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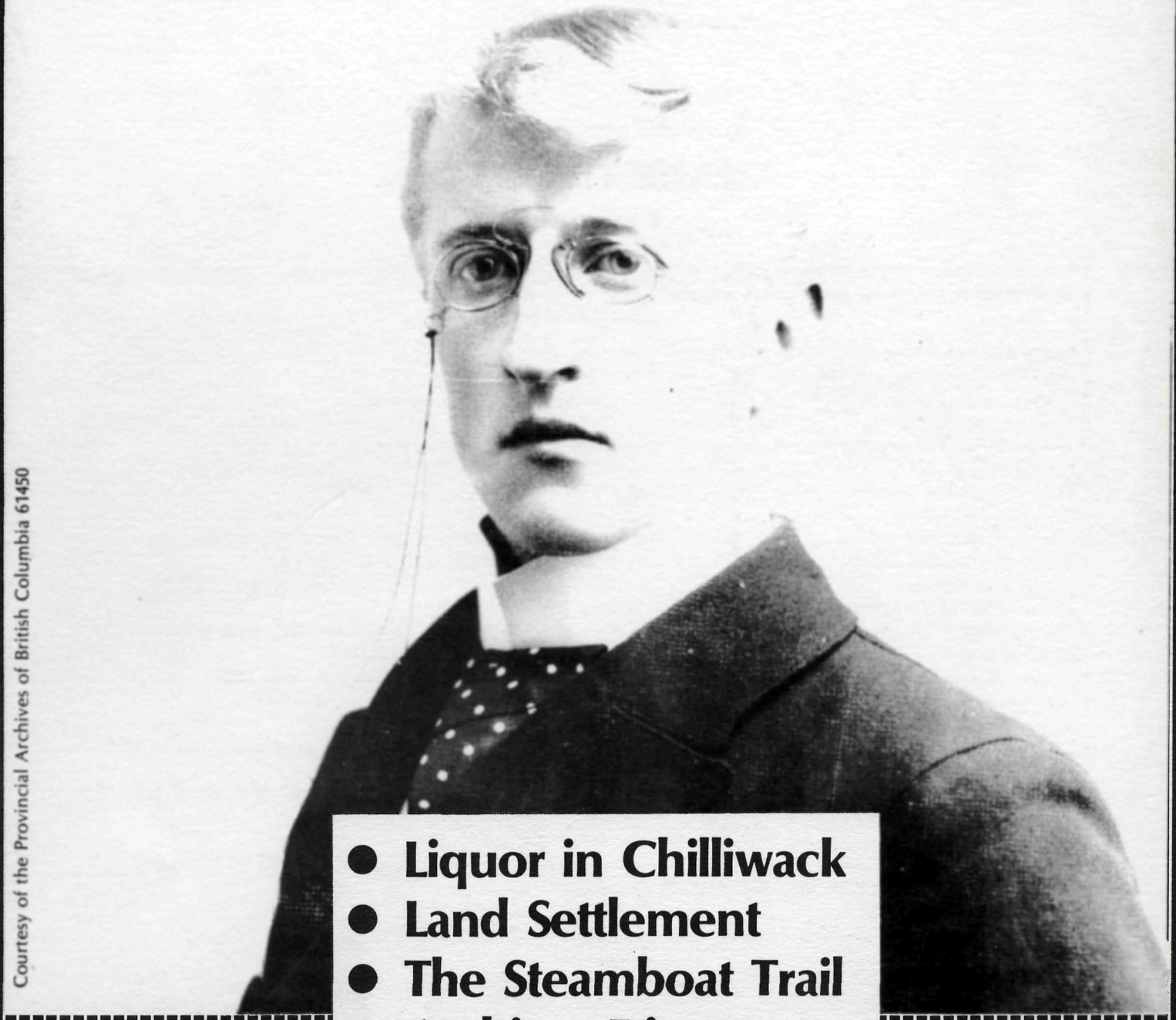
Spring 1982



Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia 61450

- Liquor in Chilliwack
- Land Settlement
- The Steamboat Trail
- Archives Directory

On the cover . . .

E. O. S. Scholefield (1875-1919) was both the Provincial Librarian and Provincial Archivist of British Columbia. Born on the Isle of Wight, he came to British Columbia in 1887. A noted expert in and collector of Northwest history, Scholefield succeeded R. E. Gosnell as provincial librarian in 1898 and held the job until his death on Christmas Day, 1919. In 1910, he was also appointed provincial archivist.

. . . story starts on page twenty-four.

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◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

Member societies and their secretaries are responsible for keeping their addresses up-to-date. Please enclose a telephone number for an officer if possible also.

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Windermere District Historical Society, Box 1075, Invermere, B.C. V0A 1K0

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To the Editor

The Editor:

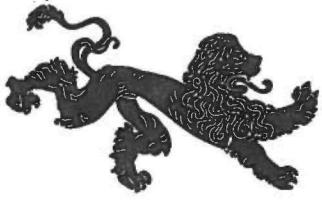
Congratulations on your last issue of *B.C. Historical News.* It is most interesting with your use of pictures. I love the showshoes on the horse.

Just a suggestion. From nineteen years of editing a small town newspaper, I know people like odds and ends of news though they are sometimes reluctant to tackle long articles.

How about a short "Did You Know?" box each issue? A different area each time. I am sure each society could suggest three short items. I'll enclose one from here which you could use if you are interested.

Winnifred Weir
Invermere, B.C.

Editor's Note: The three items from the Windermere District Historical Society are with the Reports from the Branches.



NEXT ISSUE

Deadline for submissions for the Spring issue of the **NEWS** is June 1, 1982. Please type double spaced if possible. Mail to the Editor, *B.C. Historical News, P.O. Box 1738, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y3.*

The Editor:

I am appealing to everyone working on any level in the field of women's history to check through their written and oral sources to find the names of **women who died between 1891-1900,** who might be included in this volume of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography.*

We feel certain that the editors will be pleased to receive such names, but it is up to us to send them in. They can be sent to the Editor,

Jean Hamelin
directeur general adjoint
Dictionary of Canadian Biography
Les Presses de L'Université Laval
Québec, P.Q. G1K 7P4

Please let us not assume as I did in the past that someone else will do this. Someone else did. Unless we are content to leave the *DCB* for this decade virtually all-male, we must provide information and suggestions for material on women.

Barbara Roberts
Department of History
University of Winnipeg
Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9

Editor's Note: Barbara Latham at Camosun College (1950 Lansdowne Road, Victoria, V8P 5J2) says she would be happy to offer whatever assistance she can in directing interested women to potential sources of information.

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Yes, I wish to subscribe to *B.C. Historical News.* I enclose a cheque or money order payable to the B.C. Historical Association, P.O. Box 1738, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y3.

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Maureen Cassidy

(Editor's note: It seems only fair to subject myself to the publicity that I ask of others.)

I had just moved to Victoria when I was cornered into being the editor of the *News*. I happily accepted since it was my first opportunity to do graphic design since I learned newspaper work as a sideline while I was in graduate school.

We have a place in the Kispiox Valley, just north of Hazelton, B.C. I have taught local history of the Smithers and upper Skeena areas in the community college and have spent some years at local history research for Indian bands there.

I'm the proud mother of two girls, Amy (age five) and Megan (age eighteen months) who keep me hopping along with my present job working for the Kispiox Indian band writing their history in a book suitable for use in the schools, with funding from the Ministry of Education.

Convention registration form is between pages 28 and 29

A Message from the President

Greetings,

It is that time of the year again. It doesn't seem possible to be looking to another annual meeting.

I hope you will all come to the meeting prepared to offer ways and means of improving the service of British Columbia Historical Association to be of assistance to you.

The convention committee is working very hard to prepare an interesting convention for you. The Cowichan district has a very fascinating history to offer you.

Hope to see you there in April.

Barbara Stannard

JOIN!

Why not join the British Columbia Historical Association and receive *British Columbia Historical News* regularly?

The BCHA is composed of member societies in all parts of the province. By joining your local society, you receive not only a subscription to *British Columbia Historical News* but the opportunity to participate in a programme of talks and field trips and to meet others interested in British Columbia's history at the BCHA's annual convention.

For information, contact your local society (addresses on inside of front cover). . . . No local society in your area? Perhaps you might think of forming one. For information contact the secretary of the BCHA (address inside back cover).

