though many sought to be queen, fewer children were interested in joining in the maypole dances. By 1929 the number of maypoles was reduced to three and all the dancers were female, the male pupils again having withdrawn their participation. Even the female participants were not so numerous and enthusiastic as in earlier years. Difficulty was also experienced in finding teachers and other adults prepared to devote the same amount of time as they had previously done. The Elks Club's annual Flag Day since the early 1920s had also become associated with May Day, and perhaps their patriotic speeches condemning the ignorance of Kamloops school children about the Union Jack were not well calculated to sustain the fragile magic of a children's festival. For the first time since 1903, there was talk of cancellation.

The supper held in the banquet room of the new Plaza Hotel for the May Queen of 1929 was an elaborate affair:

It was a very happy occasion indeed, the band playing in the rotunda, beautiful table decorations of white tulle, apple blossom and pale pink tapers. There were favors for all, and pearl chokers for the queen, ex-queen and maids of honor, the gift of the queen's mother.[23]

Later that evening an orchestra, headed by 1916's May Queen Lygia Dorion, provided the dance music at the fine new Elks Hall on Seymour Street. The music they played proved to be the swan song for the original Kamloops May festival.

The adults of the community had lost interest. When the usual organizational meeting was called to make plans for the May festival of 1930, only six people attended. The festival was immediately cancelled for lack of public interest. Interestingly, the North Kamloops May Day of 1930 was also able to offer only a limited sports programme of games and races. There would be no May Queen on either shore of the Thompson River in 1930 or 1931.

As might be expected after nearly thirty years, there was considerable nostalgia for the children's festival, and the Kamloops Athletic Association revived the event with considerable success in 1932 and 1933. Each school nominated its candidate for May Queen, with the winner's name being drawn from a hat. Half-day holidays were again declared, royal visits were made to Tranquille and to the children's ward at RIH, banquets were held at the Leland Hotel, and dances took place at the Kamloops Athletic Association Hall. The parade of 1933 was said to be the longest ever for a May Queen celebration.

However, the energetic Kamloops Athletic Association also sponsored a 24 May celebration in 1933. There were horse racing events at the East End Park, a baseball game with Revelstoke, and tickets sold for a car draw. There was the Rocky Mountain Ranger Band, a concert and a dance. With the crowning of a nineteen-year-old festival queen and a parade, the day must have seemed to some an adult parody of a familiar children's theme. In 1934 an attempt was made to join together the adult and children's festivities on the 24 May weekend. There was a dance around a single maypole and 250 children performed a flag drill. The attempt was not repeated. Kamloops saw no more May festivals of either variety during the 1930s.

There was renewed interest in a children's May festival just at the end of the Second World War, perhaps symbolic of a community seeking to return to a simpler era. As early as 1945, North Kamloops, Brocklehurst and Westsyde jointly organized a children's celebration with a maypole, a banquet, sports events and an evening dance. Queen Mary Krehel also visited the residents at Tranquille. Not to be outdone, the Kamloops Lions Club announced its intention to hold a May Day festival in 1946, but was forced to cancel when it realized that the organizational requirements were beyond its reach. Club members, however, did travel to New Westminster to learn from organizers there.

Nevertheless, the revival of the Kamloops May Day festival that occurred so successfully in 1947 was achieved under the auspices of the Kamloops Fire Department. Their organizing committee involved interested individuals and the parent-teacher associations of the city schools, and set to work to revive all the plans and procedures of the 1920s. Fire department members rescued maypoles from beneath the grandstand at Riverside Park; teachers at the Junior High School, Stuart Wood, Lloyd George, Fruitlands, St. Ann's and the Kamloops Indian Residential School all agreed to take part; and on 16 May 1947 thirteen-year-old Iona Hudson became the city's first children's May Day queen since 1933.

Unlike her predecessors, Queen Iona was given the privilege of reading her own speech, though it was much reduced in length compared to those of the earlier years.

The very windy May Day of 1948 was

notable for a number of reasons. The Kamloops School District declared 17 May to be an official school holiday to accommodate the children's festival. Governor General Viscount and Lady Alexander, who were in Kamloops on an official tour, visited the hospital, Paul Lake, Valleyview and Tranquille, and took part in the May Day ceremonies. Most importantly, however, at the special invitation of the organizing committee, six former May Queens were present. Olive McLean (1913) and Jean Campbell (1927) still lived in Kamloops, but Laura McCall (1917) and Alma Horne (1922) travelled from Victoria, and Betty Corbould (1932) came from Winnipeg. Also present was the only former queen who had been unable to witness the crowning ceremonies back in 1915: Violet Kyle (1904) travelled from Vancouver to be part of the festivities in 1948.[24]

They would all have been pleased had they returned the following year to see nearly 2,000 children take part in the activities of the festival of 1949. They would all have been saddened to learn that, despite its apparent success, the Kamloops May Day ended abruptly in 1949, leaving even fewer clues about its demise than its predecessor had done in 1930.[25] Sadly reminiscent of the organizing committee's announcement of twenty years earlier, the only trace of a May Day in 1950 was the report of its cancellation due to "insufficient interest."[26]

The early 1950s saw the emergence in May of the first Miss Kamloops competitions, but those cannot be said to be descendants of the "Fire Laddies' May Day" of 1903. The Kamloops May Day festivities initially were based upon magic and innocence. Perhaps their disappearance is explained by realizing how difficult it is in the twentieth century to sustain magic and innocence. Perhaps not. Somehow the city may have simply "outgrown" the event. It is interesting to compare the appearance of the post-World War II queens with their pre-World War I counterparts. The photographs from the early part of the century show us the faces of children; the royal parties of the late 1940s seem much more mature.

As difficult as it is to understand why the children's May Day disappeared so abruptly, it is even more difficult to appreciate what exactly the day meant to its participants. Pearl Chapman, five years after she had been crowned May Queen of 1923, wrote: "There is no real definition for the fête; May Day is just May Day and a law unto herself."[27] But maybe the secret was clearly revealed, after all, in a "retirement speech" of 1933. Before she surrendered her crown to Gertrude Rigby, ex-queen Betty Corbould advised all her youthful and loyal subjects:

> [Today] *forget the shadows on the dial, and be what you are still in heart – just laughter-loving happy children. Lay aside dull care, for surely it has no place amid the flowers of May.*[28]

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Wayne Norton is a resident of Kamloops who has teamed with Wilf Schmidt as editor of* Kamloops: One Hundred Years of Community 1893–1993 *and* Reflections: Thomson Valley Histories *(1994: Plateau Press).

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FOOTNOTES

1. T. Weideman, *History of the May Day* (New Westminster, 1920).
2. This was not Edith Lee's first taste of local fame. In 1894 she had been chosen to present a bouquet of flowers to the vice-regal party on the occasion of Lord Lansdowne's visit to the city.
3. *Inland Sentinel*, 5 May 1903, p. 1.
4. *Inland Sentinel*, 30 April 1903, p. 4.
5. *Inland Sentinel*, 30 April 1907, p. 1.
6. See, for example, KMA photographs 6103 and 6104.
7. *Inland Sentinel*, 2 May 1905, p. 1.
8. *Inland Sentinel*, 3 May 1913, p.1.
9. *Inland Sentinel*, 5 May 1908, p. 4.
10. *Kamloops Standard*, 16 May 1913, p. 9.
11. *Kamloops Standard-Sentinel*, 30 April 1918, p. 1.
12. *Kamloops Standard*, 11 May 1915, p. 8.
13. *Kamloops Standard-Sentinel*, 7 May 1918, p. 1.
14. Violet Kyle, May Queen of 1904, was absent, having moved from Kamloops in 1905.
15. The only known exceptions to the pattern were the queens of 1913 and 1914: Olive McLean was the child of a CPR conductor, while Hilda McCrum was the daughter of the famous baseball player Joe McCrum, who also worked for a time for the CPR. Surviving records do not indicate the family backgrounds of the queens of 1904, 1906 and 1907.
16. Officially known as Coronation Park, it was renamed in 1930 when the city council gave the park the name the people of Kamloops had always preferred: Riverside. See Ruth Balf, *Kamloops: 1914–1945* (Kamloops: 1975), p. 95.
17. *Kamloops Sentinel*, 24 March 1925, p. 1.
18. *The Beaver*, November 1920, p. 14.
19. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, RG2/3/6, A.E. Dodman, "Synopsis of Events in Connection with the Celebration of the Company's 250th Anniversary," 3 July 1920.
20. *Kamloops Telegram*, 8 May 1920, p. 1.
21. If a copy of the film still exists, it has not yet been located. Ruth Balf, *Kamloops: 1914–1945* (Kamloops: 1975), p. 97.
22. *Kamloops Standard-Sentinel*, 27 May 1921, p. 1.
23. *Kamloops Sentinel*, 14 May 1929, p. 5.
24. *Kamloops Sentinel*, 19 May 1948, p. 1.
25. Ominously perhaps, the May Day celebration of 1949 was the only one ever held in Kamloops on a Friday the thirteenth.
26. *Kamloops Sentinel*, 28 April 1950, p. 1.
27. *Kamloops Sentinel*, 15 May 1928, p. 1.
28. *Kamloops Sentinel*, 15 May 1933, p. 1.

THE MAY QUEENS OF KAMLOOPS

1903 Edith Lee	1904 Violet Kyle
1905 Mary Barnhart	1906 Beatrice Allen
1907 Jessie McDonald	1908 Annie Noble
1909 Maud Kelly	1910 Irene Irwin
1911 Flora MacKay	1912 Elizabeth Robinson
1913 Olive McLean	1914 Hilda McCrum
1915 Jean Harper	1916 Lygia Dorion
1917 Laura McCall	1918 Reta McLean
1919 Helen Blair	1920 Jessie MacKay
1921 Jean Miller	1922 Alma Horne
1923 Pearl Chapman	1924 Annie Lytle
1925 Kathleen New	1926 Jean MacKay
1927 Jean Campbell	1928 Pearl Neill
1929 Dorothy Churchill	1930/31 Cancelled
1932 Betty Corbould	1933 Gertrude Rigby
1947 Iona Hudson	1948 Doris Evans
1949 Donna Johnson	

NORTH KAMLOOPS MAY QUEENS

1921 Lillie Farquharson	1922 Edna Nixon
1923 Jean Wyse	1924 Rosemary Williams
1925 Louise Emmerick	1926 Alice Willie
1927 Alice McKnight	1928 Rose Nicholson
1929 Faith McKnight	1945 Mary Krehel
1947 Elsie Schimpf	

The Hayward Sheep Trail

by L. Hayward and V. Brink

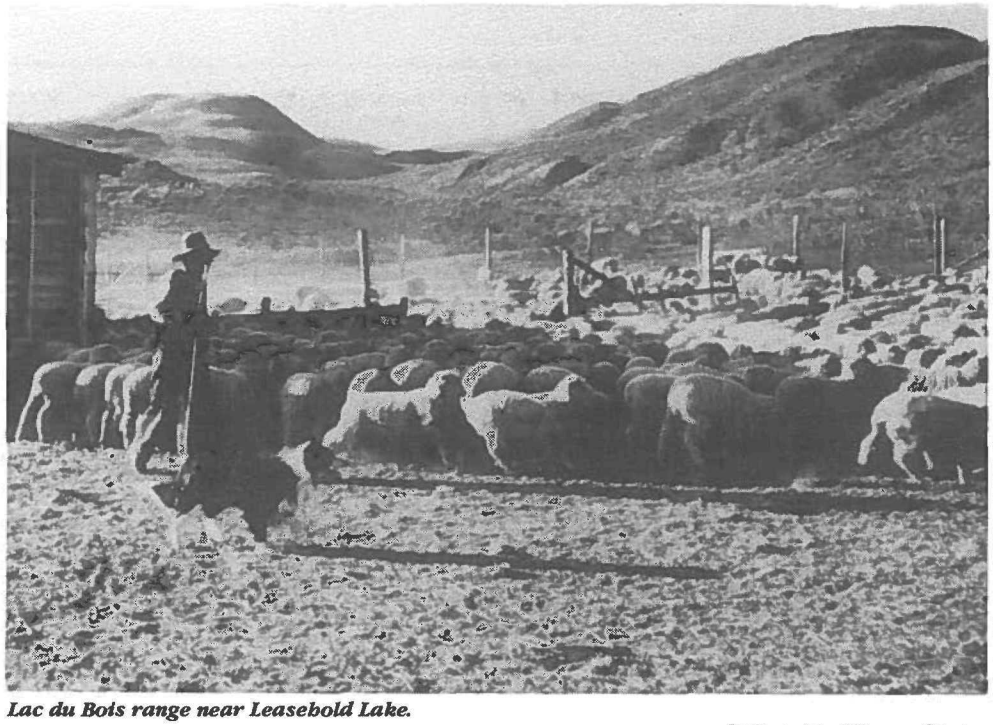
Introduction

Trailing sheep from lowland pasture to alpine meadows for summer grazing is an ancient art in Europe and Asia. The art was rapidly transferred to North America with the earliest Spanish settlements, and before the end of the 16th century Spanish sheep breeds had been trailed to many Catholic missions in Mexico and what is now the American Southwest. Other European breeds were raised in small farm flocks in the early settlements of New England and New France and later on a few fur trading posts, but were rarely trailed far. However, when gold camps sprung up over many parts of Western America following the California rush of 1849, sheep were trailed long distances in modest numbers from the Southwest to meet the miners' needs for meat and fibre.

Then in the last decades of the 1800s came the realization, as settlements extended into the West, that there was abundant free grazing for both sheep and cattle and both were trailed widely. A virtual explosion in livestock numbers occurred. In 1890 at least 600,000 sheep travelling well-established trails reached the new farms of the Middle West for fattening. By 1910 there was a minimum of eleven million sheep on Western ranges. Although not usually accorded the importance and romance of cattle trailing, sheep husbandry and trailing were important in Western settlement.[1,2]

Sheep Trails in B.C.

Sheep destined to meet the needs of miners of the Cariboo goldfields were trailed from "Oregon Territory" by the customs house at Osoyoos, B.C., before 1860. No doubt the small farm flocks maintained since the early 1800s at a few Hudson's Bay Company fur trading posts, notably at Langley and Kamloops, also played a minor role in meeting food needs of miners. "Settled" sheep ranching with trailing to summer pasture, following patterns in the United States, however, came later, probably around 1880 to the valleys of the Similkameen, Thompson, Okanagan and Fraser Rivers. The story of the B.C. sheep trails has been partially recorded by Grant MacEwan.[3a] Although it is a latecomer (1935 to 1965), the Hayward sheep trail from Kamloops to the South Chilcotin Mountains was undoubtedly the longest and most tortuous and largest in numbers of sheep trailed in B.C. As one of the boldest ventures in our agricultural history, it deserves a special record.



Lac du Bois range near Leasehold Lake.

Photo courtesy of Donovan Clemson

The Trail: Kamloops to the South Chilcotin Mountains

The Hayward sheep trail was planned by William Randolph Hayward and first employed in its entirety in 1935. The story of "Ranny," his family and times, but not of the trail, has been recounted by Grant MacEwan.[3b]

W.R. Hayward was born in New Brunswick in 1879, came to the Western Territory about 1902 and settled at Vermilion, soon after he was raising sheep near North Battleford, Saskatchewan. As the pressure from settlements and grain farming grew around him, he decided in 1926 or 1927 to bring sheep to Ashcroft, where he deemed there was greater freedom for ranching. In the years following, he raised and trailed sheep variously from Gordon Ranch (rented) in Upper Hat Creek, from the MacGillivray Ranch (purchased) in the Fraser Canyon country between Lytton and Lillooet using alpine summer range on Blustry and Cairn Mountains, out of Pavilion and the Carson and Bryson Ranches, and out of Walhachin and Ashcroft. During the early years of the Great Depression of the 1930s Mr. Hayward negotiated the purchase of arable lands for hay production and pasture at Westsyde near Kamloops and a lease on about 12,000 acres of spring/fall range on the nearby Lac du Bois open grasslands (see photo this page). The negotiations involved the B.C. Fruitlands Company and the holdings

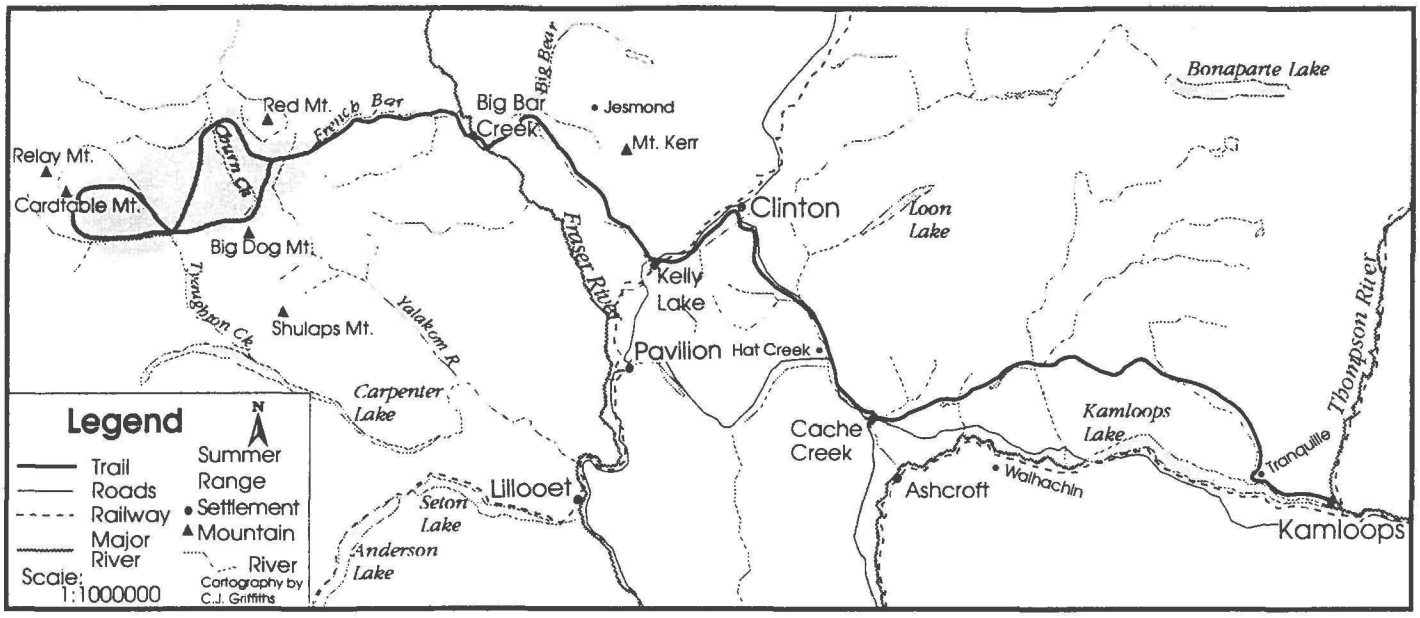


Figure 1: Map of the Hayward Sheep Trail, 1934–1965. Four thousand or more ewes with lambs left Kamloops in May, grazing as they moved eight to ten miles a day, to cross the Fraser River on the small Big Bar reaction ferry to the alpine meadows of the South Chilcotin Mountains.
Cartography by C.J. Griffiths

of oldtimers like Joe Bulman and Mickey Lowe.[4] By 1935 a home ranch was well established at Westsyde. J.R. Copley, one of the pioneer grazing officers with the B.C. Forest Service, had pointed out some years before that there was extensive unallotted alpine summer range west of the Fraser Canyon in the South Chilcotin Mountains; at that time cattle made little use of the high range and permits had been issued for Poison Mountain ranges for only a few hundred sheep by an absentee owner of a small West Canyon ranch. After much planning in 1935, the first droving by Mr. Hayward started across the Fraser.

Typically, 4,000 or more ewes left Westsyde in mid-May in three bands of 1,200 to 1,400 ewes with lambs; the bands started two days apart and they grazed a wide swath as they moved six to ten miles a day. From Westsyde they grazed to Tranquille, then up the west side of the Tranquille Valley to Red Lake (Threlkeld Ranch) and the Upper Deadman River Valley, and via Back Valley to Cache Creek. From there the bands moved along the Cariboo Road, interfering with motorized traffic and fences as little as possible, to Clinton, then by way of Cut-off Valley to Kelly Lake and the back road north to just south of Jesmond. Now came an elevation drop of 2,000 feet to the 1,000-foot elevation on the Fraser River. At Big Bar ferry, the sheep, in lots of about 135, crossed the big fast-moving river (see photo p. 19) on the planks of the reaction ferry. After the crossing of the Fraser there began the long slow climb of roughly 6,000-feet elevation up French Bar Creek to Swan Lake and Red Mountain. The bands then ranged widely in varied patterns around the headwaters of Churn Creek, Poison Mountain, Mud Creek, Swartz Lake, Lone Valley (Lone Valley trailing rights were paid to the Gang Cattle Ranch) and Prentice Lake, the upper Tyaughton and Relay Creeks, little Paradise and little Graveyard Valleys and as far west on occasion as the slopes of Cardtable and Castle Mountains (see photo p. 19). The lambs gained weight quickly on the rich green forbs and grasses of the alpine meadows. China Head and Poison Mountain were usually focal points for the return trips over much the same route in late September and early October.

The map distance, about 125 miles from Westsyde to Castle Mountain, gives little indication of the real distance travelled by sheep herders, dogs and supply pack trains, or of the difficulties encountered in meeting the needs of animals and men. Bargaining at Indian reservations and privately held lands to gain crossings was often made on the spot with dollar payments. Circumventing fencing and traffic on roads, abating occasional hostility tactfully, and constant vigilance can be listed as items difficult to portray; some measure may be gained from recollections by Lloyd Hayward.[5] Although the B.C. Forest Service had granted permission to cross and graze what was largely Crown land, it offered no assistance in routing.

Timetables, Supplies and Marketing

Trailing sheep over open range even under the best of situations is attended by many difficulties, and to avoid calamity exceptional planning and execution is required; trailing sheep is akin to organizing an extended advance of an army. In a day before radiophones, the provincial police were often helpful in relaying messages.

Lambs were dropped in March and April at the home ranch at Westsyde. The bands left by the 24th of May and moved at slightly different rates, depending on topography and forage, to average about eight miles a day. Unlike common U.S. practice, bedgrounds were not established and the sheep moved every day, a tough practice but good for the range. Three herders were regularly employed, one for each band. The Hayward family also worked as a unit, in later years Doug and Lloyd took over from "Dad." Lloyd had a special role in making sure haying went well at Westsyde. Two packers with about six horses each kept the herders and bands supplied with groceries, salt and other necessary items. The country store at

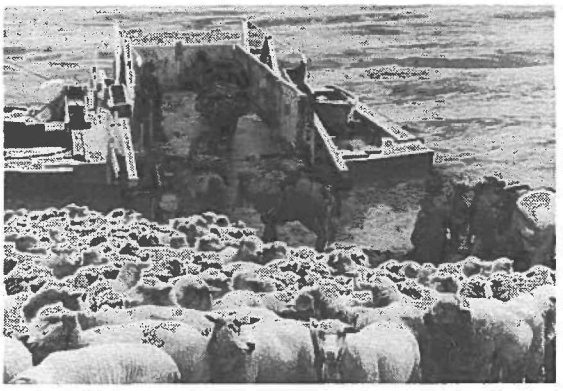
Jesmond was a usual base for supplies but on occasion packing was from Minto in the Bridge River Valley and routing them was up the Yalakom or Gun Creek Valleys.

The vicissitudes of life on the pack trail and herding sheep are many; those who like it are usually strong individualists. Some men stayed with the Hayward family and the trail for over twenty years. Remarkably few animals died on the trail from bad weather, disease, predation or poisonous plants; losses averaged far below one per cent and far below those usually suffered on the sheep trails elsewhere in the West. Herders were almost always armed and on constant alert for forays into the flocks by coyotes. Only on one occasion did a grizzly stampede a band into a gully, with the result that 200 to 250 sheep died in the pile-up.

High country range on the slopes of Castle Mountain.
Photo courtesy of Lloyd Hayward

Snow can fly at any time in the high mountain summer and cold wet weather can reduce pasture quality and reduce gains in animal weight. By the last week in September the bands were moved from high pasture and began the return to Westsyde; arrival target was mid-October.

Top lambs were selected and walked in August to the Pacific Great Eastern rail at Kelly Lake, shipped to Squamish and transshipped (because at that time PGE rail did not reach Vancouver) by boat to, first, Swift Canadian Packers and, later, Canada Packers in Vancouver. Another selection of lambs was made and shipped in September. Cutting corrals were usually at Nicodemus Creek in August and on Poison Mountain in September. Weaker lambs came back to Westsyde and were fattened for the winter market with forage from the ranch and supplement (supplement was often pea screenings from Armstrong and freight-car lots of grain from Alberta or corn [maize] from the U.S. Middle West). In later years trucking from Jesmond was attempted but the then-bridge crossing the Fraser at Alexandria couldn't manage the big trucks and a long route through Princeton was found.



Loading the reaction ferry to cross the Fraser at Big Bar.
Photo courtesy of the National Film Board of Canada

The Home Ranch and Closing Down

Sheep were fed in winter at Westsyde, largely forage produced on its arable irrigated lands, and in the fall and spring on the adjacent Lac du Bois grassland ranges. The basic genetic base of the flock was Rambouillet, prized for fine wool but, more particularly, for its good flocking characteristics so important for trailing. (It was said of these sheep that "if you saw one, you saw them all.") Heterogeneity and vigour was maintained using high quality Suffolk rams by partnering with sheep breeder H.E. Talbot of Westwold. Sheep dogs, originally from Alberta stock and bred at Westsyde, were black and white (and some blue) collies. In the 1930s haying and general farm operation required a crew of up to twenty or more but with the advent of balers and other new harvesting machinery and techniques after World War II, only one or two men were required.

By 1962 it became clear that as a result of highway expansion, alienations of Crown land, growing use of high pastures by cattle from Gang and Empire Valley Ranches, and difficulties in obtaining experienced and dedicated herders and packers that trailing sheep to West Fraser would soon be unprofitable. In 1965 the trail operation closed down. For a few years the Westsyde operation was maintained but, with the expansion of urban Kamloops, it too was terminated. The Hayward Westsyde lands were sold and the deeded Lac du Bois range was bought by cattlemen Charlie and Don Frolek.[5]

It is difficult today to even envision the thousands of Hayward sheep moving through today's settlements and altered landscapes up to the high meadows of the South Chilcotin Mountains. What was remote high country is now well populated by guide-outfitters and their clients, tourists, naturalists, hikers and skiers.

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Lloyd Hayward, now retired and living in Kamloops, had responsibility with his brother (deceased) for the droving of sheep in the later years of the existence of the trail.

Dr. V.C. "Bert" Brink is an authority on the history of B.C. agriculture. He was recently given an honorary Doctor of Science at UBC. He was awarded the Order of British Columbia and the Order of Canada for his tremendous contributions.

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   (a) Chapter 15 "Grazing Sky-High on British Columbia Ranges"
   (b) Chapter 16 "The William Hayward Success Story"
4. *Treasures of Lac du Bois*, K. McLaren and K. Cartwright, editors, A. McLean. Purless Printers Ltd., Kamloops, B.C. (1981).
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B.C. Diary of Beatrice Sprague, 1906

by J. Lindsay Thacker

In 1905 my mother, Beatrice Sprague, was engaged to be married to Thomas Lindsay Thacker, who had homesteaded in British Columbia a few years previously. Since Beatrice had been raised in fairly comfortable circumstances in Edinburgh, her father felt she should find out firsthand what she would be facing as a homesteader's wife in western Canada, so he arranged a three-month trip for his daughter and her future sister-in-law, Gladys Thacker, to spend the summer in Hope, B.C., with Gladys' brothers, Lindsay and Norman. On May 17, 1906, Beatrice and Gladys boarded the *Ionian* in Liverpool and enjoyed an event-filled Atlantic crossing (icebergs, stowaways, and a shipwreck!). After several days in Montreal, they departed for the West by train on May 31. Mother was a naturalist, with an especially keen interest in botany, ornithology and geology, and kept a diary of the trip, her impressions of Canada, and many very detailed descriptions of plant and bird life, not all included in the following excerpts.

The Coquihalla Bridge at the foot of Little Mountain, with Beatrice Sprague in the foreground.
All photos from the Thacker family album.

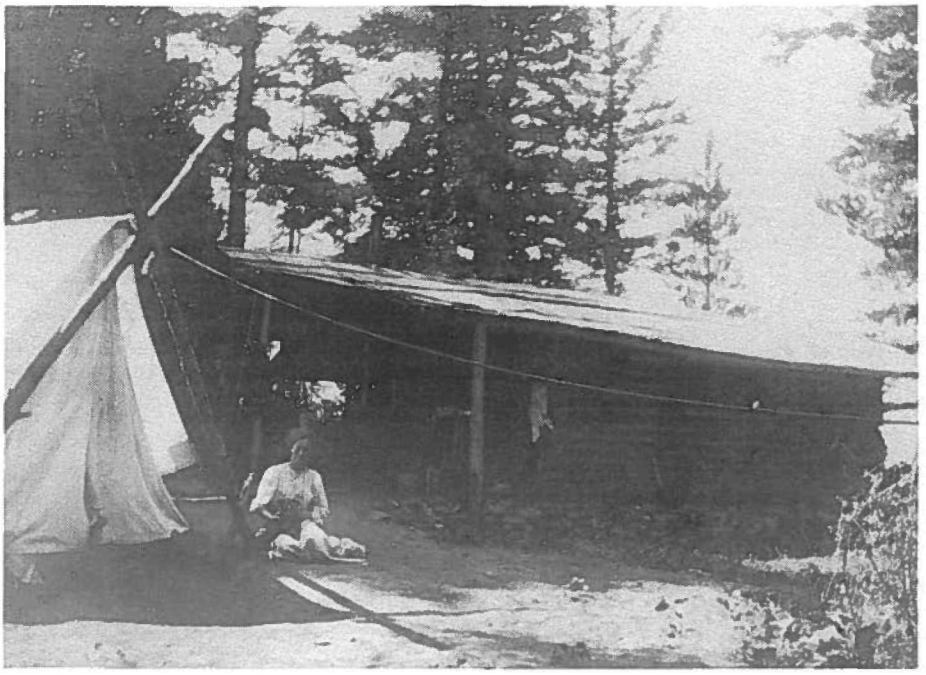
They reached Winnipeg on June 4, where they stopped for three days before resuming their journey. Picking up her diary the next day, we find them *somewhere on the Prairies.*

June 8 – Passed some men burying a horse ... got to Crane Lake ... waited there for hours, owing to a "washout" ahead ... got out and strolled about, though we didn't dare go too far from the train. People very friendly and most good-humoured over the delay. There is said to be a broken bridge below the washout. Went on about 8:30 pm, and soon stopped again, near a farm. One lady went up and got milk and bread and butter. Moved on a little; rumour had it that the farm people had requested us to do so! At 9:00 moved back a little!

[Mother took good advantage of the time waiting for the washouts to be repaired, taking photos and producing some delightful sketches of the Prairie wildflowers.]

June 9 – Started at 6 this morning from Maple Creek, behind Wednesday's westbound, and got as far as Walsh – another washout! ... got away at 2:00. Flat land ... low grassy hills north and south. Tents, cowboys, a good number of burnt skeletons – probably where the Indians had roasted an animal, we were told. Combined lunch and dinner at 4:00, as they couldn't give us both today, owing to lack of provisions! They got what they could at Medicine Hat. Flat wild prairie, lots of cattle, lots of water and waterfowl. Reached Calgary about noon, and Banff about 2:30 [where they stayed, sightseeing, until boarding the train for Hope on the evening of June 13].

June 14 – The first thing that struck us on looking out the window this morning, was the luxuriant and interesting vegetation. There are turncap lilies, huge pink clover, wild roses, rosebay willowherb, spiraea ... over a great extent here the forest has been burnt down, and the skeleton grey trunks are still standing stark above the new growth, which gives the whole place a desolate appearance. Further on the forests grow richer, and there are small lakes with yellow waterlilies. At Little Shuswap Lake ... tents and Indian children – they looked rather bonny. On the South Thompson, interesting bits of ancient strath ... numerous side gullies and valleys. Change of scenery ... sand and mud and small stones, bare and desolate, with hardly any growth. Above are sloping rounded hills covered with yellow-brown grass. Below, the river is very broad, there are bare bunch grass hills. Now and then the river takes a great sudden bend and we have magnificent views. Below the confluence of the Fraser and the Thompson, the scenery is really Alpine. Fir-clad steep rocky hills rise abruptly to a great height leading to snowy peaks behind, and it is really grand! We saw



Gladys Thacker at "The Shack" on Little Mountain, Hope.

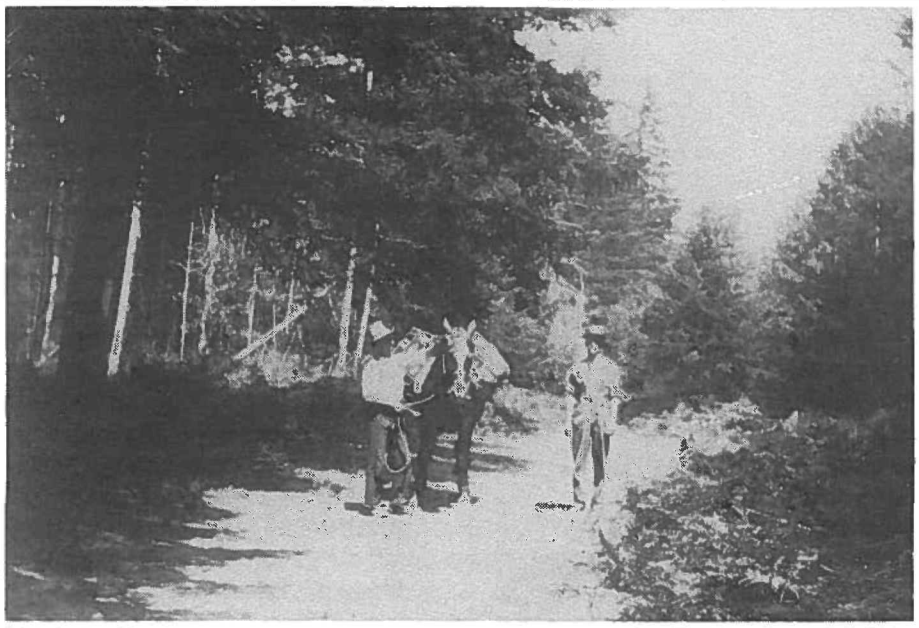
here and there the old Cariboo road, and were specially interested in a tiny village set in a beautiful green level place, and shut in by forest and mountain and river so completely that we wondered if the inhabitants ever got out of it! Reached North Bend about 5:45, found Lindsay's letters waiting for us, and went to meet him.