The Liquor Question and the 1916 Election in Chilliwack

By Bob Smith

The election of 1916 was a major turning point in the province's history. British Columbians were asked to give yet another mandate to the Conservatives who,under Premiers Sir Richard McBride and William Bowser, had ruled the province for thirteen years, a period of unprecedented growth and prosperity. Ranged against the Tories was the inexperienced Liberal Party which promised to end the Conservatives' glaringly reckless and corrupt practices and inaugurate an era of reform so long demanded by progressive clergy, labour, farmers, feminists, and last but not least, prohibitionists.

The importance of the election was heightened by the inclusion of two referenda: should women be permitted to vote and should the saloon and domestic liquor traffic be abolished. Throughout the summer of 1916, during the "war to end all wars", amid Allied disasters and the flurry of patriotic activities on the home front, British Columbians' new-found sense of idealism led to a debate about the type of society they wanted to live in, the kind of society which 30,000 had volunteered to defend, indeed, for which their sons were dying in the mud, shrapnel, and gas of the Western Front.

This sense of commitment was not lost on the people of Chilliwack. Their patriotism was overwhelmingly demonstrated by enlistments, the unceasing "war work" by women, the generous contributions to soldiers' dependents, and the numerous subscriptions to the Dominion's War Bonds. The proposed referendum on the liquor question, in particular, intensified the patriotism and moral fervour of the "dry" forces in the Upper Fraser Valley. It presented to them an ideal opportunity to reconstruct a society worthy of wartime sacrifices then being made in Europe and at home.

Chilliwack residents had long since decided that the liquor traffic not only undermined public decency and individual morality and health, but also undid the necessary and good work of their institutions — the home, family, church, and school.[1] The saloon, then, was no club; it was a whiskey den, a scene of gambling and prostitution. The saloon led its patrons away from family responsibilities and conjugal fidelity, robbed money from wives and children, ruined marriages, caused crime, filled hospitals and insane asylums, and eroded the work ethic.

Through the evangelical churches and numerous clubs the prohibitionist message was inculcated in the young. The Chilliwack authorities repeatedly denied liquor licences to hotel operators, prosecuted drunks and bootleggers, sniffed out stills, and kept an eye out at the landings for shipments of booze. Area voters supported the dry cause in the Dominion plebiscite of 1898 by a margin of three to one.

After the turn of the century, however, provincial law governing the granting of liquor

licences wrested from the community the power to prevent the intrusion of the saloon. In a plebiscite in 1909, provincial prohibitionists waged a hard-fought and apparently successful campaign to permit local communities the right to decide the local status of the liquor traffic, the so-called "local option", but Premier McBride's government disregarded the results, citing numerous irregularities. (The local option passed in Chilliwack, 748 to 309.[2])

Referendum

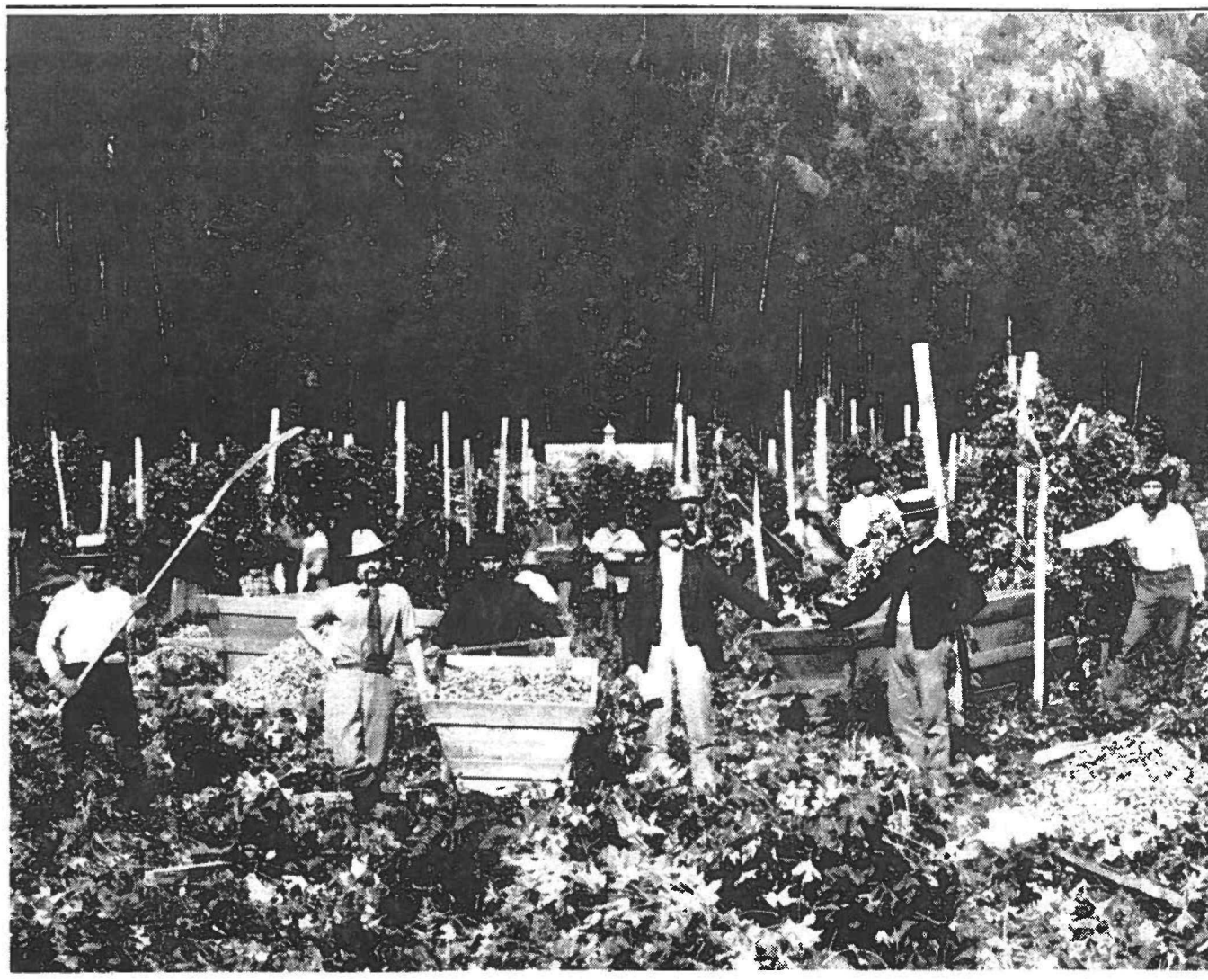
Prohibitionists, however, did not give up. They combined into the People's Prohibition Association to pressure the government. An active chapter was easily formed in Chilliwack. In 1915, Premier McBride promised a referendum on prohibition, and in the spring of 1916 his successor, William Bowser, reaffirmed the decision. Then, in the early summer of 1916, Bowser announced that this referendum, and the one on women's suffrage, would coincide with a provincial election to be held on 14 September 1916.[3]

The wet and dry forces throughout the province, and in Chilliwack, prepared for the campaign. The "wets" were represented by the Merchant's Protective Association, a group of hotel operators, distillery and brewery owners, and liquor wholesalers which included Messrs. Sutro and McGillvray, owners of the Empress and Royal Hotels, respectively. Sutro and McGillvray, who had complained of being taxed to no end for the privilege of selling liquor, now faced the prospect of greatly reduced income, without compensation. Sutro, also faced a crushing debt incurred in the purchase and expensive renovation of the Empress. Support for Sutro and McGillvray came almost entirely, it would appear, from outside the community.

Their dry opponents in Chilliwack, on the other hand, enjoyed strong grassroots support and the endorsement of numerous churches and temperance, youth, service, fraternal, and women's clubs, all represented by respected community leaders.

Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia 88686

Accounts of the debate were prominently displayed in the pages of the Chilliwack *Progress* from March until September, 1916. The historic arguments against the liquor traffic were presented in these articles, letters to the editor, ads ("The Home vs. the Bar" or "Blot Out the Bar"), public debates, guest lectures, club socials, and revival-



Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia 10334

A Chilliwack hop yard.

like rallies. Drink was an affront to humanity. It caused crime, broken homes, poverty, disease, and addiction. For example, one advertisement in the *Progress* asserted that drink sent 1770 people to prison in British Columbia in 1914, over 80% of total convictions.[5]

Even moderate drinkers imperiled their lives and the good of society because, it was argued, drunkards were once moderate drinkers. Statistics proved, prohibitionists submitted, that wherever prohibition laws were enacted and enforced, crime rates dropped and public and private morality and material prosperity increased.