June 15 – Left North Bend on the train at 3:00. On reaching Hope we walked a few yards down to the ferry; our baggage and ourselves and several other people were ferried across the Fraser in a small boat ... it was rather exciting – there is a strong current, and at one place a long backcurrent and some strong eddies. Gladys and I were both relieved when we reached the other side safely. Hope is a lovely place, and it's a very beautiful walk up from Hope to the hill. The street of Hope is beautiful grass, with sheep pastured on it, and the trail winds in and out among thick wood, as if it were an avenue in an estate. After crossing the little wooden bridge over the Coquihalla, the trail up our hill is only a narrow rough footpath, and fairly steep in places. The view from the shack is lovely: it stands close by the edge of a steep rocky descent, mostly covered with fir trees, some 500 ft above the river. Immediately below is a wide flat-bottomed valley between the mountains, thickly covered with fir and other trees. At the foot of our hill these flat fir woods extend a good way west, the Fraser going round them in a wide sweep, and the much smaller Coquihalla cutting through them to join the Fraser. Great mountains close in the circular valley, Hope Mtn to the south, Silver Mtns on the west and southwest; all these are thickly wooded, except one or two of the highest peaks, which are rocky and snowstreaked. From here, only a light green grassy level and a house or two shows where the village is. The 'shack' greatly exceeded my expectation: it is quite a good size, shipshape and comfortable, and picturesque! Oh, the sensation of taking my first meal there, with the logs in the open fireplace glowing on wooden floor and rafter and wall, and the fine scent of the woodsmoke! Later, when Lindsay and Norman turned in, in their little tent outside, and Gladys and I were left in possession, we did laugh at the quaintness and novelty of our surroundings! We were amused by unfamiliar noises ... told to expect squirrels dancing on the roof, so when the rain came pelting down hard on the roof, G inquired somewhat sleepily if that was the squirrels!

June 16 – The well provides us good water, delightfully soft, and is very easily worked. There is a shed close to the shack ... the stable is partly built – at present the mare stays on a pasture down below ... the life up here is very simple, and I think we are going to like it immensely.

June 19 – This has been a lovely, hot day. After lunch and some work pulling bracken, we went for a walk. L and I had a paddle in the Coquihalla, but it was too cold! It is very pleasant in the evenings here, and the views tonight were lovely in the lingering sunset. We have seen some fine birds – Harris' woodpecker, nuthatch, vireo, junco, songsparrow, blue jay (crested) of some

The well at "West Slough" on Little Mountain, Beatrice in the foreground.



Charlie Nicol and T. Lindsay Thacker with packhorse.

kind, mosquito hawk, falcon.

June 20 – In afternoon went down to Wardle's, and had tea there ... cleared the little bit of garden next the shack. The trees and shrubs and flowers here are delightful: the whole of this Little Mountain is covered with trees: firs, pines, hemlock, spruce, Douglas fir, maples, dogwood, syringa, spiraea, snowberry, thimbleberry, bracken, other flowering shrubs. We see a lot of swallowtails and other butterflies, also insects innumerable and rather weird – we have been warned against woodticks – mosquitoes have bitten us, but not much nor badly – we have netting over the windows. The birds and squirrels (and snakes!) are very tame compared to ours at home – the little brown squirrel here, with tawny breast, sits within three feet or so and scolds us!

June 21 – Arrived at Agassiz about six o'clock; had dinner, and then L and I went for a walk ... saw some of the Tamworth (piebald brown and black) pigs. L tells me they will live where no others will ... they are kept for streaky bacon ... work for their living and never get fat.

June 22 – Drove to Harrison Hot Springs and had a jolly day. Saw several fresh birds – a scarlet headed woodpecker, eagles, The lake is 40 miles long, several islands at this end and hills all round. Looking up the lake one sees a fine snowy ridge [Douglas Mountain?], very clean cut, which must be some miles long. The country round here is much more highly cultivated than at Hope. The roads are pretty good, and there are wooden sidewalks, and cedar fences of various kinds. There are fields of hay, corn, potatoes, hops. We passed some "Devil's Club" – a handsome big plant, the stem covered with wicked poisonous prickles. Burnt trees and stumps up to 15 feet high are all over in the cultivated fields and there are wild clumps of bracken and spiraea still standing up defiantly. Went to call on Mrs. Agassiz, about getting an introduction to a fruit farm. She and her daughters received us pleasantly ... advised us just to go out and interview Mrs. Whelpton of Crescent Farm.

June 23 – Walked out this morning to Crescent Farm, it has turned very warm, and G and I find ourselves very limp. It is about three and a half miles out from Agassiz, and we came partway through an Indian reserve, and crossed a slough several times ... saw a beautiful little hawk, also an evening grosbeak – a very handsome bird. Found the Whelptons very pleasant, gave us a nice reception, and agreed to take G and me today. In the evening I had a try at milking, but found it very difficult. The family here is Mr. and Mrs. Whelpton, a married son and his wife and huge bouncing boy of 9 months, an unmarried son, and a youngster working here at a small wage. Mrs. W does some of the baking and pretty well all the housework. They have very plentiful supplies; dinner consists of soup, salmon, dishes of potatoes, meat, biscuits, bread and hot buns; two kinds of pie, and jugs of milk and cream. We have a fine view of Mt. Cheam, including the Diamond Peak, which is over the boundary in American territory. Mt. Cheam is 9,000 feet high, and has a fair amount of snow on it. In the evening G and I went for a little stroll by the slough (a large backwater of the Fraser?) and saw a wild pigeon, a slate-coloured heron in the water, and some bonny little waders, something like Kentish plovers (excuse this "blight" of birds – the bird notebook was left behind at the shack – those uninterested please skip!)

June 24 – The rancher people round here seem a very decent tidy set; friendly too, and not nearly so rough as I expected. Some of the women dress quite prettily and up to date, with a good deal of style.

June 25 – Watched Mrs. W. churning, and had a spell or two at it; it's hard work, as the churn is a heavy old-fashioned one. G and I helped pick gooseberries ... rather hot work in the sun, and prickly, but not bad – topped and tailed some for stewing. Took photos of the family and the hills.

June 26 – We decided to leave today, instead of tomorrow. Watched Mrs. W put the butter up into pounds, did our packing, stripped some red currants after dinner. Departed about three o'clock, carrying our bag between us on a strong stick ... were objects of great interest to whom we met, notably a Chinaman carrying bundles strung on a pole across his shoulders, who stopped and made some cheerful but unintelligible remark to us, to which we replied with a smile, "good afternoon"! We met a couple of striking looking Indian women, lighter coloured than usual; the elder had rather a fine type of face, which reminded me of some of the Pharaohs. They had dusky-turquoise handkerchiefs round their heads, and the child which one was carrying had a gorgeous deep crimson-brown jacket – it was a fine colour effect, with their dark brown dresses and yellow-brown skins.

June 27 – Went over the experimental farm; Mr. Sharpe showed us over and told us a lot of interesting things. Sampled various kinds of black, red and

white currants. Mr. S gave me several suggestions as to what things to grow for profit – bulbs, seed peas for East Canada, because they have the pea bug there and want seed; blackberries and black walnuts. Showed us lots of beautiful trees and flowers. After dinner wrote to Mrs. W enclosing p.o. for our bill and then went for a walk. Got the train and reached our hotel (Badminton) in Vancouver about 10:30.

June 28 – Went to the bank and changed some notes ... on to Sun Life to see Mr. Branch ... he was very cordial and took us for a fine drive through Stanley Park. We saw the biggest tree there ... the park is perhaps 30 square miles, Lindsay thinks; part kept carefully like a town park, but most is wild and very luxuriant ... lots of footpaths and bridle paths. It is wonderful to see this big city, set in the heart of wild country; it is at the land end of the peninsula, and Stanley Park fills up the sea end. On the north is the beautiful bay, wooded all round, and set about with high wooded hills, rising to mountains. We couldn't see the mountaintops, on account of the heavy clouds. Opposite lies North Vancouver, which has sprung up only in the last two or three years. It is very odd to see the little wooden houses dotted about among hundreds of big blackened tree stumps; and to see the electric-car poles standing up clean and yellow and straight alongside "roads" which have merely been cleared and not made at all. They expect soon to have a railroad there. We got some pics today and refills for the Kodak. In evening Lindsay went over to the nursery garden and G and I wrote up these precious diaries: if they're anything *like* worth the labour we've put into them, they ought to be greatly appreciated!

June 29 – In the afternoon we went over to the nursery garden ... saw Mr. Page and Mr. Turncliff; the latter showed me the two ways in which they graft young apple trees. We had a delightful walk out to the nursery; and one gets fine views of the city. I haven't yet given a fair description of Vancouver: it is a busy bright place – good shops, electric cars and some rather fine big buildings, the residential part is nice – wooden houses of all sorts and shapes and colours, each in its own small garden, and with little sloping banks of good grass, unfenced, running down to the path. Trees and strips of mown grass along both sides of roads. Further out, on the outskirts of the town, you get houses – and whole roads of them – plunked down in almost untouched country.

July 1 – Caught 8 o'clock train ... breakfast on board. Had beautiful views of Mt. Baker, good scenery all the way to Hope, L took snapshots. Got over on the ferry at once, got our letters at Mr. Wardle's and came up. Mr. Nicol, son of a friend of Mr. Thacker's, came over here for a visit to see what the place is like, and is going to stay and work for L for a month. I like him. In the afternoon, L and N, G and I went on the lake [Kawkawa] in a borrowed canoe. G and I weren't very happy, as it was leaking, and very wet and messy, and G was in mortal terror the whole time lest we should upset! The lake is nearly square; two or three little streams run in on the east, and on the south there is a most fascinating outlet, Sucker Creek. It is almost choked in many places with fallen trees, and is a regular jungle, with things trailing across, great luxuriantly mossy trunks barring the way, tall waterlily leaves (yellow and flame-coloured flowers) growing one and a half feet out of the water. The light coming through all the tangled tender greenery was beautiful ... a long part of the lower creek is like a mill lead, narrow and clear, and was once used to drain the place. We left the canoe part way along the creek and walked up, passing a wild garden of the large white scented pyrolas on the way. Saw a brown orchis on the bank. Home by the usual trail

July 4 – In afternoon L took G and me down to the maidenhair bower, in the glen below the waterwheel ... water has disappeared with the last week, but the place is very pretty now; and the waterfall must be a little beauty, when it's there! We scrambled down the glen, and up another way; and L and I spent the rest of the time by ourselves, and had a long talk.

July 7 – Last night when L and I returned from the lake, we found that Molly the mare had gone! N had tied her up insecurely down below, and she had departed! We didn't know where she might be – possibly off over the mountains to the Similkameen, where she came from! This morning N went down to Hope, and found that Mr. Corrigan had come across her and put her in the meadow, and we *were* relieved. Mr. Whitworth turned up ... wanted N to help him take some horses in the Skagit, so N has gone with him.

July 9 – L and G and I came to Spence's Bridge by the 11:15 train, leaving Mr. Nicol in charge of the shack. Went over on the ferry (a government one, free to the public till 6 p.m. and

The ferry at Spence's Bridge, T. Lindsay Thacker and Beatrice Sprague in the foreground.

worked by the current and ropes and pulling on a rope across the river).

July 10 – Enjoyed the 22 mile drive up the Nicola Valley, to Halfway stopping house. Interesting scenery – big hills of sandy clay, greyish brown, to darker brown that looked as if it was crumbling to pieces with heat ... silvery grey-green sage brush ... a few tiny cactus plants ... cheerful green sumachs, poison ivy, saskatoon berry bush, red currant, gaillardia, pale purple lily, all grow here. The distances are fine colours ...brown rocks get purplish, scattered firs on the higher hills, deep blue. In some places were steep sandy-mud slopes, dry and barren, and worn into many odd pinnacles called "hoodoos" (Indian kind of idols). Further up the valley vegetation increases, brown bunch grass covers the hills. There are many "benches" at various heights. We saw a fine blue bird ... lots of cicadas, an inch and a half long, heavy climbing things with large eyes and wings, and head like frogs! They sizzle continuously. Reached 22 Mile about six p.m., had tea, went for a walk down a railroad that is under construction ... *lots* of mosquitoes!

July 11 – Made an early start down the line to Manning's ranch, where we spent the day. Had a fine bathe in the river ... had the good luck to see three otters ... on our way L showed us some Clarke's Nutcracker.

July 12 – Mrs. Marpole cannot keep us longer, so we went back a mile to Mrs. Farr's, and found she could keep us. After lunch swam over to other side of river and spent the whole afternoon till teatime. It is quite wild and there was little risk of meeting anyone, so G and I left our things this side and marched about in bathing dresses and hats, and found ourselves extremely comfortable. After tea we went along to Mr. and Mrs. M's, and L brought along all our possessions in a wheelbarrow, while G and I walked one on each side and flicked him with handkerchiefs to keep off the mosquitoes! I wish we could have snapshots of us sometimes – we are such tramps!

July 13 – Swam over the river ... took clothes and lunch ... found the wild raspberries and saskatoon berries (ollalies) pretty good to eat. In the afternoon went down to the benches and "surveyed" the levels, to see how much could be irrigated by a ditch starting from here in the river, but the fall is too slight to be of any use to the upper benches. G found a waxwing's nest with four young birds; saw a tanager, ruffed grouse, warbler. It's very hot here, can't get up any pace in our walks – we crawl like snails!

July 14 – Had a lazy day ... swam over to the other side ... L paced the piece of land and made a rough estimate of the size (23 acres). Feel quite fit and acclimatized today, and have quite lost the leaden-limbed feeling of the last day or two. After tea L and I walked to the Marpoles and returned the wheelbarrow ... saw a big duck, with bright chestnut head and neck and white bars on wings.

July 17 – Got up at 3:30, had breakfast and made an early start in Mr. Farr's rig. The drive was lovely – I didn't realize till today the beauty of the drybelt! It was quite cool ... colouring was soft and delicate, blue-grey and green, and when the sun rose the hills flushed into soft rosy umber. Passed several Indian huts; some of the Indians were sleeping under a kind of open tent, and we saw them lying in bed as we passed. There are several little Indian cemeteries, each set apart for one "clan". Saw an osprey. Had two hours at Spences Bridge ... pleasant train journey to Hope ... found Norman and Mr. Nicol well.

July 21 – We worked out our return journey from here to Quebec. L and Mr. N almost finished the hayshed ... I went with them to the store to get supplies, then to the Corrigans to visit while the supplies were being packed. Norman left here yesterday for the Nicola Valley where he is going to look round on his own account and also keep an eye on "our" land.

July 26 – Up in good time ... down to Hope ... said goodbye to Mrs. Laurence and the Wardles. Went over on the ferry ... said goodbye to L and Mr. N at the station ... went to Yale to wait for the night train so as to see the scenery tomorrow which we missed before. Went for a walk ... found myself by the remains of an old slaughter house, dating no doubt from the days of Yale's prosperity before the railway came and caused its decline. Saw some teepee holes, or as I was told, probably "keegli" (?) that were used by the Indians perhaps till 20 years ago. Now they are only slight hollows with a mound two feet or so round them, but they used to be 20 feet deep, and the Indians lived in them in winter.

July 27 – Took last night's 9 o'clock train. Grand scenery today. The Illicillewaet is a grey icestream ... low banks thickset with conifers, cedar, hemlock, a kind of pine I don't recognize ... above are high steep slopes ... in the gaps ... great bare mountain peaks ... sometimes the mountain side burnt ... lots of fireweed. Went over the Loops – a wonderful piece of engineering. At Albert Canyon they let us out for a few minutes to see the fine view. The Columbia River reminded me a good deal of the Fraser, but on a small scale. Kicking Horse Canyon is beautiful, narrow and wild. Now and then we pass sheer cleancut cliffs, not very high, shut in above on both sides with firs, and dropping to the river below ... wonderful turns of the river and glimpses every minute. We reached Field at 9, and had dinner at the hotel there; went on at 9:30 and reached Laggan at 11, where we saw a small party of tourists with a mother and daughter in knickerbockers – they looked very comfortable and quite at ease among all the more or less 'smart' people! Another half hour or more, driving in an open carriage, brought us to Lake Louise Hotel.