The "drys" also argued that a bad food, booze, was made from wholesome grains much needed in the war, which was heading into its third year and, by all accounts, would be won by the side that most effectively disciplined itself and employed its resources. The production of booze detracted from Canada's maximum effort. Another argument, or rather propaganda tactic, of wartime origin was the identification of the liquor interests, "the B.C. whiskey huns", with the enemy. The abolition of the saloon and liquor traffic, local prohibitionists asserted, was essential in order to build a better society, which alone could justify the slaughter in Flanders' fields.[6]

There were, arguably, unspoken motives among prohibitionists. The continued leadership of the dry advocates in the community might be at stake. Merchants could make additional profits from people who would buy their wares instead of drink.

"Wets"

The saloon keepers and their allied interests tried to make the best of their position, which was now deteriorating amid the fervour generated by the war. They pointed to some good arguments, although their narrow economic interest was apparent to all. The Merchants' Protective

Association stated in articles in the *Progress* that drink had been around for millenia. Better to recognize the saloon for the social institution it was and control abuses, such as serving minors, by enforcing liquor licence regulations. The liquor traffic provided employment and liquor licences were an important part of municipal income.

The measures the government proposed the electors endorse or reject, the "wets" argued, violated civil liberties. Law enforcement officers would be permitted to enter and search private homes without warrant. Those accused of offenses would have to prove their innocence rather than placing the burden of proof on the Crown.

Additionally, the proposed prohibition law would allow individuals to import liquor for private consumption or obtain liquor on the strength of a doctor's prescription, two measures which favoured drinkers with money for the purpose and penalized the working classes who were traditionally drinkers "by the glass". Thus, prohibition would apply only to the less affluent, not to the well-to-do. The MPA also asserted that it was unfair to abolish the property rights of hotel-keepers or bartenders without compensation, their investment and loans being in part secured by the sale of liquor. One wag even argued that prohibition would encourage intemperance because when the bars were open a man could buy *one* drink, whereas when they were outlawed he would have to import booze by the gallon. Finally, anti-prohibitionists contended that prohibition was unworkable.[7]

The debate also had its religious dimension which took on great local significance. In an engaging series of letters to the *Progress*, Henry Hulbert, owner of the hop farms in Sardis, and local clergy went at it in June and July of 1916. Hulbert wrote that there was no Christian basis for prohibition. While Christ had cautioned moderation and denounced drunkenness, He Himself drank wine and had turned water into wine for others to drink. He also promised His disciples that they would all drink wine together in Heaven. Why should the churches prohibit something that was not in itself evil? Hulbert concluded that, in view of these facts, the strong religious representation in the prohibition movement was not only mistaken but led others to make the same mistakes.

The ministers, A. W. McLeod and H. C. Fraser, criticized Hulbert for his interpretation of the word "wine", a point which was still being debated by scholars. Additionally, Hulbert, they wrote, was no scholar of the Greek language, but was a hop grower with an obvious economic self-interest in the continued sale of beer. The scholarly interpretation of the word "wine", however, generally supported Hulbert's position, hence the thrust of ministerial opinion came down to two major points: modern circumstances may require Christians to refrain from actions that even Christ took, and Christians, as voters, should not be insensitive to the "broken hearts, ruined homes, hungry children, and wrecked manhood" that the saloon and liquor traffic so clearly caused.[8]

Candidates Square Off

Prohibitionist sentiment seemed to be running so high that both political parties endorsed the dry position, although it was well known the Liberals had the more consistent and sincere anti-liquor record, while the Conservatives had only recently reversed their position for fear of losing votes. The local Conservative candidate, W. L. Macken, was, however, as strong a prohibitionist candidate as his party could expect to find. Macken, an active and prominent member of the local chapter of the People's Prohibition Association, always saw to it that when he spoke to his constituents he was attended by a man of the cloth — usually Rev. McLeod — who preached in favour of prohibition.[9]

The Liberal candidate, E. D. Barrow, supported his party's position, but he readily admitted to voters that he was not a tee-totaller and that he was not prepared to misrepresent his personal habits in order to get votes. This is not to say that Barrow didn't have a chance of winning. Barrow had come to Chilliwack in 1892, eight years before Macken, and was a farmer in what was an overwhelmingly agricultural riding. He was the president and manager of the Chilliwack Creamery and would be founding president of the Fraser Valley Milk Producers' Association. His most effective criticisms of the Conservative Party were agricultural in nature, from the farmer's point of view.[10]

Macken, on the other hand, was a real estate broker and president of the Chilliwack Telephone Company. While he had served the Chilliwack Creamery as secretary, he simply wasn't a farmer. His speeches, indeed the Tory Party's platform, contained a great deal of special pleading to express the farmer's concerns, which he knew only from second-hand.[11]

Macken's problem was that he was on the Conservative ticket. Although he was in no way personally responsible for the previous Conservative policies, he was handicapped by his party's alliance with big business. The party did not represent the farmer or the worker. The Conservative Party and Premier Bowser himself, had long

since acquired the reputation of corruption, which the Lower Mainland Ministerial Association had so amply documented in its pamphlet, *The Crisis in British Columbia.*

This pamphlet and the men who took its message directly to the people, the Rev. Dr. McKay of the University of British Columbia and Rev. A. E. Cooke, asserted in unequivocal terms that the Tories were a bunch of grafters who personally profited from the wholesale sell-out of the province's resources to even more unprincipled robber barons, alias "railroad builders" and "developers". McKay and Cooke implored the voters in many ridings, including Chilliwack, that morality dictated these Tories be thrown out of office.[12] The famous Vancouver *Sun* cartoon of the period depicted these Tories in a rowboat dumping the unaudited public accounts over the side.[13] Bowser was commonly known as the "Czar," the "string puller," "party machine boss," and "palm greaser" *par excellence.*

In their speeches to the Chilliwack voters, Bowser and Macken glorified what their party had done for farmers, i.e., the loan of $65,000 at reduced rates to farmers.[14] Still, it was well known, from *The Crisis in British Columbia,* that the Tories had been given land and millions to railroad builders, some of whom fled the province with public funds, not bothering to build the railway (the PGE) for which they were paid.

Despite his prohibitionist credentials, his small-town business experience, and support from numerous pioneer families, Macken laboured under an enormous handicap. Barrow had only to sit back, put in an occasional appearance, and let the Tory Party's sleazy record do its work on the electors.

After the returns of the 14 September 1916 election were in, a colossal reversal of fortune befell the Tories, who lost 30 seats. The Liberals, who had no seats until recent by-elections, won 37 seats. E. D. Barrow received 871 votes to Macken's 654. Women's suffrage, apparently a foregone conclusion, was approved by local voters 1129 to 344, and by over a two-to-one margin provincially. Prohibition was also approved locally by a vote of 1090 to 440, and in the province by almost 8000 of the 63,000 ballots.[15] The referendum on prohibition, however, would not be settled for many months.