[On their way back across Canada, Beatrice and Gladys did some further sightseeing, including the Muskoka area in Ontario. They arrived back in Liverpool on August 20, 1906.]

Beatrice and Lindsay were married in 1908 and settled on "Little Mountain" in Hope where they raised their family of four, Yvonne, twins Sprague and Lindsay, and Margaret – but that's another story!

****

J. Lindsay Thacker is retired and still lives in Hope, B.C. His daughter Irene MacDonald, now living in Fernie, transcribed her grandmother's diary, then assisted her father with editing it to be presented here. The original diary rests safely in the UBC Special Collections Library.

The First Sawn Lumber Exports from the Pacific Coast

by Thomas K. Fleming

One does not now think of the Hudson's Bay Company as sawmillers. However, the first sawn lumber exports from the Pacific Coast came their mill near Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River in 1828 and the first exports from what is now British Columbia were from their mill near Esquimalt in 1849.

Prior to the production of lumber, there was a profitable export trade in spars, hand-squared timbers, and cedar shingles cut for the Hudson's Bay Company by Indians. But this article is about sawn lumber.

Fort Vancouver

This Hudson's Bay Company fort was established 110 miles up the Columbia River in 1824 after an inspection trip there by Governor George Simpson. (See illustration p. 40.) It superseded Fort George which had come into the possession of the company on its amalgamation with the North West Company in 1821.

Simpson felt that revenue from lumber might exceed that available from the fur trade, and he ordered a sawmill to be built and to operate continuously. Since the coastal fur trade was seasonal, HBC ships could be used to carry lumber to the Sandwich Islands and California in the winter, when they were not serving the coastal forts, thus enhancing the economics of the HBC Columbia Department. In addition, the annual supply ship from England could carry lumber to the Sandwich Islands, Lima, Valparaiso, and other West Coast Spanish ports in South America on the voyage home, there picking up hardwoods and saltpetre for delivery in England.

By 1828 a sawmill was under construction five and one-half miles from the fort, up the Columbia on a stream which would provide the power for the saws. It began sawing later in the year and operated day and night.

So optimistic about the prospects for lumber exports was Chief Factor John McLoughlin that by December 1829 he had chosen an even better sawmill site at the falls on the Willamette River. In 1832 a millrace was blasted and construction materials were assembled, but these were burnt by unfriendly Indians during the winter and the site was abandoned. The original mill was rebuilt and enlarged. The complement of eight men in the original mill seldom produced more than 3,000 feet per day. By 1837 the mill employed twenty-eight men, mostly Sandwich Islanders (known as Kanakas), and ten oxen.

Although lumber was required at the fort, exports commenced promptly with the first shipment of lumber from the West Coast being sent to the Sandwich Islands on the HBC schooner *Cadboro* on December 16, 1828. This shipment was described as a small quantity of deals. Deals is a term still used in England to describe boards of various widths. Lieutenant Aemilius Simpson, a young relative of George Simpson who had retired from the Royal Navy and joined the HBC, accompanied the shipment to assess the sales prospects.

Previously, Lieutenant Simpson had visited Monterrey (Monterey) in the *Cadboro* to assess the market prospects there but he had not taken lumber with him. He found that planks (i.e., deals) were in good demand there and, as a result, shipments commenced in 1830.

The annual supply ship, the HBC brig *William & Ann*, was wrecked inbound on the Columbia River bar in March 1829. The HBC barque *Ganymede*, which sailed the same day as the *William & Ann* in September 1828 from Plymouth, arrived on the Columbia in May 1829. It nearly met the same fate and its cargo was damaged. The replacement ship for the *William & Ann*, the HBC brig *Isabella*, was lost on entering the Columbia in October 1830. These misfortunes slowed the planned development of trade.

The *Ganymede*, on her return voyage to England in August 1829, took 200,000 feet of deals to Wahoo (Oahu). On October 11, 1830, John McLoughlin reported that these were not yet all sold. On November 18, 1830, the HBC sixty-ton schooner *Vancouver*, built at Fort Vancouver, sailed for Wahoo with 13,000 feet of deals, and the same day the HBC brig *Dryad* sailed for Monterrey with 35,000 feet. In a letter to the governor, dated August 14, 1831, John McLoughlin states: "The *Ganymede* brings accounts that the timber she took to Wahoo in 1829 is all sold and that it is in greater demand than last year. She will drop a cargo there on her way home."

On the *Ganymede*'s last voyage out of the Columbia in April 1836, a cargo of planks was taken to Valparaiso. This shipment is reported on in a letter from Rob't. F. Budge to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, dated in Valparaiso August 20, 1836. This letter, the manuscript copy of which has recently been located, is quoted here:

> "By your ship the Ganymede from Fort Vancouver I had on the 2nd instant the pleasure of a communication from Mr. John McLoughlin who under date of 8th April instructs me to sell the cargo of Pine Plank which he had shipped by her and to procure a [cargo] passage home.
>
> I have been able to comply with his wishes having already sold the cargo and chartered [out] the vessel. For the Plank and a few rafters which came with them I have obtained 45$ forty-five dollars per 1000 feet duty paid, which is somewhat better than the sale by the [HBC brig] Nereide some time back [1834] but from their [sic] being considerable stocks of North

American and Swedish Pine in the market I was obliged to augment the credit to effect at once the sale of whole and obtain at same time the price."

Vancouver Island

The first lumber exported from Vancouver Island was also from a Hudson's Bay Company mill.

Anticipating the loss of the Oregon Territory to the United States, the Hudson's Bay Company felt it was important to have a headquarters further north. Sir George Simpson dispatched Chief Trader James Douglas to the south end of Vancouver Island in 1843 to establish Fort Victoria.

In 1848 the Hudson's Bay Company built a sawmill at Rowe Stream, subsequently called Millstream, at the head of Esquimalt Harbour. (See front cover illustration.) The site was about one-quarter mile upstream from the present Parsons Bridge and is now on the property of the Pollock Family Farm.

Unfortunately, the site was not a good one because Millstream has very little flow in the summer, thanks to the low rainfall around Victoria. The site had been chosen by Roderick Finlayson in August when the stream was flowing satisfactorily. Nevertheless, the mill manager from Fort Vancouver, Crate, and the millwright from Nisqually Farm (near present-day Olympia) had the mill ready to run in September but there was not enough water until late November 1848. The mill did produce lumber for local use by the company and in April 1849 a shipment of 8,238 feet was sent to Fort Langley.

The first shipment exported was 42,270 feet sent to San Francisco in October 1849 by the Scottish barque *Collooney*. The *Collooney*, however, was seized in San Francisco for engaging in the coasting trade. This shipment was followed in January 1850 by a 100,000-foot sale, at $80 per 1,000 feet, made by James Douglas to the supercargo of the American ship *Cayuga* who paid for it in gold dust at $16 per ounce.

The first independent settler on Vancouver Island, Captain Walter Colquhoun Grant, constructed a water-powered sawmill at the northeast end of Sooke Basin during the 1849–1850 winter to saw deals for the California market, but, like Captain Grant's other ventures, this was not successful until acquired by the Fort Rupert coal-miner John Muir in 1851. Muir conducted a thriving lumber export business. In 1855 Muir was able to build a second mill, this one steam driven, at Sooke, using machinery salvaged from the steamship *Major Tomkins* which was wrecked off Esquimalt.

To augment the seasonal production from the Millstream mill, the HBC built a steam sawmill at their Craigflower Farm in 1853. A flash flood at Millstream in 1854 or 1855 wiped out the Millstream mill.

In 1853 the HBC vessel *Norman Morrison*, on its annual voyage from England, brought a new portable twenty-horsepower steam engine and circular saw for an independent mill to be set up on the north shore of the lagoon at Albert Head. Although technically independent, the Albert Head mill was actually a venture of HBC officers for their own account. This mill failed because of mismanagement. Evidence that it did produce lumber is in Martha Ella's diary where she states on November 13, 1856, that " ... dear husband sailed today down to the steam saw mill to take in lumber for the [Sandwich] Islands".

The Albert Head mill was bought at auction in 1857 by James Duncan and was in production under his management until it burnt two years later.

When the Albert Head mill was burned to the ground on August 28, 1859, a newspaper reference was made to a heap of sawdust. W. Kaye Lamb stated in his *Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island*, published in 1938, that this reference to a heap of sawdust is the only evidence which has come to light which proves that Vancouver Island's first independent mill ever produced a foot of lumber. But, in addition to the Ella diary, further evidence has recently come to hand in a letter from James Duncan to Chief Factor Roderick Finlayson at Fort Victoria which states:

"Albert Head Mill
25th July 1857
R. Finlayson Esq.
My Dear Sir

There has been shipped on board the brig Ellmita twenty eight thousand nine hundred and twenty-three (28,923) feet of the H.H.B. Co's lumber for which Mr. James Lakes & John Sutton alone are responsible to you.

I am happy to say that the Albert Head Mill is going ahead & we will have ready for your kind order about 6,000 feet of lumber should you send for the same the greatest dispatch will be given to your canoes.

I am in hope of having a flat bottom vessel built in the course of two months and shall then be able to forward your lumber more conveniently should you desire same.

In mean time
I remain yours truly
James Duncan"

In 1853 the HBC erected a water-powered sawmill on the Millstone River (now Millstream) at Nanaimo near the salt springs and salt pans. This ran for years, producing lumber for the local coal mines. It is not known to have exported any lumber.

Lumber exports continued in small quantities from Esquimalt, Albert Head and Sooke, but by this time numerous mills were in production in Puget Sound and the premium prices existing earlier were no longer obtainable.

The first lumber exports out of the Columbia in 1828 and from Vancouver island in 1849 were the beginnings of the great lumber export industry of today.

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Mr. Fleming is a member of the Vancouver Historical Society. He worked for many years in the forest industry in British Columbia.

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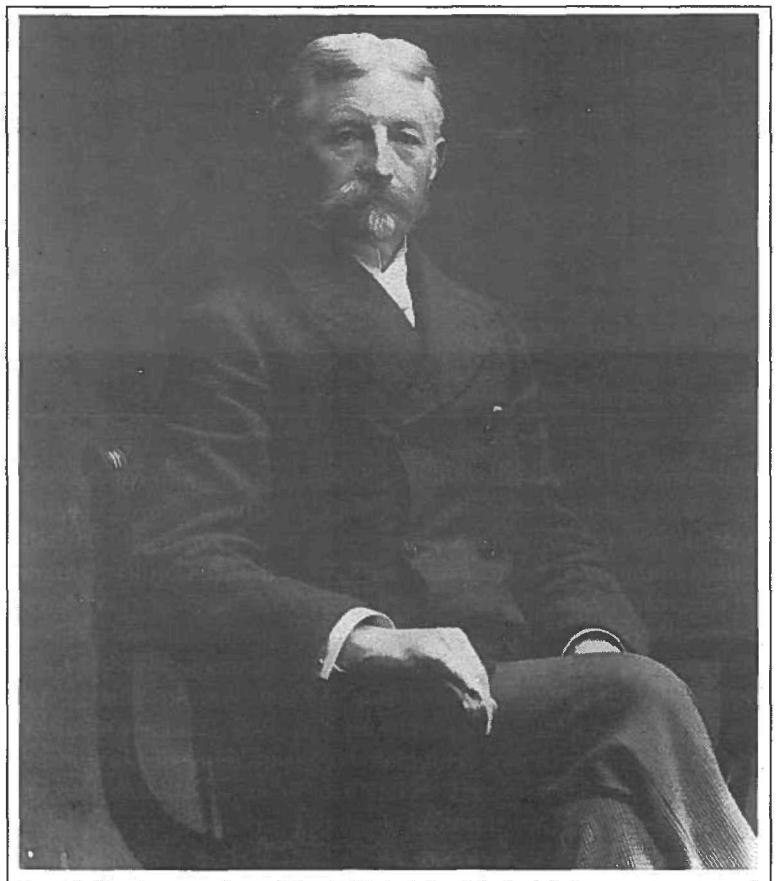
Joseph Hunter: Forgotten Builder of British Columbia

by Julian Brooks

Joseph Hunter is little known among students of British Columbia history, even though he had considerable influence in the development of the province. A civil engineer by trade, Hunter served as a member of the provincial parliament for sixteen years; he also made his mark as a surveyor, administrator and miner. An able politician, he asserted himself when called upon and demonstrated a level of diligence, skill and acumen which saw him elected to the legislative assembly four times. As a surveyor, Hunter blazed new trails into many unknown regions of the province and was instrumental in the development of the Canadian Pacific and other railways in the province. This article sheds light on a man who had a notable impact in the development of British Columbia, yet who has sadly been overlooked by most historians.

In researching the life and times of Joseph Hunter one first notices the scarcity of secondary material. The standard histories by Barman and Ormsby have no mention of him, neither do the biographical collections by Kerr and Schofield. The only mention was a paragraph in R.E. Gosnell's *A History of British Columbia*. Unfortunately, the newspaper index at the British Columbia provincial archives is incomplete and many of the newspaper articles used in this paper were furnished by careful page-by-page searches for election coverage. Published copies of Hunter's reports were found and some twenty-five volumes of his letters and diaries were consulted at the provincial archives, most of which were non-political. Sixteen years of legislative journals were reviewed for Hunter's speeches and voting patterns.



Joseph Hunter, member of the British Columbia legislature, surveyor and businessman.

Photo courtesy of British Columbia Archives and Records Service #3109 A-1381

Joseph Hunter was born in Aberdeen, Scotland, on May 7, 1842. Of mixed highland and lowland background, he took his grammar schooling at Mariscall College in Aberdeen and went on to complete a five-year program in civil engineeering. It is not known what motivated Hunter to venture to the new world; nevertheless, he arrived in San Francisco in 1864 via the Panama railway. Whether he intended to remain in northern California isn't known, but he left San Francisco in short order for Victoria after being accused of being a member of a Confederate pirate ship. After arriving in Victoria, he quickly made his way to the Cariboo goldfields where, for the next seven years, he mined, surveyed and bought a share in a saloon. In these years Hunter made a good name for himself in the mining communities by settling local disputes.

With Confederation, Hunter was nominated by a petition of some sixty-six signatures for election to the new provincial legislature.[1] He accepted the nomination and entered the 1871 campaign against John Evans, J.S. Thompson, C. Booth, and the future premier, George Anthony Walkem. In an all-candidates' meeting at Barkerville in October 1871, Hunter outlined his platform in what the *Cariboo Sentinel* described as a "very eloquent manner."[2] He spoke of the advantages of Confederation, particularly of the economic benefits of a trans-continental railway. If elected, he promised to adopt the Canadian tariff bill, repeal the civil list bill, abolish road tolls, amend the registration and land acts, encourage education, and amend the mining laws.[3] He also promised to appoint a district superintendent of roads to the Cariboo district to relieve some of the burden on the Gold Commissioner.[4] The campaign, on the whole, seemed very formal and gentlemanly. The November results in the two-seat riding saw Hunter take 162 votes for a distant second place to

Walkem, with Booth running a close third.[5] In his acceptance speech, Hunter said he felt difficult in this time of turmoil. He referred to world events such as the Paris Commune and the internal politics of the British Isles, and wondered how the young province would cope in the era of dramatic change.[6] He ended his acceptance speech by quoting Gladstone:

> "I can promise nothing but my earnest and good intention and my desire to pursue the public good with a single eye, knowing that the vocation that I am engaged in is a high and notable vocation and that every act of duty manfully done brings with itself its own reward."[7]

Early in 1872, Hunter made his way to Victoria for the first sitting of the provincial legislature.

The journals of the legislature between 1871–75 reveal that Hunter took a fairly independent stance. He spoke little and seemed concerned primarily with the Alaska boundary issue and the concerns of his constituents. In 1872 he was appointed to a select committee to enquire into the causes that had delayed the Kootenay elections. This was the first of many committees to which he would be appointed in his sixteen years in the legislature. In his first speech to the House he asked the Attorney General whether the government intended to assimilate the county court fees of the districts of the province. In 1872 he also voted against a bill to prohibit the employment of Chinese labour, which was brought down by a margin of seventeen to five. Although John Robson, his future father-in-law, voted for the bill, Hunter seconded Robson on a motion to reduce the price of the provincial statutes. On March 6, 1872, Hunter presented a petition from the miners of the Cariboo. The Chair ruled him out of order; Hunter appealed but he was voted down by the House. Seemingly discouraged by this humiliation, Hunter apparently did not speak again for the remainder of the session! March 13, 1872, saw him vote in favour of application of the secret ballot but the bill went down by a narrow margin. Before the end of the session he had been appointed to three committees: one to investigate a case of worker defraud on a road project near Lillooet; another to inquire into the dealings of the Queen Charlotte coal mining company; and a third to report on telegraph arrangements in the province.[8]

The next sitting of the House saw Hunter come out with a bit more fire. He demanded that the government release the details of public works expenditures in the Omineca District in 1872.[9] He voted in favour of a bill to render members of the Canadian House of Commons ineligible to sit in Victoria,[10] a bill aimed at Premier and federal Member of Parliament Amor De Cosmos. Hunter also chaired a select committee to look into suitable sites to bridge James Bay.