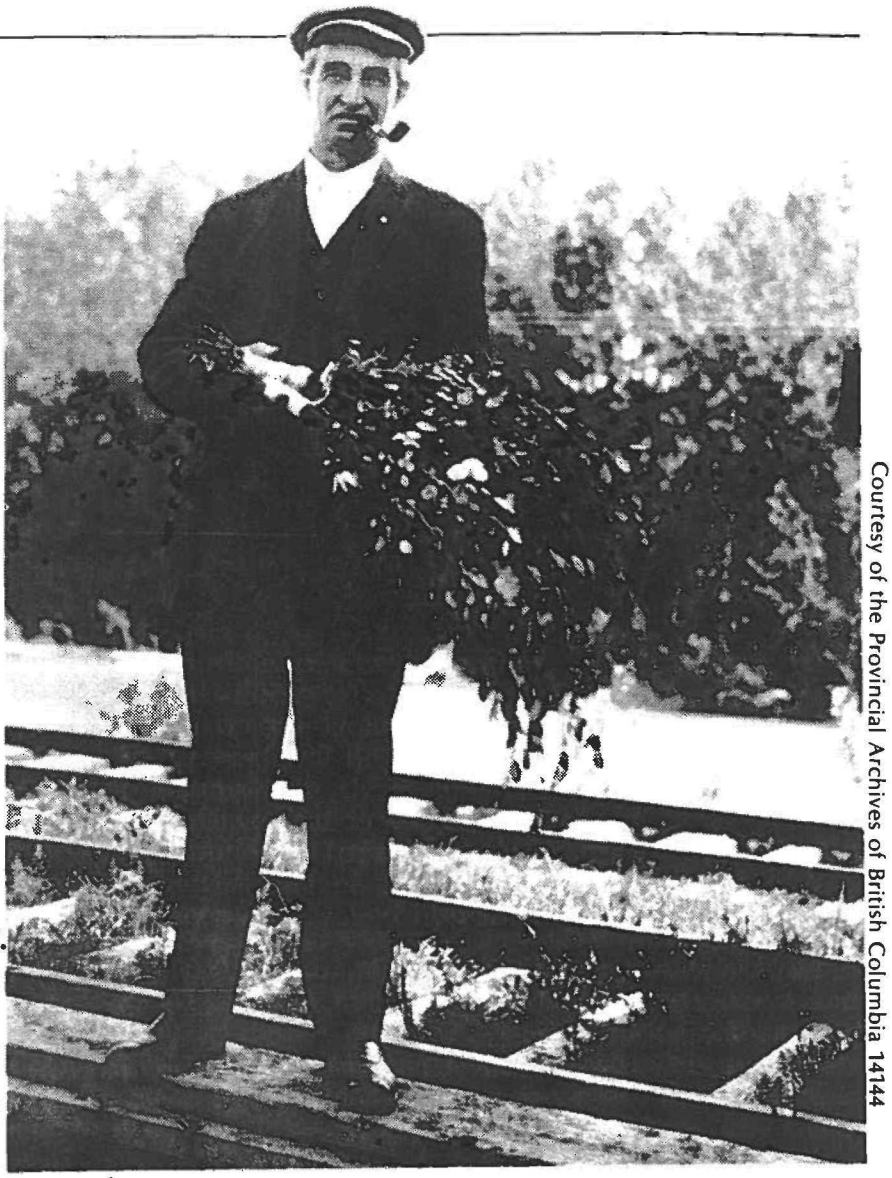
The Soldier Vote

In the 1916 election, British Columbia's soldiers were permitted to vote. The soldiers were, however, scattered throughout Canada, British Columbia, France and Belgium. It took some time before their ballots could be cast and counted. Few expected to learn, when the vote was announced at the end of 1916, that the large civilian majority in favour of prohibition had been overturned by the soldier vote by the narrow margin of 822 votes.

Despite their position on prohibition, the Liberals, now in power, were prepared to stand by the verdict and would have done so had not the People's Prohibition Association pressured them to establish a commission to investigate the overseas voting procedures. The commission subsequently uncovered many gross irregularities. Some soldiers, it seemed, voted more than once and some of them were treated to beer before voting. The commission decided to throw out over 4500 ballts and reverse the verdict. Prohibitionists breathed a sigh of relief. The Liberal Government then decided to enact prohibition, effective 1 October 1917. (Although a Chilliwack prohibitionist and part-time bard erred on the date, his wish in August 1916 finally came true: "King Alcohol has had his fling / Since first we can remember / But 'round his grave we all shall sing / On fourteenth of September.") The People's Prohibition Association's suspicion that the soldier vote had not been administered fairly was doubly confirmed when it was later learned that Premier Bowser in the last days of his government had cabled Sir Richard McBride, British Columbia's Agent General in London, to fix the vote, not only to defeat the prohibition verdict, but also to insure his (Bowser's) re-election in Vancouver.[16]

Chilliwack residents were pleased with the overall results of the election of 1916. E. D. Barrow turned out to be an inspired choice. As the province's Minister of Agriculture from 1918 to 1928, he initiated and brought to fruition the "mega-project" of the period — the Sumas Lake Reclamation scheme, which provided good agricultural land for family farmers. Barrow also led the long battle to establish fair prices for agricultural products. The Liberal government enacted a number of important and lasting reforms: reduction of party patronage by the creation of a Civil Service Commission, grant of land to returning soldiers, professional audit of the government's books, a minimum wage act, creation of a Ministry of Labour and extension of the eight-hour day, and the return of land and money to the public domain from the railroad robber barons.

Prohibition, however, turned out to be an impractical and short-lived measure. True, public drunkenness decreased and some jails were shut down for lack of offenders. Many saloons were forced out of business, although some continued



Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia 14144

E.D. Barrow in Telkwa, B.C. in 1918. He is holding what was termed "a good sample of peavine".

to operate by selling "near-beer". The taste for drink, however, could not be eliminated, and there were those who saw to it that that taste was sustained.

Bootlegging became a new and thriving profession. Unscrupulous doctors issued prescriptions by the thousands so that their "patients" could obtain booze legally. The medical profession was fast acquiring the image of a bartender's union. "Speakeasies" and "blind pigs" popped up by the hundreds. Enforcement of the law at a reasonable cost proved impossible. For example, in one month, Vancouver police were called out to raid 108 bootlegger joints.

There were well-founded charges that policemen were becoming implicated in the liquor traffic, receiving "pay-offs" to turn a blind eye and the like. The prohibition commissioner, W. C. Findlay, was himself a bootlegger and was sent to prison for two years. Municipal councils, now deprived of the revenue derived from liquor licences, were forced to levy new and administratively cumbersome taxation systems. The quality of liquor was no longer ensured by government agencies and, as a direct result, liquor akin to antifreeze had its predictable effects.

Matters had become ridiculous, to say the least. Society was being turned upside down. British Columbians had to face the need to become a police state to enforce prohibition and combat the growth of the underworld. B.C. would require a fleet of world-class proportions to prevent smuggling along its extensive shorelines. Public support of schools, hospitals, and other services would suffer for lack of funds needed to support a growing army of detectives, stool pigeons, prevention officers, and coastguard men. The court system would be clogged with liquor-related cases.

Not surprisingly, British Columbians increasingly acquired a different view of prohibition in the years 1917 to 1920. The wartime idealism that led people to consider prohibition a reform had

waned. Indeed, prohibition was now perceived as a reactionary, as well as impractical, measure. Returning soldiers demanded an end to it. Municipal councils wanted their old liquor revenues back. Hotelkeepers wanted their old trade back. In 1920, they also saw the prospect of enormous profits to be made by selling booze to American tourists, the United States having just enacted prohibition. In 1920, the provincial government publicly admitted what most British Columbians already knew: prohibition could not be enforced. Premier John Oliver, himself a teetotaller, announced that another referendum would be held.[17]

In October 1920, British Columbia voters were asked to vote for the continuation of prohibition or for the legalization of the trade and consumption of liquor, based on government control and sale. Provincial voters rejected prohibition by a vote of 92,095 to 55,448.

Electors in Chilliwack, predictably, along with only Richmond among the province's communities, voted in the minority by a margin of 1159 to 664.[18] Again, the anti-prohibitionist side did not have local sources of appeal. The prohibitionist clubs were still strong and the Methodist Church, for example, on the local as well as provincial level, still advocated prohibition. The results of the 1920 referendum indicate that Chilliwack was a distinctly different kind of community than those that generally prevailed elsewhere in the province.

Although the government liquor control system was here to stay, Chilliwack would continue to resist it, although it and its schools and hospitals would enjoy spending their share of the profits made from the government sale of liquor.[19] Sale of beer "by-the-glass" in hotels was not legalized until about 1950, having been rejected in 1924 and 1931.[20] Even after, many would continue the fight and oppose, for example, the intrusion, or at least limit the proliferation of, neighbourhood pubs. The saloon and the liquor traffic still had much of its old, local reputation: a threat to basic institutions and society in general, and the residents who hold these views receive daily fresh evidence to reconfirm them.

Bob Smith teaches history at Fraser Valley College

[1] See R. L. Smith, "Bibles and Booze: Prohibition in Chilliwack in the Late 1800s", *British Columbia Historical News*, Vol. XII (April, 1979), pp. 2-9.

[2] Chilliwack *Progress*, 1 December 1909, p. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, 2 March 1916, p. 1, and 8 June 1916, p. 1.

[5] *Ibid.*, 11 May 1916, p. 7, and 29 June 1916, p. 1.

[6] Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 299-302.

[7] *Progress*, 20 July 1916, p. 6; 3 August 1916, p. 6; 10 August 1916, p. 6; 17 August 1916, pp. 6-7; 24 August 1916, p. 6; 31 August 1916, p. 6.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1 June 1916, p. 7; 8 June 1916, p. 7; 15 June 1916, p. 6; 22 June 1916, pp. 2-3; 6 July 1916, p. 7; and 27 July 1916, p. 3.

[9] Ibid., 8 June 1916, p. 1.

[10] Morag MacLachlan, "The Success of the Fraser Valley Milk Producers' Association," *BC Studies*, No. 24 (Winter, 1974-75), p. 54

[11] *Progress*, 20 July 1916, p. 1, and 8 Sept. 1916, p. 1.

[12] *Progress*, 14 Sept. 1916, and Margaret Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Toronto, 1971), p. 387

[13] Reproduced by Martin Robin, *The Rush for Spoils: The Company Province, 1871-1933* (Toronto, 1972), opposite p. 164.

[14] *Progress*, 8 Sept. 1916, p. 1

[15] *Ibid.*, 21 Sept. 1916, p. 1. The substantial minority — 440 — that voted against prohibition doesn't necessarily invalidate the previous statement that "support for Sutro and McGillvray ... came almost entirely from outside the community." Apart from Hulbert and just a very few souls, the local wet contingent was virtually anonymous and simply did not have the "big name" institutional support or public prominence. There is evidence cited in the present writer's previous article "Bibles and Booze ..." that some local residents were publicly "dry" but privately "wet". (See *B.C. Historical News*, Vol. 12, No. 3)

[16] Albert Hiebert, "Prohibition in British Columbia" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1969), pp. 88-91; Robin, p. 167; *Progress*, 14 August 1916, p. 3 — the poem goes on but it doesn't get any better.

[17] Hiebert, Chapter 3, *passim.*

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 130, and *Progress*, 28 Oct. 1920, p. 1.

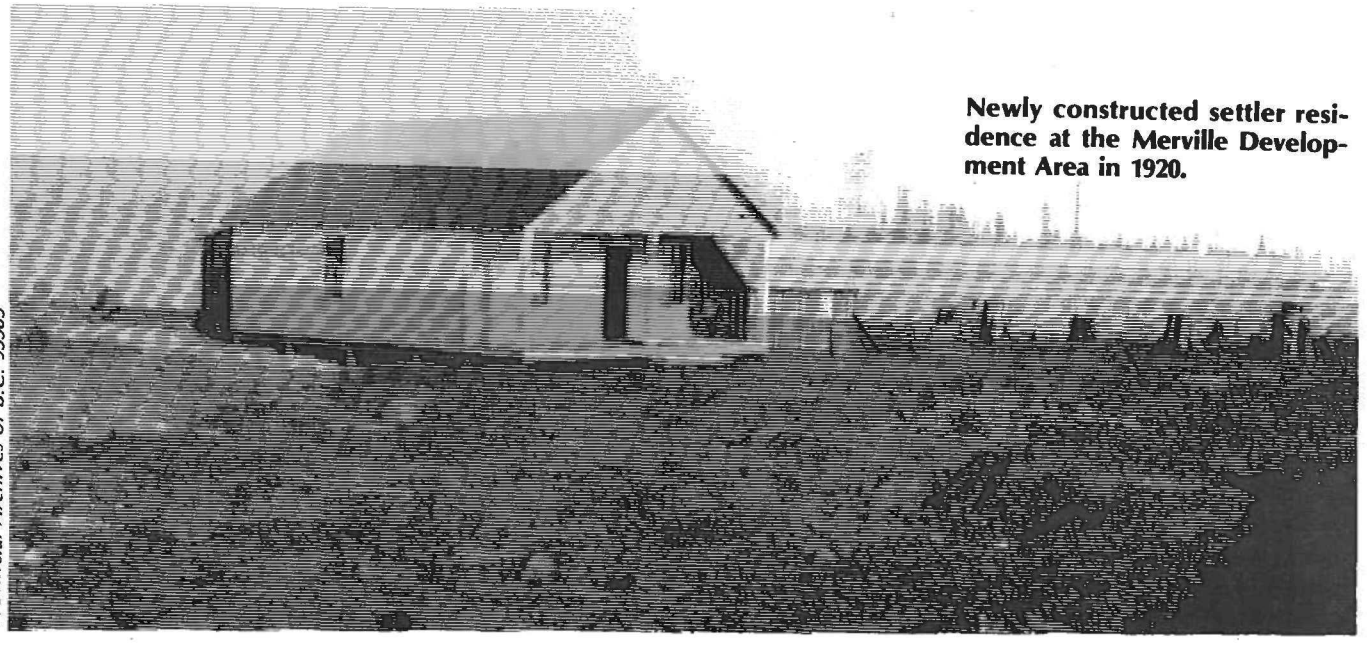
[19] *Progress*, 29 Dec. 1921, p. 1, and 21 June 1923, p. 1.

[20] *Ibid.* 16 July 1924, p. 6, and 3 Dec. 1931 (cited in *Progress*, 16 Dec. 1981, p. 4C).

Reuben Ware

Land and a New Life

British Columbia's Land Settlement Board, 1918-1925



Newly constructed settler residence at the Merville Development Area in 1920.

Provincial Archives of B.C. 95385

In the wake of the Great War they wrote from Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario, Manitoba and the Maritimes; from Michigan, Texas, Montana, Alaska, Washington, Iowa, California, Colorado, and from other states as well; from Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and England; Australia and New Zealand; from Norway, Germany and Romania. They sought land and a new life in British Columbia.

They were tenant farmers and sharecroppers wanting their own homestead; they were pensioners, ex-teachers and policemen looking for a retirement farm; they were miners down on their luck or bunkhouse men hoping for a place to settle down; they were recent immigrants from England and Scotland seeking to relocate away from prairie winters or eastern factory towns; they were war widows and returned soldiers needing a way to rebuild shattered, disrupted lives.

They had all heard of land settlement schemes, sponsored by the government, which sought to establish new farming communities in British Columbia. They had heard of British Columbia's Land Settlement Board and wrote to get information about its settlement programs. Operated by the provincial government, the Land Settlement Board was the largest and most diverse public settlement scheme ever attempted in British Columbia. A brief introduction to its history might illustrate some of the problems of agricultural development in the province and the limited socio-political perspectives of early 20th century reformers.[1]

The newly-elected Liberal government established the Land Settlement Board (LSB) in 1917 by passing the Land Settlement and Development Act.[2] The Board, staffed by noted Liberals and agriculturalists, was given wide powers over privately-owned lands it acquired for its settlement schemes. It could resurvey and subdivide lands and clear, fence, dyke, dam and irrigate them. It could lay out townsites and community centres, erect buildings and homes, build and

maintain roads and bridges, and buy and sell equipment. If no settlers were immediately available for a site, the Board could cultivate the land itself with hired labour or could lease land to other farmers. These powers, along with its financial authorities and the penalty taxes it could levy, gave the LSB the potential for social engineering on a vast scale.

The LSB's purpose was to stimulate the rapid development of British Columbia's agricultural areas by establishing settlement communities in areas near transportation and market facilities and on lands suitable for mixed farming, fruit growing, and intensive garden cultivation. The Board hoped to co-operate with the University of British Columbia faculty to plan scientifically each of the agricultural communities and to co-ordinate public expenditures with the Department of Lands and the Department of Public Works.

With these ideas the LSB promised to go far beyond its predecessor agency, the Agricultural Credit Commission (ACC) which had been established in 1916 by the desperate Conservative government of Premier William John Bowser both as a means to shore up farmer support for the declining system of Bowserian patronage and as a short-term agricultural credit scheme to stimulate war-time production.

The LSB heralded these changes by reducing the money-lending and short-term credit policies of the ACC and promoting "land settlement and development to the fullest extent." Loans to farmers were continued by the LSB and at first total amounts were even increased, but emphasis was to be on "productive credit". Loans were to be used for expansion of the productive base of B.C. agriculture, not to serve the continuing needs of established farmers for short-term agricultural credit. Loans were to go primarily to new settlers for land clearing, the erection of farm buildings, and the purchase of equipment.