In the 1874 session, Hunter campaigned for Canadian interests in the Alaska boundary question. He seconded Robson in urging the government to act on the boundary issue, especially in wake of a gold strike in the region, and asked the Lieutenant-Governor to provide documents and correspondence in reference to a charter about to be granted for a trail from the head of the Stikine River to Dease Lake. The 1874 term also saw Hunter appeal to Premier Robert Beavan about a promised bridge at Quesnelle Forks and pressure the premier about amending the gold mining act. Hunter's voting, however, showed no real consistency, although he continued his opposition to De Cosmos in voting for a royal commission to investigate the Texada Island scandal. Again, most of the time he was silent and sometimes absent, only rising to address items that concerned his riding or that he considered of utmost importance. Notwithstanding, Hunter had much more on his mind during this period than just politics.[11]

The years 1873–74 saw curious developments concerning Hunter's business in Barkerville, the brewing saloon firm of Vallancour, Hunter and Lavery.[12] For unknown reasons, Lavery left the firm, abandoning Vallancour and Hunter. In 1874 a wholesaler mounted a lawsuit against the two partners over their failure to pay him. Hunter and Vaillancour were found guilty and made to pay $132.[13]

In addition to being a businessman and a member of parliament, Hunter undertook other endeavours which would eventually lead him out of politics. In November 1872 he was offered the position of District Surveyor General for British Columbia by the CPR, a position he immediately accepted. The *Cariboo Sentinel* assumed that Hunter would step down from political office, but Hunter obviously believed he could do both jobs, and for a time he did. In the summer of 1873, he surveyed the Bute Inlet region for the proposed railway route. His plans included a site for a bridge over Seymour Narrows, between Quadra and Vancouver Islands.[14] In early March of 1875 Hunter was appointed engineer in charge of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway and received instructions from the Dominion government to lead a survey party south from Nanaimo. The Victoria *Colonist* expressed outrage, accusing the Mackenzie Liberals of playing politics by making a Liberal opponent leave the House while it was in session.[15] The paper followed the progress of the survey crew and congratulated Hunter on his promotion to Acting Deputy Engineer-in-Chief for the CPR in British Columbia at year's end.[16]

The CPR kept Hunter very busy. In 1876 he surveyed the Fraser Canyon between Boston Bar and Kanaka Bar for what would eventually become the CPR route. In the same year he surveyed parts of the Nechako region. His journal of this expedition, at the provincial archives, contains many detailed drawings, including an excellent ten-page topographical sketch of Francois Lake. The year 1877 was Hunter's busiest as a surveyor. Upon receiving orders from Sandford Fleming that spring, he surveyed the Stikine River and reported on the Alaska boundary; later he would maintain that the southern boundary of the panhandle should have been at the Stikine River. In the summer of 1874 Hunter surveyed the Blue River and North Thompson region for railway possibilities. Seemingly tireless, he dutifully set off that fall to find the Pine Pass! Wisely, he consulted many of the native people in the region whose maps drawn for him in the dirt enabled him to become the first non-native man to cross the pass. Although not used immediately, Hunter's report on the pass was consulted on the building of the Hart highway and to show their gratitude the builders named a mountain by the pass after Hunter.[17]

In the next two years Hunter eased his pace a little; he made his home in New Westminster and his wife (the daughter of John Robson) bore two sons in 1879 and 1881. Hunter was back in action in 1880, submitting a full report to the CPR on the agricultural capabilities of Vancouver Island. In reading the report, one again appreciates Hunter's thoroughness, prudence and attention to detail.

A series of letters in the Hunter Collection at the provincial archives remains the best source for tracking Hunter's activities in the 1880s. He was in the employment of the South Fork Mining Company for a time in 1881–82. In a letter dated February 18, 1883, Hunter complained to Dominion Government Agent Joseph Trutch about $666 owed him for past surveys.[18] By mid-1883 Hunter had moved back to Victoria and had rejoined the E & N Railway on a full-time basis as General Superintendent, marking the commencement of a long relationship with the Dunsmuir family. Hunter's life was quiet at this time; he was content to work and raise his family, but one letter in particular provides an item of interest. On December 17, 1883, Hunter reported to William C. Van Horne of the CPR concerning land speculation in the Port Moody region. He advised Van Horne that it would be in the company's better interest if the line were extended west to either Coal Harbour or English Bay.[19] Whether Hunter had any land of his own in the region is unclear, but it is well known that his father-in-law John Robson owned land in the Granville area and had a vested interest in having the terminus extended westward.

After some loose talk about running federally, Hunter returned to the provincial arena in 1890 to run in the riding of Comox. Coverage of the campaign is lacking because there was no newspaper in the Comox Valley until 1892. Nonetheless, the *Nanaimo Daily Free Press* Comox correspondent provided some coverage of the spring campaign. Hunter was opposed by Comox merchant Joseph McPhee for the one seat. The paper considered Hunter a government supporter, and reported that the campaign was close. But as the campaign continued, Hunter appeared to gain strength at McPhee's expense. One report stated that: "One voter in particular who capsizes the English language every time he speaks had nearly capsized the whole of McPhee's supporters."[20] The paper, dated June 17, 1890, proclaimed: "The Hunter tide bore down all before it."[21] Hunter took a forty-two vote majority over McPhee and earned his second trip to the legislature. In his acceptance speech he said he was not hostile to Dunsmuir's interests and that he would ensure that all interests would be equally cared for and protected.[22]

Hunter returned to the legislature in January 1891. Called a "Ministerialist" by the *Colonist*,[23] Hunter must be classified a supporter of the government now that his father-in-law was premier. In a move of patronage, Robson appointed Hunter to the post of Deputy Speaker. The member from Comox made a mark early with some progressive legislation. Appointed to a select committee on public affairs,[24] he voted favourably on a bill to adopt an eight-hour work day on provincial public works,[25] and he showed personal initiative by asking for greater respect to be given to the rights of native people in regards to their reserves.[26] He also showed himself to be a conservationist by tabling a bill in 1891 entitled "An Act for the protection of certain Animals, Birds and Fishes."[27] British Columbia was experiencing a rapid rate of growth and almost daily there were acts to incorporate new companies. With every act there was a proposed amendment to prohibit the employment of Chinese and Japanese in these new companies. Hunter showed great consistency on these matters, usually voting against the Oriental labour amendment and for the incorporation of the company, further demonstrating his pro-capital tendencies.

In the 1892 session Hunter, notably, voted with the hardliners on the "outrageous presumptions" made by the Kennedys[28] and added successful amendments to his conservation bill of the previous year.[29] The final two years of Hunter's second term were fairly quiet. He continued to press the native land issue, carried on his opposition to Robert Beavan's anti-Oriental crusade, and voted against proposed amendments to the Election Regulation Act.[30]

Two changes are notable between Hunter's first and second sessions. This time around, Hunter showed himself far more predictable in his voting and far less concerned about the grievances of his constituency, which would provide his future electoral opponents with grounds on which to attack him.

Letters from his collection reveal that Hunter was also concerned with the non-political business of his position as General Superintendent of the E & N. One letter of interest was written to Premier Davie in response to a letter Davie had written Dunsmuir; entitled "confidential," Hunter asked for some time before a government agent was to inspect the company's files.[31] This letter provides more evidence of the strength of Hunter's role in the British Columbia "insider network."

In the spring of 1894 Hunter came up for re-election in his Comox riding, opposed by Mr. Scharchmidt. The election was somewhat like the previous one, close at first, but with time Hunter picked up momentum and roared to victory. Covered by the local *Courtenay Weekly News*, Hunter outlined his platform, which was somewhat similar to his 1871 platform. He presented himself as a representative for the miners; he preached fiscal responsibility; and he spoke of the great changes in the world and how British Columbia must be ready for them.[32] Scharchmidt, who supported Premier Davie but not the government, based his platform on the Nanaimo Reform Club. He attacked Hunter for being a "blind servant" of Dunsmuir, whom he accused of ignoring the grievances of the miners.[33] Hunter rebutted, denying he was a servant of Dunsmuir and wondering how Scharchmidt could be "pro-government" if he followed the platform of the anti-government Nanaimo Reform Club.[34] The paper reported that Hunter, in his rebuttal, " ... took the wind out of Mr. Scharchmidt's sails."[35] The paper endorsed Hunter, stating that they supported him in an "independent way" because they felt the district's interests would be best served by him.[36] Not surprisingly, Hunter rolled to victory in July 1894 with a 113-vote majority.[37]

Once back in the legislature, Hunter picked up where he left off, backing the government on most issues. He supported bills for increased government expenditures and he advocated resource

development and the incorporation of companies. In February 1895 he presented a petition of 244 miners opposed to passage of the Coal Miners Regulation Act.[38] Hunter continued his tradition of territorial concerns, seconding a motion by Irving to have the Yukon Territory establish its own government.[39] Hunter later voted against a motion to have the Yukon incorporated into British Columbia.[40]

The start of the 1897 session saw Hunter reply to the Lieutenant-Governor's speech to open the new session. In his lengthy response he dwelt on the continuing importance of resource development and railroad expansion. But his progressiveness was revealed on the occasions he called for greater aid to stop the current famine in India and for legislation to regulate the seal hunt.[41] Hunter was apparently absent for much of the remainder of the 1897 session, and in 1898 his attendance was again sporadic; he was appointed to another committee on railways and, with the government, voted against extending the franchise to women.[42]

Surviving letters from Hunter's third term are again mostly non-political. During the 1894 election campaign he sent a letter of support to future premier Charles Semlin.[43] On November 27, 1894, he wrote Premier Davie asking the government for compensation totalling $5,000 for work the E & N had done to improve the Cowichan River channel.[44] This and other letters indicate that Hunter gave priority to his position with the E & N over his public office.

Hunter's personal diary for 1897 reveals more about the weather in British Columbia that year than it contains political insight. The diary does indicate that during his long period of absence from the legislature he travelled to the Cariboo to talk to Major Dupont, one of the two trips he made to the Cariboo that summer. Newspaper reports and the diary suggest that Hunter was being courted by the Golden River Mining Company for work on a dam project. Evidently, Hunter accepted the position and was at work for the company in 1898, opting not to run again for office. What his status was with the E & N at this point is unknown.

Hunter completed his role in the dam project in 1899. At 770 feet in length by sixteen feet in height, Hunter called the nine-gate dam his "most satisfying project."[45] But Hunter's time with the company was short and stormy. In April of 1899, the Victoria *Colonist* reported that Hunter was in London to calm stockholders after massive cost overruns on the dam.[46] A London letter from Hunter to Major Dupont shows a falling-out of relations between the two men. Dupont had waited until Hunter was out of the country and then charged him with unauthorized expenditures. In a letter to Dupont, Hunter expressed shock at the allegations and told Dupont to "cool off."[47]

What happened when Hunter returned to confront Dupont is unknown, but in the 1900 provincial election campaign Hunter sought a seat back where he started – in the Cariboo. As with the 1890 campaign, there is a lack of local newspapers; the closest organ appears to have been *The Semi-Weekly Interior Sentinel* (Kamloops) which contained a section of Cariboo news. In this election Hunter ran formally as a Conservative opposed by candidates from the Provincial party, which was heavily endorsed by the Kamloops paper. Hunter campaigned on his old line of sound economics and support of the working man. He was contested in the two-seat riding by fellow Conservative Samuel Rodgers and by two Provincial party candidates. The *Sentinel* accused Hunter of "hoodwinking" the voters and railed against him for employing Chinese workers at the dam.[48] The paper predicted an easy victory for the Provincial party, which would see "Wily Jo" back the company where he "employed Chinamen."[49] Despite the best efforts of the newspaper, Hunter ran second to Rodgers with 286 votes, earning him a fourth trip to the provincial legislature.

The journals from 1900 to 1903 reveal few changes in Hunter. He usually followed party lines, although he deviated from his leader and friend Dunsmuir on a few occasions. Early in the first session he was appointed to a committee on public accounts and one on railways. In August he appealed for the records of the returning officers in the Cariboo district during the past election.[50] In 1901 Hunter showed his Scottish roots in calling for a private bill to incorporate "The board of Trustees of the Presbyterian Church in Canada"[51] and he differed with Dunsmuir on two bills, although it was Dunsmuir who was voting with the minority.

Letters from this period show Hunter was back with the E & N in 1901 as General Superintendent and Vice-President. In a lengthy letter to Dunsmuir, Hunter noted in passing that he found politics an inconvenience above all else.[52] In the same year he responded to the deputy minister of labour and future prime minister of Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie King, regarding labour conditions in the E & N.[53]

Hunter's political career ended with the closing of parliament for election in 1903. He continued his work at the E & N until his resignation in 1905, but after this date he stayed on with the Dunsmuirs, working as the Chief Engineer for Canadian Collieries (Dunsmuir) Ltd. until he resigned in July 1918. Hunter retired to Victoria, where he lived until his death on April 7, 1935. At age ninety-three he was the last surviving member of British Columbia's first post-Confederation parliament.

In his years as a politician Joseph Hunter went through a transformation from an independent to a member of the Conservative party machine. From his association with the CPR to his days with the Dunsmuirs he routinely put his private responsibilities before his public duties. Indeed, he used his public office as a means to benefit his own interests, those of his employers, and those of his friends. But Hunter the politician also deserves some credit. His knowledge of the regions of British Columbia, his understanding of the needs of aboriginal peoples, and his comprehension of the natural world all resulted in some progressive legislation for the province of British Columbia – although his ties to the Dunsmuirs rather than humanitarian conviction motivated him to oppose anti-Chinese labour laws. Perhaps his most lasting achievement resulted from his wide-ranging work as an engineer and surveyor. Hunter should be remembered as a man who played an important role in the development of British Columbia during the late 19th century and early 20th century, and who participated in the transition from personal to party politics.

Julian Brooks received his BA in history at the University of Victoria in November of 1992. This article was written as a term essay for Dr. J.E. Hendrickson's course, "British Columbia, 1849–1900" (History 354B). Brooks is currently travelling overseas from his home base of Black Creek on Vancouver Island.

ENDNOTES

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2. Ibid.
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4. Ibid.
5. Barkerville *Cariboo Sentinel*, 25 November 1871.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Information in this paragraph derived from British Columbia, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1872, pp. 15–38.
9. BC, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1873, p. 27.
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11. Information from this paragraph derived from British Columbia, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1874, pp. 13–45.
12. Barkerville *Cariboo Sentinel*, 6 July 1873.
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14. Victoria *Daily Colonist*, 8 April 1935.
15. Victoria *Colonist*, 5 March 1873, p. 3.
16. Ibid, 12 December 1875, p. 3.
17. Information in this paragraph derived from Victoria *Daily Colonist*, 3 November 1957, p. 8.
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23. Victoria *Colonist*, 11 January 1891, p. 5.
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26. Ibid, p. 14.
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31. Hunter to Premier Theodore Davie, 3 November 1893, Hunter Collection.
32. *Courtenay Weekly News*, 4 July 1894.
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42. Ibid, 1898, p. 128.
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44. Hunter to Premier Theodore Davie, 27 November 1894, Hunter Collection.
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47. Hunter to Major Dupont, 16 April 1899, Hunter Collection.
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49. Ibid, 1 June 1900, p. 2.
50. British Columbia, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1900, p. 11.
51. Ibid, 1901, p. 8.
52. Hunter to Premier James Dunsmuir, 30 June 1902, Hunter Collection.
53. Hunter to Deputy Minister of Labour W.L. Mackenzie King, 23 June 1902, Hunter Collection.

BLACKIE, THE MINE LOCATOR

REPRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL
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APRIL 23, 1904

Being a buyer and shipper of raw furs, specimen heads and Indian curios, and shipping to different parts of the world, Mr. Roo received a letter one day through the mail. Having killed an extra large skunk in the hen house the night before, and had him taken a mile up the mountains on account of his olfactory, he thought it would give him a good chance to fill the order, so he let the contract for skinning right away. The consignment must have been satisfactory, as, besides being well paid, he received a handsome present and more orders.

LETTER OF INQUIRY

Fred Roo, Esq.,
Roosville, Tobacco Plains, B.C.,

Dear Sir: Herewith enclosed please find a draft for five pounds. Would you kindly favor me with samples of raw beaver, otter, mink and marten: (and would like it if you could get me a skunk skin killed in B.C., Indian tanned, and a few particulars about the skunk), for amount enclosed.

Trusting you will forward the goods at your earliest convenience. I am

Yours Very Truly,
Mrs. John Bull.
(correct name withheld.)

BLACKIE'S HISTORY

Mrs. John Bull.,
London, England,

Dear Madam: Your order for raw beaver, otter and marten skins received; also note your request for skunk skin killed in B.C., Indian tanned, and particulars of skunk, if any. Herewith enclosed you will please find historical sketch of the skunk skin I am forwarding to you from among the curios I have in stock.

The skunk skin consigned, dear Madam, is not a common skunk one sees in every fur dealer's store window, but a skunk with a remarkable history.

It was proved by the markings caused by rifle shots and the gold and silver nuggests that had been thrown at him to be the skunk "Blackie" who has been prominent in several mining excitements.