Ironically, this one-dimensional agricultural loans policy undercut many of the new settlers on LSB's settlement projects, for as a settler drew near to establishing a viable agricultural operation, he generally became ineligible for credit. The result was often a failed farm and emigration to an urban centre or out of the province. But in the early years hopes were high that settlement and agricultural development could expand rapidly. To achieve these ends the LSB had two types of settlement program: Settlement Areas and Development Areas.[3]

The first Settlement Areas were established in 1919 at Fernie, Telkwa and Vanderhoof. The next year the program was expanded and new areas started at Prince George, Smithers, Alexandria, Rose Lake, Francois Lake and Colleymount. To determine the location of these projects, attention was given to areas combining unoccupied Crown lands and unimproved pre-emptions that were near transportation lines. The LSB would reserve or acquire these lands and offer them for sale to settlers. Under Section 42 of the Land Settlement and Development Act, owners of unimproved lands were subject to a penalty tax and given a period of time in which to begin improvements. If they failed to do so, they either had to continue paying the penalties or sell their land to the LSB at prices set by the Board. These lands were then incorporated into Settlement Areas and offered up to prospective settlers and returned soldiers on easy terms. New settlers got low interest loans and repayment deferments and veterans got additionally a $500 deduction from the purchase price. As the average price of land in Settlement Areas was $5 per acre, an ex-soldier could obtain about 100 free acres.

Funds were also available for land clearing, fencing, and other improvements. The LSB also maintained a livestock purchasing program to promote local dairy industries and built silos and creameries. Cattle clubs were established in most Settlement Areas to further enhance livestock production and to provide agricultural education.

The penalty tax was seen by the LSB as a key element in the Settlement Area program. It was hoped that it would encourage improvements by pre-emptors to avoid the penalty tax and thereby encourage agricultural expansion. The penalty tax also caused land companies, holding lands for speculation, to sell lands at prices attractive to settlers. Because the LSB value appraisals were so low, it was better for a land company to sell on the market, albeit a depressed one, rather than sell to the LSB and lose its lands to a Settlement Area. The result was to stimulate settlement generally and reduce the wide spread practice of acquiring lands and waiting for settlement and the subsequent rise in land values.

The Settlement Areas were moderately successful in the numbers of settlers who were able to establish viable farm operations. Compared to some of B.C.'s private land development and colonization schemes, more people were settled on the land at a lower per capita investment. However, the Settlement areas were not without their problems as by 1922 the LSB was faced with the prospect of slashing loan funds permanently, increasing loan fees, and raising interest charges to meet political criticism of its deficits. It was realized that this would have an adverse effect on the already "overburdened settler" and strangle agricultural expansion, but the government was

not ready to subsidize adequately the high costs of agricultural development.

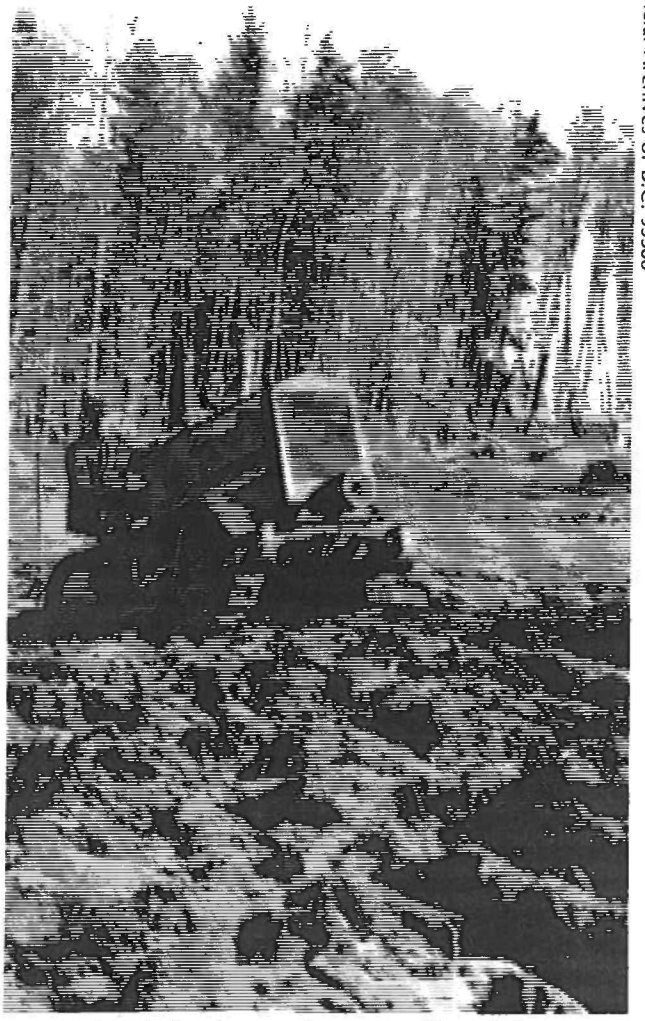
The Liberal government wanted prosperous farmer communities and hoped for the political support of settlers, but it was unwilling to engage fully in public-supported settlement. For example, the costs of land-clearing could be astronomical (as high as $250 per acre in the interior and $400 per acre on the coast). Land preparation costs and the settlers' requirements for other development capital necessitated a large-scale and long-term commitment. Such a commitment was not forthcoming from agricultural reformers committed to "sound business practices" and balanced budgets.

While the Settlement Areas were hindered by Liberal fiscal and political ideology, the Development Areas largely failed as a direct result. The key LSB Development Areas were at Merville on Vancouver Island and Camp Lister near Creston where work on land preparation began in 1919.

Later the Sumas reclamation project was established as a Development Area, but Sumas never had the community or social planning dimensions of Merville and Creston. The dyke construction and lake drainage was so costly that little was left for subsidization of new settlers. In addition, the farmsteads at Sumas were not available for settlement projects and had reverted to the "strictest accounting principles". Most of the Sumas lands, which were far more fertile than other Development or Settlement Areas, were sold to those who could pay the price. The Board argued that it was inadvisable to establish "penniless men on raw undeveloped land" unless large sums of money were spent.

As Sumas never went through the community development stage, the Merville Development Area best illustrates the problems of co-operative settlement and agricultural development within the confines of a restrictive ideology and antagonistic economic structure.[4]

In 1918 over 40,000 acres of logged-off lands north of Courtenay were purchased from the Canadian Western Lumber Company. Although logged, it was still costly to clear the land of slash and stumps and prepare it for cultivation, so the LSB at Merville employed returned soldiers in land development work — land clearing, road construction, erection of community buildings, and residences. The land was then subdivided into 50 to 60 acre farm lots and offered to sale to those who had proved their fitness for agrarian life while labouring on the development projects. The price of each farm was determined by the amount of development work that had gone into it. By 1920, 126 units had been allotted and loans provided for additional land development, for the purchase of equipment, and building construction.



Provincial Archives of B.C. 95386

Land clearing work at Merville, 1919.

There was a definite community orientation in Merville's development plan. Temporary and permanent homes were built with labour provided by LSB funds. A community centre, school, garage and a blacksmith shop were also constructed. A co-operative store was established to serve community needs, with the profits divided among the settlers. In the first two years, there was continued employment on development work in addition to income from farm produce.

The goal was a self-supporting community and by 1921 the future looked promising: crops of clover, potatoes and oats were in; truck gardens had been planted; dairy stock and horses had been purchased and shipments to the Courtenay Creamery Association began. A chapter of the United Farmers of B.C. was organized and a settlers' committee was active in presenting the community's views to LSB officials.[5]

Yet the Merville settlement as a self-sustaining agricultural community of small farms was largely unsuccessful. By 1926, some of the settlers had left permanently. Most of those who remained worked at the Powell River Mill or industrial sites on Vancouver Island and were only part-time residents at Merville. The most notable successes were several farmers who had started strawberry farms or had purchased the allotments of others and expanded their operations.[6]

Merville's problems stemmed from the LSB's torpid bureaucracy and arbitrary powers over settlers, from an inadequate land base for each farm, and from insufficient development capital and a lack of on-going agricultural credits. The Board often inhibited effective action itself by a general immersion in red tape. The situation got so bad that it drew the ire of Premier Oliver. The Premier complained, "I am becoming very weary of the time and money of the Board being wasted in considering so-called regulations," and urged the LSB to get on with its settlement work.[7]

The LSB's extensive supervisory powers resulted in "sharp differences" between the settlers' committees and the administration. The Board could, without appeal, "deprive settlers of ... employment within the community." This usually resulted in forfeiture of land rights, loss of income necessary to make loan payments, and explusion from the farmstead. The Board determined the amounts of annual improvement that were necessary to keep an allotment.

To get the capital to make these improvements, a settler had to borrow, yet after 1921 funds available for development were insufficient. Private loans were also hard to raise because the allotment agreement between the LSB and the settler gave the settler a tax break, but stipulated resale to the LSB at LSB appraised values if the farm failed. This made it practically impossible to use the land for collateral.

There were conflicts between the Board's representatives and inspectors and the committees of development workers and settlers on other issues. Hiring, employment conditions, and wages for the development work were constant strains on relations. The irony was that as the community was ready to assume responsibility for much of its management, the Board expanded its control over such things as residences, water supply, land levelling, and drainage while withdrawing much of the financial support. Another sign of retreat from the community ideals of early LSB rhetoric was the 1921 sale of the Merville co-operative store to a private party against the opposition of the settlers' committee.

The sharp decline in agricultural prices in 1921 exacerbated Merville's economic difficulties, but causes of the scheme's failure are sharply revealed in the LSB's reaction to the crisis. The amounts available for new loans were sharply reduced and in July loans were suspended altogether. By 1922 the attitude of the LSB had hardened into a definite policy of retrenchment as loan qualifications were tightened, LSB appraised values were raised, new mortgage agreements imposed, and closer inspection of farms was instituted.

The LSB sent at the task of "eliminating settlers ... obviously incapable." Board Director R.D. Davies bitterly complained about the activities of the settlers' committees and regretted the unwise and "promiscuous settlement" of the Board's early days, while Board reports consisted of sanctimonious soul-searching about the pitfalls of government interference in the settlement process and the demoralizing effects of government assistance on the recipient.

The B.C. Land Settlement Board would continue on for many years afterwards, but for the establishment of publicly supported co-operative farm communities, its heyday was over.

1 Many of the records of the Land Settlement Board have recently become available at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, see GR 929. This includes reports, minutes of Board meetings, loan application registers and loan files, and subject correspondence and covers the years 1916 to 1967. Most of this article is based on these extensive records.

2 S.B.C., 1917, C. 34. The LSB, which reported to the B.C. Minister of Lands, should not be confused with the Dominion's Soldier Settlement Board which could reserve only Dominion lands in British Columbia's Railway Belt and Peace River Block. Nor should it be confused with B.C. Returned Soldiers Aid Commission which co-operated with veterans associations to find employment for ex-soldiers, nor with B.C.'s Soldier Settlement Act which gave the Department of Lands authority to reserve lands for veterans, but provided no funds for settlement projects.

3 GR 929, Box 8, Files 1-3.

4 GR 929, Box 41-47.

5 GR 929, Box 43, file 1.

6 Vancouver *Province*, 24 October 1926.

7 GR 929, Box 8, file 3.

Reuben Ware is a government records and manuscripts archivist at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

R. C. Harris

The Steamboat Trail

Hope to Skagit Valley, 1910-1911

The bare facts of the Steamboat boom are given in two official mining reports. The British Columbia Minister of Mines wrote in 1910:

> *During the past summer, Greenwal[t] and Stevens, two American miners from Nevada ... proceeded to prospect, and, tracing these colours to their source, were rewarded by finding the claims now known as the "Steamboat group" [July 1910].*
>
> *As a consequence, an influx of prospectors has taken place, and some 500 [claim] locations have been made throughout the Skagit district. ... the lateness of the season ... and the scarcity of pack-horses available, which were all engaged by the Steamboat Mining Co. for the remainder of the open months, has prevented the forwarding of supplies for owners who would have otherwise have erected winter camps.*[1]

The Summary Report of the Geological Survey of Canada, written in 1911, gives the obituary of the Steamboat rush:

> *After the winter had come on and that [Steamboat] district was deeply buried in show, a boom was gradually worked up with the aid of the press and purely on the word of the original locators.*
>
> *By the spring [1911], at least 1200 mineral locations had been made in the surrounding ocuntry, three townsites staked out, and hotels, stores and other buildings erected for the carrying on of business ...*
>
> *The results of the [G.S.C.] examination of the district show that the deposits on and around Steamboat mountain do not carry gold ...*
>
> *[T]here was no legitimate reason for the boom that took place in this district.*[2]

Although Greenwalt and Stevens had left the country by Christmas of 1910, when the boom had hardly begun, other capable hands reached out and kept it going for a further six months.

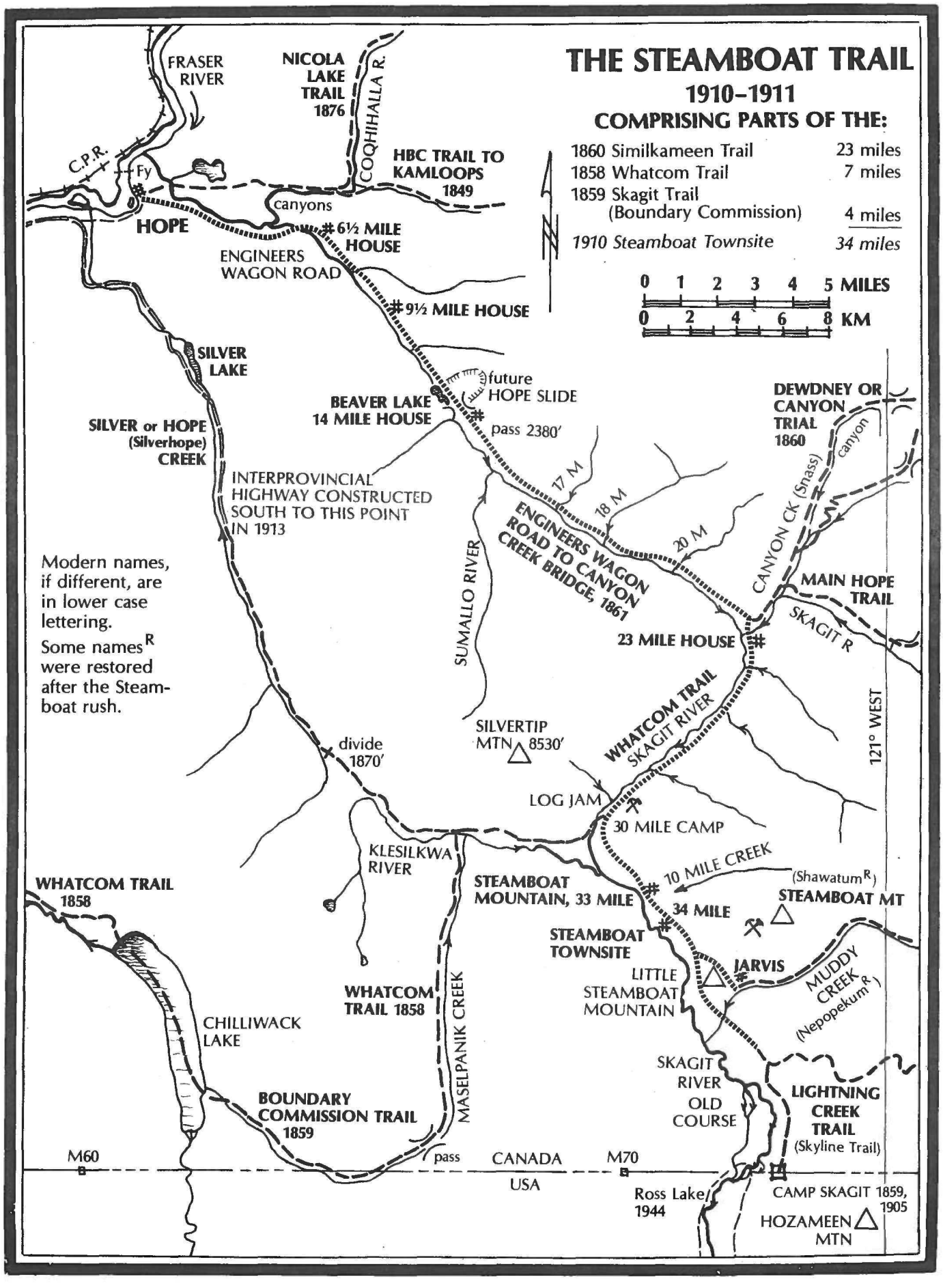
Blow by blow accounts of the rise of the boom were published in the *Hope News*, established for the purpose on November 17, 1910. The first headline "Steamboat Mountain: The Greatest Gold Producing Mining Camp the World has ever Known" might nowadays incur reproof from the Superintendent of Brokers.