When W.S. Stratton, the gold king of Colorado, was out prospecting on Cripple Creek, and had given up all hopes of ever finding anything and was on the verge of suicide, he heard a noise and on walking over saw Blackie rolling gold nuggets the size of a Plymouth Rock hen's egg to get at a nest of young mountain rats, and it was there that W.S. Stratton staked the world's famous Independence mine and Cripple Creek boomed and prospectors and miners came in by hundreds. Blackie was shot at and gold nuggets were thrown at him so frequently and so violently that he got disgusted and left. He was next seen in the Black Hills, where, unfortunately for him, he was the means of the great Homestake mine being discovered, such a rush of people coming in that he again became a conspicuous target upon many unexpected occasions.

Though he made millions for people, they all seemed anxious for him to move away – no doubt, on account of the very inferior perfume he used with his toilet.

He was next seen in Kalispell, Montana, this time in a railroad excitement, but on account of the smallpox breaking out on the Flathead reservation he followed the locating line of the new railway from Jennings to Roosville, B.C.

Although he kept out of sight we all knew something had struck the town – in fact, we all felt like moving up to the mines and leaving the newcomer in possession. But Broncho Bill, who used to act as pastry cook in one of the cow camps on Tobacco Plains, and whose face suggested a map of the bad lands and a few clover seeds in his hair, said he would stay though he had to live on doughnuts and pie sooner than leave the place.

On the 10th of October several noted characters drove and rode into town and registered at the St. Louis hotel, kept by Fred Roo. Prominent among the arrivals were Kid Flett, Happy Frank, Wild Goose Bob, Bob-the-Methodist, Tamarac Bill, Cactus Charlie, Big Hank and several others. Any of them for the honor and glory of his name would straddle the ridge pole of the wildest Cayuse on Tobacco Plains and ride him to a fare-you-well.

The night was dark, the air was thick and every man swore he could smell something worse than powder, and they grabbed their Winchesters and six-shooters. By right and left flank movement the boys had learnt from Jimmy, the Nibbler, since he returned from Manila, surrounded the hen house, when Broncho Bill and Kid Flett saw something move and as quick as a flash took aim, and we knew by the smell of the powder and the other fellow that something awful had bit the dust.

On examination it was found and proved by Cyclone Pete Texarkana, of the Lone Star state, corroborated by Bitter Creek Bill, that it was Blackie, the famous Cripple Creek skunk. You can imagine how sorry we all felt when we found we had shot Blackie, the Mine Locator.

However, I had him skinned by Old-Man-Afraid-Of-Soap-And-Water, a noted Kootenay Indian, and then got the skin tanned by the most lovely vision of copper-color grace and smoke-tanned beauty of all the Kootenays, Mary Jane Sing-Like-A-Lark, who wore a coronet of eagle feathers and a Hudson Bay three-point, fur-trimmed corset with fantastic bead work, while doing the work.

It was inspected and handled by all the gold, silver and copper-plated senators and millionaire ranchers on Tobacco Plains, and pilgrims from every state of the Union, and was on exhibition at the St. Louis hotel Christmas and New Year's week, and I trust both the skin and history will prove satisfactory.

Awaiting your further commands, I am, dear Madam,

Yours Respectfully,
Fred Roo

****

A new* Tobacco Plains Journal *is produced in Eureka, Montana. Editor Gary Montgomery gave us permission to share this with our readers. Fred Roo lived in Roosville, just north of the B.C.-Montana border, where members of his family still reside.

The Camelford Controversy: A Vindication of George Vancouver

by J.E. Roberts

It is not the purpose of this paper to expose details of every negative word penned against the character of George Vancouver, but rather to examine some of the origins for such comment and how they have impinged on our understanding of this unique person. It is not possible to determine the reasons for the attacks made against Vancouver, for they will be as varied as the number of features of his personality chosen to be insulted. Few people who made any comment about George Vancouver actually knew the man and as a consequence we have little in the written record of his time that gives us anything like a reasonable picture of just what sort of a person he was. That of course has not prevented some modern historians from giving us word pictures of Vancouver and all his faults, pictures that are mere figments of active imaginations, which regrettably have been taken, in many cases, to be historical fact.[1]

James Flexner, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *George Washington: A Biography*[2] made a comment in the Preface to his work that I would like to borrow, to set the stage for our examination of the causes and sources of information for the attacks on Vancouver. Replacing the name *Washington* with *Vancouver* in the chosen paragraph, it will read:

> "Almost every 18th-century historical figure is regarded as a dead exemplar of a vanished epoch ... He is a multitude of living ghosts each shaped less by the reality of his day than by the structure of the individual brain in which he dwells. An inhabitant of intimate spaces, Vancouver is for private reasons sought out or avoided, loved or admired, hated or despised ... If we separate the Vancouver who actually lived from all the hallucinative Vancouvers, and rescue the man and his deeds from the obscuring legends, we find a human being whose effect on our lives today is immense."

Vancouver's problems stemmed from his conflict with young Thomas Pitt who was discharged in disgrace from the *Discovery* before the completion of the voyage.[3] The particulars are on record, though not as part of the official proceedings of the voyage, and while no one has disputed the chronicling of events, the author questions the interpretation that was placed on their significance when they first became the subjects of controversy and which has continued to the present. Information on the particulars of the imbroglio with Thomas Pitt, who was to become Second Baron Camelford, is in the form of letters[4] from Archibald Menzies and Joseph Whidbey, sent by Menzies to Sir Joseph Banks at the request of Lady Camelford, the young man's mother. They are reprinted, in part and without comment, as Appendix 6 in Dr. Lamb's *George Vancouver: A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World 1791–1795.* It has been on the basis of this feeble evidence that Vancouver has been judged by many historians as unfit to command. Sadly, this situation has gone unchallenged to the present, possibly through ignorance, or the indifference of modern writers of history.

Historians who have gone over every item pertaining to Vancouver's voyage held in the Public Record Office and the Library of the British Museum have noted that nowhere can there be found any reference to anything untoward occurring between Vancouver and Camelford. It is as if nothing had happened; we read of no crimes or punishments in the official record involving Midshipman Thomas Pitt. This, in part, stems from the unofficial practice of keeping the misdemeanours of officers out of the ships' logs or journals. Their crimes, and subsequent investigations, were the preserve of an Admiralty Court Martial and were not the concern of the lower deck. The muster of the *Discovery* shows only the date of Camelford's discharge from the ship, without comment.[5] From the correspondence of Robert Barrie, we know that he sent a private communication to his mother, in which he detailed the problem with Lord Camelford, but its contents remain a secret.[6]

The letters in the Banks' correspondence list four instances where punishment was inflicted on Thomas Pitt.

Firstly, there was the instance when Pitt was flogged for purloining a piece of bent hoop from the midshipmen's mess to give to a girl in Tahiti.

Secondly, an instance when Pitt was put in irons for falling asleep on his watch.

Thirdly, an instance where punishment was not detailed, when Pitt broke the glass of the compass in the binnacle while romping on the quarter deck of the *Discovery*.

Fourthly, an instance when Pitt was charged with trading with the natives with copper he had obtained from the Armorer in return for a brace of pistols.

A review of each charge is in order. The first of the punishments inflicted upon Lord Camelford resulted, according to information from Joseph Whidbey, from the young midshipman having cut up a piece of hoop, taken from the midshipmen's mess, to give to a girl in Tahiti to win her favours. Vancouver, in an attempt to put a stop to such disobedience, decided to make an example of the young lad and had him taken to the cabin where he was forced to bend over a gun to receive a "flogging" from the boatswain's mate in the presence of his fellow midshipmen and officers.

It must have been hard for all concerned to keep a straight face, seeing this big lad "making love to the gunner's daughter," bent over a little short four-pounder with the mate swinging his lash in a cabin with just over six-foot head room.

Camelford should have been charged with "disobedience of orders," a far more serious crime, but rather than proceeding with a full-fledged flogging which would have won the sympathy of his fellows, Vancouver tried a different tack that involved embarassing the lad. It was a good idea, but it didn't work. While at Matavai Bay, Tahiti, in December of 1791, Vancouver issued his *Rules and Orders*, governing the actions of all members of the crew of the *Discovery* and *Chatham* in their dealings with the natives of all places they might visit.[7] There were five articles, each of which carried the penalty for disobedience of being disrated during the continuance of the voyage, plus "other such punishment as the crime may deserve."

Article 1 ... "strictly enjoined, that no officer, seaman, or other person, in such commerce with the Indians, do give such articles of value, for any article of curiosity, as may tend thereafter to depreciate the value of iron, etc, etc." The final article stated: "Lastly, The same penalty will be inflicted on every person, who shall be found to embezzle, or be concerned in embezzling, or offering to trade with, any part of the ships' or boats' stores, furniture, etc etc, be these of what nature soever."

Camelford was aware of these rules, but in his arrogant youth decided that they did not apply to him and he was to repeat his folly on two other occasions.

Whidbey was a little more specific on the charge of Camelford's falling asleep on his watch as he was on deck at the time. His recollection was that Camelford had the Forecastle watch and failed to answer the call from the quarterdeck. Vancouver accused him of being asleep and clapped the young man in irons, a charge that Whidbey does not refute.

Sir Joseph made some separate notes on this incident from which we learn that Camelford had shared the watch with John Sykes and laid himself down on his great coat, requesting Sykes to rouse him when he hove the log. Apparently Sykes forgot, and while he was heaving the log, Camelford was called from the quarterdeck, but not answering the first call, was called again, and when he came, was charged with sleeping on the watch, which charge he denied. For this he was put in irons and held forward with the common seamen, a form of punishment set to further embarass the young nobleman.[8] Inattention to duty was a serious offence that for any other man would have resulted in a flogging or worse, as Harry Humphrys was to find out to his sorrow in 1798 when he had to face a court martial for the same offence.[9] Humphrys, a cousin of Robert Barrie, had been Master of the *Chatham* on the return voyage from the northwest coast of America.

The third charge was also serious for it resulted from the breaking of the glass of the compass during some childish horseplay on the quarterdeck. The compass was housed in the binnacle and for the glass to have been broken, it would suggest that it was knocked out of its receptacle which also probably suffered damage. This could have jeopardized the entire voyage. It was possibly on this occasion that Lieut. Mudge suggested to Camelford that he would ask Captain Vancouver to lessen the punishment if he would promise to behave in future. Camelford would not be begged off and took the full dose of correction. As noted, this could hardly be compared to a full flogging, but Camelford was not to be denied a taste of the full force of the lash, as subsequent events will show.

The fourth charge concerning the trading of some scraps of copper reluctantly came to Whidbey's mind, after some prodding, in a second letter to Menzies. It was not mentioned by Banks in his notes, but it fits in with comments in Menzies' journal at the time the ships were anchored in Resolution Cove in the spring of 1793. In his journal for May 31, Menzies noted the trading activities with the natives and wrote that:

> "skins were eagerly bought up by our people for Copper Cloths Iron Ear Shells & other articles; but Lieut. Baker who was commanding officer [in Vancouver's absence] observing that some Copper had been given away to these Natives which appeared to be Ship's Stores, he ordered that no further traffic whatever should be carried on until this business should be cleared up before the Captain on his return, which was complied with."

Vancouver, who had been absent on a boat expedition exploring Dean Channel, returned to the *Discovery* on Saturday, June 8 (Vancouver's dating), which would date the offence noted by Whidbey.

Whidbey had written:

> "You have brought to my memory a circumstance relative to Ld Camelford, & as far as it occurs I will relate it. – I understood the Armorer had been Coppering some oars & rowlocks of one of the boats, from which there remained some chippings of copper, which he sold to Ld Camelford for a pair of Pistols, with this Copper his Lordship was seen by Capt. Vancouver trading with some natives along side the Ship, & when questioned where he got it His Lordship informed Capt. Vancouver that he had it from the Armorer, for which the man was severely punished & the Pistols thrown over board. – that is all I at present recollect."

Whidbey, who at the time was ashore at the observatory, must have known that Vancouver did not witness the trading, for the incident occurred during Vancouver's absence with Spelman Swaine. He makes a pathetic attempt to show His Lordship's "honour" by noting that the young man immediately owned up to where he had obtained the copper, but makes no comment on the fact that what he had done was a misdemeanour. It was perfecly acceptable that a "gentleman" inform on one of the members of the lower deck and force him to take the total blame.

Most persons with a knowledge of naval command would have marvelled at Vancouver's restraint in his handling of this headstrong youth, for he was dealing with more than simple disobedience. He had to set a fair example in the running of his ship and not treat matters as if he were the master of an elite boys' school where the playing of

favorites was the accepted norm. Vancouver must have been exasperated beyond measure when he learned the details of Camelford's latest escapade, but there is no record of any further punishment being inflicted, other than what was meted out to the Armorer.

The notes by Sir Joseph Banks also include details of events on board ship that were written up to reflect poorly on Vancouver as commander. In the first instance, Banks noted that:

> " ... a Mr. Robinson, educated at Christ's Hospital, & recommended by Mr. Wales, had been received on board, but was put among the people & treated by V. and by his Boatswain's mates by his order quite like a servant lad: in course of time the Midshipman who had the charge of the timekeepers, owing to some treatment he did not approve, relinquished the charge, on this Robinson, who was very capable was called to it, & V. ordered him upon the quarter deck, directed that he should mess with the Midshipmen – which both the mates refused, & gave their reasons openly, as ordered by V. upon the quarter deck – on this refusal V. ordered the midshipmen's berth to be pulled down, by which they were exposed to the men & had no harbor between decks to separate them."

Here Banks was referring to young Edward Roberts who had joined the *Discovery* on the 19th of February 1791, and given the rank of midshipman on the 1st of February 1793.[10] The unpleasantness occurred on that date or shortly thereafter, when the ships were approaching Hawaii and Vancouver took the care of the chronometers away from John Stewart, who was disrated to AB. Any problem with Stewart must have been of a minor nature, for he was rated as Master's Mate on the following June 1.[11]

Camelford had been involved as the spokesman for the midshipmen's mess and Vancouver was beginning to get fed up with the young man's willfulness, and the incident with Roberts' messing arrangements provoked the outburst of anger that caused Sir Joseph to remark on the further horror of the young men of the *Discovery* being forced, by virtue of the canvas screen in their mess being torn down, to berth in close proximity to ordinary seamen, or worse, the marines.

Banks also noted that Menzies had often remonstrated severely against Vancouver's practice of permitting smoking between decks while men in fevers were lying in their hammocks. Modern thinking might side with Menzies on this issue, but Vancouver might have seen it in an entirely different light. Smoking was one of the very few indulgences enjoyed by the common seamen and Vancouver might well have questioned why he should cancel the pleasures of the majority of his hard-working crew because of the carelessness of a few backsliding individuals who were unable to look after themselves and became sick. Vancouver had no use for slackers and the idea of special treatment for crew members who were unable to pull their weight, regardless of the circumstances, would have been abhorrent.

A note was also made of the incident of Menzies' loss of some of his botanical specimens by Vancouver's putting Menzies' servant into a watch and discharging the man from all duty towards the plants, which were damaged when the cover over the plant frame was left off.[12] Banks noted that Menzies had claimed that he had wanted the man only occasionally to cover up, etc., which could not have taken half an hour in the twenty-four. This begs the question as to why Menzies didn't attend to the matter himself if so little time was required to complete the chore.

This then was the case prepared against George Vancouver. It was dearly bought by former shipmates who had to live with their consciences, knowing that their advancements to come were to be achieved at the expense of one who had in so many cases been instrumental in their own rise through the ranks. The man who could have done the most to save Vancouver was Joseph Whidbey, his friend from earlier times, who had to live with the knowledge that he held his silence and allowed his friend to die in disgrace.

Many historians have used these examples, without considering their true ramifications, to prove that Vancouver was unduly harsh in his treatment of Camelford and others and, consequently, an unfit commander.

H.M. Orchard, Clerk of the *Discovery*, recorded the punishments inflicted during the course of the voyage, but the pages of his journal for the period May 27 to June 10 and from August 16 to September 6, 1793, are missing.[13] It was during these periods that Camelford's behaviour was more than Vancouver could take.

There is more to the story of Lord Camelford that has lain hidden and has come to light only through the most fortunate of circumstances. Archibald Menzies, again, provided a clue as to the time and place of the event, when he wrote in his journal for August 1793 while the *Discovery* was at Port Stewart:

> " ... but on the 28th punishments were inflicted on board the Discovery of a very unpleasant nature, on seeing which all the natives left the Bay."

In those few words Menzies described the event that snapped Vancouver's reserve and self-control. His rage against Camelford exploded and he determined, then and there, that at the first opportunity Thomas Pitt would be sent home, regardless of the fact that he was the son of Baron Camelford and related to the powerful house of Pitt.

A possible answer to this final episode came by chance with the finding of a portion of a letter in a second edition volume of Vancouver's voyage in the Special Collections Department of the University of British Columbia.[14] The letter, in an adult hand, was written by someone well acquainted with the voyage of discovery. It appears to be a fragment of a draft, written on a piece of paper about fourteen centimetres by twenty-one centimetres, and reads:

> "I am very credably [sic] informed that Capt. Vancouver was never again employed because he flogged Mr Pitt afterwrds [sic] Lord Camelford. Now the story is this the Captn missing some sheets of copper could not learn who had taken them he therefore tied up the Boatswain during the flogging the Boatswain feeling the pain said Oh Mr. Pitt how can you see me thus used Capt. V perceiving that Mr Pitt had taken the copper ordered the boat-

swain to be released & Mr P to take as many lashes as the boatswain had recd [received] I think Mr Vancouver's conduct very manly and those who disrespected him for it very unmanly I wish I cd [could] take him [by] the hand ~~for it~~ but alas he is dead."

It is small wonder that no one would admit to remembering this incident which showed Camelford's true character. In a sense one cannot help but feel for poor Joseph Whidbey, a man striving for advancement, who would turn against his friend of so many years just to say words that would please people of power who might help him up the ladder.[15] Whidbey was no judge of character, and surely was lacking in this himself when he wrote to Menzies that:

> " ... I ever conceived Lord Camelford to be a well disposed young man and I make not the least doubt that he will prove an ornament to his profession."

The poignant letter from the unknown observer has a ring of truth to it, lacking in anything that Banks, Menzies, Whidbey, or any of the other weak characters were able to put on paper. If only these persons, particularly Joseph Whidbey, had spoken up and told what actually had occurred, the story might have been different and our appreciation of Vancouver's contribution to our understanding of the New World enhanced.

Those who knew the facts chose to remain silent or, what is worse, concocted stories that were used to discredit Vancouver and to earn favour with members of Lord Camelford's family. From the beginning Vancouver requested that Camelford's charges against him be presented to the judgement of a tribunal of naval officers, but he was refused in this. Those receiving this request knew full well that Vancouver would have been vindicated. Sadly, these distortions against Vancouver have continued to the present.

Other writers, Canadian and American historians among them, who are unable to accept Vancouver as one working under the severest stress, continue to search for avenues to belittle the man and his work and, more in the manner of writers of fiction, inflict on us their personal opinions presented as historical fact.

Typical are the totally unfounded remarks of one historian who, having reviewed the ground we have covered in this paper, went into print with:

> " ... Vancouver's troubles with Thomas Pitt, later Lord Camelford, a close relative of Prime Minister William Pitt, demonstrated pig-headed rigidity and stupidity."[16]

Vancouver, the man, and his deeds, deserves to be rescued from these obscuring legends and we must separate the Vancouver who actually lived from all the hallucinative Vancouvers who are merely the products of active imaginations.

I think Mr. Vancouver's conduct in handling the affair with Camelford very manly and those who continue to disrespect him for it very unmanly. I wish I could take him by the hand, but alas he is dead.

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J.E. "Ted" Roberts has lived and worked in Victoria for most of his life. His hobbies have been woodcarving and a study of history. He designed and supervised construction of the stern of HMS* Discovery *which is in the Modern History section of the Royal B.C. Museum. He has researched Vancouver's surveys and prepared a book,* A Discovery Journal, *which he hopes to publish soon. He serves as a docent at the Maritime Museum in Victoria.

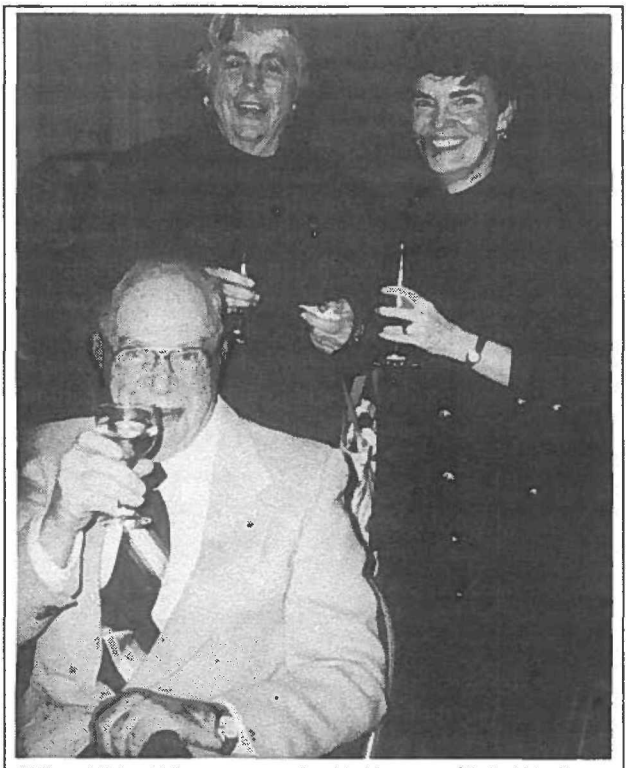
NOTES

1. The information in this paper is taken from the Epilogue to *A Discovery Journal*, J.E. Roberts, unpublished manuscript, detailing the first survey season of George Vancouver's voyage of exploration in 1792.
2. *George Washington: A Biography*, James T. Flexner, Little, Brown & Co., Boston.
3. It should be noted that Pitt was not the only midshipman to be sent home at this time. At the same time Puget discharged Augustus Boyd Grant from the Chatham for incorrigible conduct (*A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World 1791–1795*, Ed. W.K. Lamb, The Haklyut Society, London, 1984, pp. 213, 214, hereinafter cited as Lamb, *Voyage*). With them went Midshipman Edward Harris from the Discovery, for similar misconduct (Lamb, *Voyage*, p. 1641).
4. These letters are in the British Museum (Natural History), Banks' Correspondence 10 (1), Year 1796–97, ff 80–88.
5. See Muster Entry #110, Discovery, Adm 36/11310 page 408. Noted in Lamb, *Voyage*, p. 1651.
6. The existence of such a letter is alluded to in a letter from Robert Barrie to his mother, dated October 12, 1796. Barrie MSS, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.
7. In issuing his Rules and Orders, Vancouver was following a practice set by Cook on previous visits to Tahiti and the new islands in the Pacific.
8. Vancouver used the same punishment on Thomas Keld, boatswain, for "drunkenness and riotous behavior." Noted in Mudge's journal, Adm 51/4533 Part 52, for June 3, 1791. Keld was released on June 6.
9. Details of Humphry's troubles are given in a letter dated May 24, 1798, from Robert Barrie to his mother. Barrie MSS, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.
10. See Muster Entry #100, Discovery, Adm 36/11310, page 407. Noted in Lamb, *Voyage*, p. 1650.
11. See Muster Entry #94, Discovery, Adm 36/11310, page 407. Noted in Lamb, *Voyage*, p. 1649.
12. The plant frame designed by Sir Joseph Banks was not a success. The author is indebted to Clive Justice of Vancouver for information on its failure. He cites Dr. Ward, in his book *The Growth of Plants in Tightly Glazed Cases*, first published in the late 1830s, wherein on p. 70 he notes that " ... prior to the introduction of the glazed cases, the large majority of plants perished from the variations of temperature to which they were exposed, from being too much or too little watered, from the spray of the sea, or when protected from this, from the exclusion of light. My late venerable friend Mr. Menzies informed me that, on his last voyage round the world with Vancouver, he lost the whole of his plants from the last cause."
13. Ref. PRO Adm 55/31.
14. A special debt is owed to Anne Yandle, then Head of Special Collections at UBC, for drawing this letter to the author's attention. George Godwin also received a copy of this letter from UBC in December of 1930, just after his work on Vancouver, *Vancouver A Life: 1757–1798*, was printed and it remained unpublished in his notes.
15. At the completion of the voyage Vancouver sent a letter to the Navy Board recommending Whidbey for the position of Master Attendant. Whidbey held this position for many years at Sheerness and Woolwich yards. He was later associated with John Rennie in the building of the breakwater at Plymouth.
16. Quoted in "The Voyage of George Vancouver: A Review Article," Christon I. Archer, *B.C. Studies*, No. 73, Spring, 1987.

NEWS & NOTES

AKRIGGS RECEIVE AWARD

Dr. G.P.V. Akrigg and Mrs. Helen Akrigg were honoured on February 24 with the first Minister's Heritage Award. Hon. N.L. "Bill" Barlee, Minister of Small Business, Tourism and Culture (Heritage & Culture), announced plans for this award in 1994, arranging to personally make the presentation during Heritage Week in 1995. The guideline for nomination and selection was: "Someone who had made worthwhile contributions to the preservation of British Columbia history/ heritage with commitment over many years." The Akriggs received a prestigious plaque and selected the Okanagan-Similkameen Parks Society to receive the endowment of $10,000 from the government for a recognized heritage-related non-profit organization. The Akriggs worked as a team to give us *1001 B.C. Place Names* (1969) followed by *British Columbia Place Names* (1986). Their *British Columbia Chronicles I* and *II* (1975 and 1977) are definitive histories. Then came *The HMS Virago on the Pacific Coast* (1992). They have assisted the North Shuswap Historical Society and contributed time and effort to many B.C. Historical Federation projects (Helen was president in 1978–79). We commend Minister Barlee for his choice of winner(s). We thank Philip and Helen Akrigg for their many years of exemplary work and leadership. We congratulate them on this award and on their 50th wedding anniversary.



Philip and Helen Akrigg are congratulated by Vancouver City Archivist Sue Baptie at the presentation ceremony in B.C. Place.

TAKU REVISITED

The review of *Taku: The Heart of North America's Last Great Wilderness* in the Winter 1994–95 issue has drawn a protest from the Taku River Tlingit First Nation. Spokesman Melvin Jack writes: "You neglected to mention that Allison Mitcham received the Lieutenant-Governor's Medal for Historical Writing from the B.C. Historical Federation for her book *Taku*. The reviewer left his readers wondering whether or not to read the book. Some areas which the reviewer felt were missing had been covered in Mitcham's previous book *Atlin: The Last Utopia* ... which of course the reviewer failed to mention." The Tlingit spokesman praises Allison's contributions to the Atlin Historical Society and the Tlingit First Nations archives and library. "Please note that the bulk of the research material has been donated to the TRT Archive three years ago. Half the royalties of both of Mitcham's books have been donated to TRT and AHS to be put towards cultural projects."

CHILLIWACK PROGRAM

Do you want to hear about the lynching of Louis Sam? Or the story of Sumas Lake? Guest speakers at the B.C. Historical Federation conference May 4–6 will present these, plus "The Rise and Fall of Harrison Mills," "Outrageous Stories from the History of Mission," Claybourne, the restoration of the gardens at Fort Langley, a slide show on fifty geographical features named for local citizens lost in action in World Wars I and II, and a tour of Minter Gardens. Remember to register before April 14, 1995. This promises to be a very good program. All interested history buffs are welcome to attend. Members of member societies can obtain registration forms from their local society secretary. Others can request details and forms from Ron Denman, 45820 Spadina Avenue, Chilliwack, B.C. V2P 1T3 or phone (604) 795-5210 (days) or (604) 794-3680 (evenings).

OLD CEMETERIES WORKSHOP

April 29–30, 1995: Heritage Cemeteries Symposium. A weekend cemetery gathering in Victoria, British Columbia, to bring together people from British Columbia, Washington, Oregon and other Pacific Northwest areas. The program will include round-table presentations of current cemetery projects, research and concerns; slide talks about regional cemetery history and restoration projects; workshops on tombstone recording, conservation, research, computerization and legal issues; and tours to some of Victoria's twenty heritage cemeteries. Additional tours of area cemeteries for those staying longer can be arranged. Sponsored by the Old Cemeteries Society of Victoria. Contact John Adams at (604) 384-2895 or write to P.O. Box 40115, Victoria, B.C. V8W 3N3.

A NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

by Alice Glanville

On November 26–28, 1994, a broad spectrum of the historic/heritage community gathered in Ottawa to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the formation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. This advisory board to the government has been responsible for the designation of 789 sites of national significance, 72 of which are in British Columbia – Fort Alexandria, dedicated in 1925, to Hatzic Rock in 1992 and the Vogue Theatre in 1993. The gaps now to be filled include more recognition of women, aboriginal people and settlement patterns. In the settings of the West Block of Parliament, Grand Hall of the Museum of Civilization and the National Library, the 275 participants were treated to many entertaining and distinguished speakers, including two from British Columbia. Mary Liz Bayer, in her usual capable and captivating manner, spoke on the role of the activist citizen in shaping public policy. Charles Humphries, professor of history at UBC, in a very forthright manner, cautioned the special-interest groups not to lose sight of the larger perspective of the time and place in history. Roberty Scully, of CBC note, explained the Charles R. Bronfman Foundation Heritage Project which aims to give Canadians greater awareness of their history, culture and progress as a nation. The "40 Heritage Minutes" program, broadcast over all networks, is a visual presentation of dramatic moments in history. Scully created his own dramatic moment when he appeared at the symposium with blood on his hands and face, just after his car had turned upside down on the icy roads. After his presentation he left immediately for the hospital. This symposium was a commemoration, a reaffirmation and a regeneration. I felt that British Columbia rates fairly high with the identified needs – our new heritage legislation, efforts to involve the larger public, partnerships and cooperation among interested groups, seeking alternate funding, inventories. We must, however, continue to take a strong role if Canadians are to know and understand themselves – our distinctiveness and our diversity. To me, the slide of the Grand Forks railway station on the last day was a symbol of the importance of the contribution at the local level. How lovely to remember from the window of the Chateau Laurier the falling snow and the Christmas lights of our capital city!

BOOKSHELF

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

Grace MacInnis: A Story of Love and Integrity

Ann Farrell. Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1994. 337 p., illus. $19.95

In the present climate of political cynicism, it is reassuring to read about a truly good, decent politician. Grace MacInnis was the daughter of J.S. Woodsworth, the much-loved and respected leader of the Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth Federation or CCF, formed in 1932 and the forerunner of the present-day New Democratic Party. She, not her brothers, carried on her father's work, and she did this in partnership with another good, decent politician, her husband Angus MacInnis.

Before 1932 both Woodsworth and MacInnis represented the Independent Labour Party in the House of Commons. In 1931, when Grace first met Angus, she was working in her father's office in Ottawa as his unpaid secretary. For nearly a year Grace and Angus wrote to one another, as lovers, as friends, as political comrades. Ann Farrell has had access to this correspondence and had drawn generously on it to give us some idea of their intimate lives and of a marriage in which daily life was governed by the political work of the partners.

"Sometimes the whole thing seems like a dream. At other times I feel such a throbbing, real sense of wanting you," wrote Grace during their courtship (p. 87). That noble, venerable socialists could have had anything in common with the rest of humanity as mundane as sexual feelings is not usually acknowledged by their biographers. In their letters, Grace and Angus move easily from such expressions of sexual longing and passionate intimacy to discussions of CCF policy and reports of committee meetings. Their four hundred letters are an invaluable source, not just for the biographer but also for the historian tracing the evolution of the CCF.

Grace and Angus were not at first sight a likely match: he a former streetcar motorman, largely self-taught; she a Sorbonne scholarship student from an intellectual family. And he was twenty years her senior. Yet after ten years of marriage Angus wrote: "I do not think lovers in books have anything on you and me. We have, I think, experienced all the ecstasies of love." (p. 140) Evidently, love did not fly out the window, may even have been enhanced by their shared political work. Love and devotion for one another went hand-in-hand with love and devotion for the movement. Both were imbued with the same missionary purpose. Moreover, Angus had advanced views on the equality of the sexes. He had read Olive Schreiner, who declared women must have their "share of honoured and socially useful human toil" and urged Grace to read *Women and Labour* too. He insisted that he wanted Grace to have her own life, to be her own person.

But intellectual conviction did not fully translate into real life. When they disagreed, as they sometimes did, on CCF policy, Angus could be quite rude, even to the point of making caustic remarks about her dear father. Angus thought he knew best, wrote to Grace that his position was "usually vindicated." "I used to begin my speeches years ago, when I was starting out, that I laboured under two disabilities, my father and my husband," Grace confessed. One of his admiring CCF colleagues had remarked that "MacInnis wasn't born, he was quarried." Yet the letters reveal him to be a man of generous and tender feelings: "I do wish we did not have our little quarrels. Do believe me dear, I love you, and in my quieter moments I know I am largely to blame for breaches of the peace between us." (pp. 124–125)

Devoted to one another as they were, the unrelenting political life was doubtless a severe strain on both and may well have induced the arthritis that interrupted and finally ended Grace's career.

Grace was a British Columbia MLA from 1941 to 1945. In 1965, eight years after Angus died, she won a seat in Parliament, representing Vancouver Kingsway, Angus' former riding, until her retirement in 1974 at age sixty-nine. During those nine years she emerged as an impressive and influential politician and a powerful influence within her own party, hammering away especially at issues that particularly affected women: consumers' rights, a national daycare system, removal of abortion from the Criminal Code.

She devoted herself to trying to improve the lot of women, whose lot needed improving twenty-five years ago even more than now. Consider, for example, that in Canada until the revision of the Criminal Code in 1969, it was still illegal to disseminate birth control information and devices. Contraceptives were available before that in pharmacies but as late as the 1950s, possibly even into the sixties, they were kept out of sight in a drawer and had to be asked for over the counter. Indeed, an attempt in Parliament in 1961 to modify the Criminal Code in regard to birth control had been denounced by a Quebec Creditiste as "a diabolical work" and "straight from hell itself" (p. 237). On the question of abortion, many MPs wanted simply to avoid so unpleasant and controversial an issue, but Grace shocked them into awareness with her loyal and spirited support of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, who was even then challenging the courts with his test-case abortions.

This biography was commissioned by an NDP committee which wanted a manuscript in a hurry and gave its writer one year to produce a draft manuscript. Two other Grace MacInnis biographies were in progress and the committee wanted theirs to be published first. Ann Farrell therefore limited herself to what could be reasonably accomplished in that time. She has produced an unpretentious narrative packed with new information. It's a very readable narrative which conveys the essential Grace: a shrewd and skilful politician and a woman of profound humanity who cared deeply for Canada and for Canadians, and especially for women and children.

Considering that in her political career Grace MacInnis entered in some way into most of the important historical events and movements in twentieth-century Canada – the Great Depression, World War II, the expulsion of Canadian Japa-

nese from the west coast, the Trudeau years and the FLQ crisis, the youth revolution of the sixties and the women's movement – much more time was needed to provide significant context for her life story.

Grace was in Parliament during the Trudeau years. Her own efforts at amending the Criminal Code with regard to birth control and abortion are not seen clearly enough against the background of Trudeau's efforts in this regard as Justice Minister and as Prime Minister. Nor does Farrell deal in any comprehensive way with the general character and dynamics of the NDP caucus in opposition. One has the sense that Grace was the main actor, when in fact there was always a hard-hitting NDP caucus in opposition, including such socialist oldtimers as Harold Winch and Tommy Douglas. And in 1972 the thirty-one NDP members held the balance of power in the Trudeau minority government, hammering away at it to bring in legislation that would be a step or two along the road to a just society. Then, too, we would like to know the cause of price escalation between 1972 and 1974: beef 36%, bread 37%, eggs 46%. The oil crisis, perhaps? Tantalizing also is the mention of "the feminization of poverty" in the 1970s, a concept glanced at only in passing, yet so relevant to Grace's work in Parliament.

The research and legwork, the hours of study and reflection, the sheer labour of writing needed to present this challenging and vital politician in the light of the ongoing stream of national and international events, gives the reviewer pause. And yet, with respect, one must come back to the question of time and the impossible deadline, and the obligation of publishers, editors, writers and researchers, designers, word processors, yes, and wilful committees with agendas – everyone involved in the production of a book, any book, to render due service to the subject, to the written word, to the whole art of the book. One can only wonder at the unlucky or haphazard circumstances at Fitzhenry and Whiteside that produced endnotes containing no further direction than simply "National Archives of Canada." Or that permitted so many lapses in copy-editing and proofreading.

In a letter to Angus, just before they were married, Grace wrote: "Dear, we must always live as simply as possible so that we always remain keenly alive to the suffering around us." (p. 75) In the years to come, her luminous idealism may have sometimes become a little battered, but she retained it essentially intact throughout her career. In this modest little book, Ann Farrell gives Grace MacInnis the place she deserves in Canadian history, not just as a leading woman politician, but as one of our foremost parliamentarians.

Irene Howard

Irene Howard, a member of the Vancouver Historical Society, is the author of The Struggle for Social Justice in B.C.: Helena Gutteridge, the Unknown Reformer *(1992).*

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The Road Runs West: A Century Along the Bella Coola/Chilcotin Road

Diana French. Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1994. 240 p., illus. $26.95

Public libraries in B.C. carry shelves full of community histories. These histories were often triggered by a centennial event, supported by government grants and pasted together from the recollections of a motley array of citizens. This, too, is a community history, but the community is unlike any other we've met, and so is the story.

Linked primarily by "three hundred miles of backroad to nowhere much," this community shares also the consequences of living, often isolated, with unpredictable, powerful and persuasive natural forces which the author, Diana French, chooses to name "the Chilcotin drummer." (Some readers might find her references to "the drummer" too frequent, but this is a quibble.)

As is the case with most community histories, the author genuinely acknowledges the help of others, sprinkles family names and anecdotes generously throughout, and supplies a range of relevant and readable photographs. (Rocks are a recurring topic in this story, so it is not surprising they appear in many of the photographs!)

Mrs. French writes well. In a sprightly conversational style, she captures the flavour of Chilcotin living, using words and phrases with a distinctive country twist. She writes of wet *gloppy* snow; a road that *shinnied* up a steep hill; and mountains that *backed off* when the summer sun arrived. She is candid about the intimate unpleasantness of travel along her isolated road ("P & P stops") and is equally candid in her judgments of people. The late MLA and Minister of Highways Alex Fraser, for example, "fought tooth and nail" against the privatization of highways maintenance; Fraser also "did more to improve the Chilcotin Road than anyone ever did" whereas policeman Pyper "never did much for anyone."

French's references to the impact of logging in the Chilcotin, both on the road and on the community, are a small part of an important record. She has obviously spent hour upon hour interviewing, taping, digging through archives. What she has done so well is to pull it all together, with the dozens of good stories supplied her not lost in the telling.

A final comment. As one who has travelled the road recently, I can say that rocks – large, small and everywhere – make a lasting impression. Tourists may not stay long enough to hear "the drummer" but they will not forget the rocks.

Mary Rawson

Mary Rawson is a member of the Vancouver Historical Society.

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When In Doubt Do Both: The Times of My Life

Kay Macpherson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994. 296 p., illus. $50 cloth, $18.95 paper.

My MLA, I learned recently, recognizes my name but has not yet added it to his Trouble-Makers List. I wondered if I should be concerned. Am I not doing all I could? Am I leaving some stone unturned? Letting the side down somehow – whatever the side may be (liberty and justice for all, I suppose, and especially for women)? I have been concentrating rather heavily on the environment lately, with only an occasional nod to non-violence and scarcely a thought of

feminism. Reading Kay Macpherson's preface to her autobiography, I began to feel humble. Halfway through the book, I felt utterly inadequate. But, by the concluding chapter, I had regained my balance. Thinking about the title, I concluded that "doing both" may not be the most valid form of activism. Perhaps, sometimes, one should wait a bit and listen to the doubt.

Kay Macpherson has led the executives of the Association of Women Electors of Metropolitan Toronto (AWE, 1957–8), the Voice of Women (VOW, 1963–7) and the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC, 1977–9). She has been arrested in Paris, been refused entry to the United States, actively participated in everything from the Home and School Association to the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, run as NDP candidate in three federal elections, and been honoured with the Order of Canada, the Persons Award and an honourary doctorate from York University. In 1990, at the age of seventy-seven, she participated in VOW's thirtieth anniversary celebrations and noted that the VOW board meeting that year "started with an ultimatum from the B.C. women that unless communication and cooperation improved, B.C. would operate autonomously."

When this book arrived for review, there was some question of its direct relevance to British Columbia. However, any Canadian woman who has participated in a women's organization or a political party, or in any way interested herself in feminism or the peace movement, will find this is her story as well as Kay's. Western women will recognize Rosemary Brown, Hilda Thomas, Pauline Jewett and Margaret Fulton. As a Gulf Islander, I was delighted to find an entire chapter devoted to Hornby Island. Kay, as it turns out, was lured to Hornby by Hilary Brown, first chair of the Islands Trust. On the island she learns "if ordinary men and women can combine their efforts, nothing is impossible. If we can save the environment on Hornby, we can save the planet. But only if each one of us contributes their share." Then there is Betty Nickerson, whom Kay knew as a Winnipegger, whom I met on my home island of Gabriola, and who now lives near Nanaimo, where she leads an organization called the Amazing Grays.

Kay's B.C. travels take her as far as Campbell River, where she joins an anti-war demonstration occasioned by the visit of actor John Wayne and his vintage yacht. The Duke's fishing cruises are legendary on the west coast, but they inspired more parties than protests.

The real relevance lies not in name-dropping, but in the description of a familiar historical process which began after the Second World War when "there were many middle-class women not in the paid workforce who could take time to observe the growing numbers of committees where much of policy decision took place." They observed at City Councils and Boards of Education and learned how to go beyond observation: "Thus one prepares over the years for the making of speeches, the chairing of meetings, the lobbying and political negotiating." In the 1950s there was "Mrs. C.B. Macpherson" with hat, gloves and Robert's Rules. Later there was "Kay" with chairs in a circle, seeking consensus. She contrasts VOW, which "responded to events by action" with groups which "responded by study and discussion" and she disapproves of a third type of movement which appealed to public sympathy through sensationalism.

Kay Macpherson bounces from one cause to another with so little hesitation that one suspects the process attracts her more than the cause itself. She loves the fellowships and friendships, the travelling, the excitement of organizing and lobbying. She hardly waits to see the results before she moves on to something else. She tells us she was accused of being dangerously radical, but she does not explain her radicalism. We know her husband was a Marxist professor of political science, but we cannot believe his theories were the sole basis of her own thinking. She assumes too readily that readers will share her views. She gives us too much of her English girlhood and what she ate for dinner in San Francisco in 1982, and too little of the inner Kay. She recognizes her shortcomings and remarks that, while others confide in her, she is not good at confiding in others. Like her family, who longed for hugs, the reader longs for the reasons, motives and thoughts behind the actions.

She does give us a lively picture of the Canadian women's movement from 1950–1990, and probably we should be content with that.

Phyllis Reeve

Phyllis Reeve is the author of a history of the University Women's Club of Vancouver and last year co-edited Witness to Wilderness: The Clayoquot Sound Anthology.

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Streetcars in the Kootenays: Nelson's Electric Tramways, 1899–1992

Douglas V. Parker. Edmonton, Alberta: Havelock House, 1992. 196 p., illus., $22.95

By the 1890s street railways were operating in the province at Vancouver, Victoria and New Westminster. These streetcar systems not only provided practical transportation but also were considered a measure of a community's status.

From all appearances, Nelson seemed destined to share the prosperity and stature of its coastal neighbours. This was due to the sharp rise in silver prices (1895), three smelters operating in the region and the development of hydroelectric power on the Kootenay River. These positive economic indicators were used by a group of promoters to convince the British Electric Traction Company to establish a street railway in Nelson. A franchise was granted and the Nelson Electric Tramway Company was incorporated in 1899. Thus began a proud fifty-year relationship between Nelson citizens and the smallest electric streetcar system in the British Empire, which operated, not without mishap, from its inaugural run on December 23, 1899, until June 20, 1949.

When the streetcar system was replaced by bus transportation, most of the rolling stock was eventually dismantled or destroyed. Car #23 was moved several miles outside the city limits and served as a dog kennel and later as a craft shop. In 1988 the Nelson Electric Tramway Society was incorporated with two major goals: "1. To collect and disseminate information on the street railway history of Nelson, thereby preserving this

portion of our city's heritage. 2. To get streetcar #23 back on track again." This dream became reality when the restored Streetcar #23 made its nostalgic inaugural run on July 1, 1992, along the new streetcar route located on Nelson's waterfront.

Douglas Parker's knowledge and passion for streetcars is evident in this publication. He is the author of several rail histories, including a shorter precursor version, *Nelson Street Railway* (Victoria, B.C.: Railway Historical Association, 1961). Parker currently is an active member of the Edmonton Radial Railway Society which operates a street railway in Fort Edmonton Park.

The layout and design of this book is superb (even the choice of colours for the laminated cover, red and cream, are the tramway colours). The 21.5 x 28 cm (8.5 x 11 in.) format is uncluttered, using only 10 cm (4 in.) for text and the remaining white space on the gutter edges is used for photo captions and handy explanatory notes – very professional. There are very few facing double pages of text that do not have historical photographs or illustrations. Much of the textual detail is based on primary sources, although one secondary source is frequently cited. A thorough table of contents, appendices (personnel and equipment roster), endnotes, bibliography and index are also included.

In a few instances the author could have provided more information for those readers not too familiar with Nelson's topography or geography. Other than using a rather unorthodox method for citing government statutes in the endnotes, this reviewer can only suggest that when the streetcar routes are described, the maps be located on an adjacent page or "see page" references be included in the text. Several minor typographical and identifying errors were also noticed. These comments are only suggestions to improve an already excellent publication.

Streetcars in the Kootenays provides the amateur with a basic understanding of streetcar technology and operations. It is also the story of a unique commuter transportation system that survived in a small British Columbia community for fifty years. The travails of keeping the streetcars operating under very trying circumstances is a fascinating story and the restoration of #23 into an operating streetcar is a proud accomplishment. A very important addition to the transportation history of the province and a must read/ride for railway aficionados.

Ron Welwood

Ron Welwood, a resident of Nelson, is vice-president of the BCHF.

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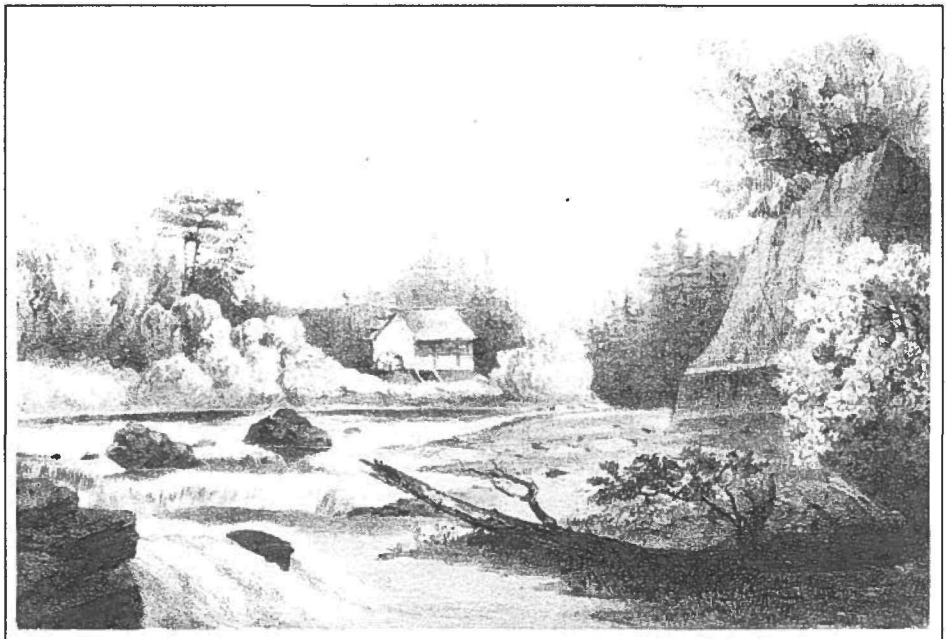
OTHER BOOKS NOTED:

Pioneer Families of Southern Alberta
1,589 short biographies of people who came to Southern Alberta prior to December 31, 1890. Price $30 plus $4 for handling and postage. To order, write to Clarence A. Davis, 319 Queen Tamara Way S.E., Calgary, Alberta, T2J 4R1.

Canadian History: A Reader's Guide
Vol. 1 Beginnings to Confederation.
Vol. 2 Confederation to the Present
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994. $47.50 for two volumes. Volume two has thirty pages devoted to a bibliographical essay on The West and North.

The Riverview Lands: Western Canada's First Botanical Garden
Edited by Val Adolph and Brenda Guild Gillespie. Coquitlam, B.C.: Riverview Horticultural Centre Society, St. John's Postal Outlet, P.O. Box 31005, Port Moody, B.C. V3H 4T4. 186 p., $16. History of the original botanical gardens at Essondale.

Historic Nelson, British Columbia, Canada
Architectural heritage motoring tour. Revised edition, 1994. Approximate driving time fifty minutes. Describes twenty-seven buildings with a map. Available from Ron Welwood, RR #1, S22 C1, Nelson, B.C. V1L 5P4. Pamphlet. Include self-addressed stamped business-size envelope.



This sketch of the first sawmill on the Columbia River, titled "Hudson Bay Mill," illustrates Thomas Fleming's article on p. 25. Published in the "Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean 1853–5," the sketch was done by an artist attached to the survey party and was brought to the attention of author Fleming by the historical staff at the Fort Vancouver National Historical Site.

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Any book presenting any facet of B.C. history, published in 1995, 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."

The judges are looking for quality presentations, especially if fresh material is included, with appropriate illustrations, careful proofreading, an adequate index, table of contents and bibliography, from first-time writers as well as established authors.

NOTE: Reprints or revisions of books are not eligible.

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SUBMISSION REQUIREMENTS: All books must have been published in 1995 and should be submitted as soon as possible after publication. **Two copies** of each book should be submitted. Please state name, address and telephone number of sender, the selling price of all editions of the book, and the address from which it may be purchased, if the reader has to shop by mail.

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There is also an award for the Best Article published each year in the *B.C. Historical News* magazine. This is directed to amateur historians or students. Articles should be no more than 3,000 words, typed double spaced, accompanied by photographs if available, and substantiated with footnotes where applicable. (Photographs should be accompanied with information re: the source, permission to publish, archival number if applicable, and a brief caption. Photos will be returned to the writer.)

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