In May 1911, as the excitement grew, the newspaper became the *Hope News and The Gold Trail* and the Steamboat trail was headlined as "Like a Path in Stanley Park". By June of 1911, the trail had been further embellished to "The Trail of the Gods to Eldorado" in a fulsome article by J. H. Gerrie, "For Fifteen Years on the Editorial Staff of

The Steamboat district was named during an earlier rush to the Skagit. There was a strike in 1879 at the mouth of Ruby Creek in Washington State, where the Ross Dam now stands. The best access was through Hope, and down the upper Skagit. Most prospectors used the 1860 Boundary Commission trail down the left bank, but W. L. Flood and James Corrigan, who in 1911 still lived in Hope, built a raft on the Skagit near the mouth of the Klesilkwa River.

They named their craft "Steamboat", and its building place "Steamboat Landing". The raft was wrecked on the first logjam, a short way downstream, but the locality became known as "Steamboat". It is close to the Bailey Bridge which now carries the Silver Skagit road to the left bank of the Skagit River.

Before the Steamboat rush, Steamboat Mountain had been named "Shawatum" by the Boundary Commision (1860). It reverted to this name after the Steamboat bubble collapsed. Similarly, Muddy Creek was originally "Ne-po-peh-eh-kum Creek". This name was reinstated as Nepopekum Creek.


THE STEAMBOAT TRAIL
1910–1911
COMPRISING PARTS OF THE:
1860 Similkameen Trail 23 miles
1858 Whatcom Trail 7 miles
1859 Skagit Trail (Boundary Commission) 4 miles
1910 Steamboat Townsite 34 miles
0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES
0 2 4 6 8 KM
FRASER RIVER
NICOLA LAKE TRAIL 1876
COQHIHALLA R.
C.P.R.
Fy
HBC TRAIL TO KAMLOOPS 1849
canyons
HOPE
6½ MILE HOUSE
ENGINEERS WAGON ROAD
9½ MILE HOUSE
SILVER LAKE
future HOPE SLIDE
BEAVER LAKE 14 MILE HOUSE
pass 2380′
SILVER or HOPE (Silverhope) CREEK
INTERPROVINCIAL HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTED SOUTH TO THIS POINT IN 1913
17 M
18 M
20 M
ENGINEERS WAGON ROAD TO CANYON CREEK BRIDGE, 1861
SUMALLO RIVER
DEWDNEY OR CANYON TRIAL 1860
canyon
CANYON CK (Snass)
MAIN HOPE TRAIL
SKAGIT R
23 MILE HOUSE
Modern names, if different, are in lower case lettering.
Some names R were restored after the Steamboat rush.
WHATCOM TRAIL
SKAGIT RIVER
121° WEST
SILVERTIP MTN 8530′
divide 1870′
LOG JAM
30 MILE CAMP
KLESILKWA RIVER
10 MILE CREEK
(Shawatum R)
STEAMBOAT MT
WHATCOM TRAIL 1858
STEAMBOAT MOUNTAIN, 33 MILE
34 MILE
STEAMBOAT TOWNSITE
JARVIS
MUDDY CREEK (Nepopekum R)
LITTLE STEAMBOAT MOUNTAIN
WHATCOM TRAIL 1858
MASELPANIK CREEK
CHILLIWACK LAKE
SKAGIT RIVER OLD COURSE
LIGHTNING CREEK TRAIL (Skyline Trail)
BOUNDARY COMMISSION TRAIL 1859
M60
pass
CANADA
USA
M70
Ross Lake 1944
CAMP SKAGIT 1859, 1905
HOZAMEEN MTN

the New York Herald".

The March 1911 issue of the business magazine *Opportunities* carried a full page advertisement for Steamboat Central Mines Limited (not the original company): "And There's Gold at Steamboat, Plenty of It, Baskets Full of It ... the best chance to make money you will ever have". The fiscal agents in Vancouver offered 50,000 shares at 25 cents each.

Well Chosen

The place chosen for the gold strike was the convenient distance of thirty five miles from Hope, a full day's backpack over existing trails; not too far, and yet not too close. The elevation of 5500 feet ensured the prospect was snowbound for half the year. As trade built up in the Spring of 1911, the three major packers in Hope, controlling 56 of the 86 horses on the trail, combined to give daily service at the following rates:

9½ Mile (Camp Comfort)	*4 cents/lb*
14 Mile (Lake House)	*6 cents/lb*
23 Mile House "where the Steamboat trail turns sharp right off the Princeton trail"	*8 cents/lb*
33 Mile (Steamboat — either townsite)	*10 cents/lb*
Steamboat Mines	*15 cents/lb*

The 50% rate increase for the last two miles to Steamboat Mountain Gold Mines reflects the arduous climb up the new trail from Steamboat Townsite.

Citizens at Steamboat Townsite formed a Board of Trade in June, 1911, blissfully unaware that the game was over. In addition to the resthouses along the Steamboat trail, substantial investments were made at the two Steamboat townsites.

The original (southern) Steamboat Townsite was staked by "Alaska Jack" Ginivan. This townsite was more complete when abandoned, with McIntyre and Raymond's hotel, manager J. J. Doyle; a two storey assay office; a real estate office; and several smaller buildings.

The second townsite, Steamboat Mountain (33 Mile) had been staked, presumably, to intercept traffic *en route* to the other settlement. Here was a three storey hotel, a grocery, a real estate office, and a post office.

The town of Hope also benefitted from the Steamboat rush. It had declined almost to a ghost town after the heady days of the 1850's and 60's. The C.P.R. across the Fraser River was only accessible via Luke Gibson's ferry.

Dominion Land Surveyor A. W. Johnson resurveyed the townsite in 1906, and observed: "The Hudsons Bay Company once cleared practically the whole townsite to grow feed for their packtrains, but it had been allowed to grow up again, and is now covered with dense brush, except where a few houses are".

Suddenly, in 1910, not only did Hope have to service the rush to Steamboat, but it had to make way for three major railways either being surveyed or under construction: the Canadian Northern Pacific; the Vancouver, Victoria and Eastern; and the Kettle Valley. New hotels and warehouses were built, and riverboat service from New Westminster was reinstated after a gap of twenty years.

As the Steamboat bubble grew, other towns wished to share the benefits with Hope. Princeton noted how favourably situated it was for reaching the Skagit by the old Hope trail. On Muddy Creek, twelve men worked on the government trail from Similkameen. R. W. Jarvis started a third townsite, on Muddy Creek near Little Steamboat Mountain, and extended the government trial to Steamboat Townsite.

The burghers of Chilliwack proposed a sixty mile trail up the Chilliwack River to the Skagit, an impractical dream held fifty years before by the Hudson's Bay Company. If the trail did not go through, the British Columbia Electric Railway Company was prepared to build a sixty mile railway up the Chilliwack River.

The Snow Melts

In the Spring of 1911, as the snow went, owners began developing their properties. A feeling grew that all was not well. A mining engineer, one Mr. Webster, came up from Mexico and spent two weeks examining the area. On leaving, June 15, he diplomatically observed that "the camp will be one of low grade ore".

Hope News for June 22, 1911, hinted that there might be "a taste of salt" in the Steamboat Discovery claim. Others were more forceful. Mining Engineer W. A. (Bill) Lewis spent nearly two months examining mining properties for investors, then declared in the *Hope Steamboat Nugget*, July 29, 1911: "There's nothing there, never was, and never will be. It was all a fake. All the gold samples that were brought out from there were from Tonapah and Cripple Creek [Nevada] ..."

What may have been the last Steamboat Mountain mining transaction was the sale of a fifth interest in a claim immediately below the Discovery claim, by John Vinson to Henry McIntyre for $1200 on July 20, 1911. By the end of July, with J. J.

GOLD!

You know all about the fortunes that have been dug out of the ground. All the great fortunes of the ages have been made out of the utilization of the natural resources of the earth—oil, coal, gas, silver, iron, lead, gold and all the other minerals that contribute so largely to the profits of industrialism. Everybody knows that this is true and nobody knows it better than men like Rockefeller and Carnegie and Morgan. The only serious problem is to find the RIGHT PLACE. AND THERE'S GOLD AT STEAMBOAT, PLENTY OF IT, BASKETS FULL OF IT!

GOLD!

It's what you all want. And there is NO PLACE IN THE WORLD TO-DAY THAT HOLDS THE PROMISE OF SUCH BIG RETURNS AS THE STEAMBOAT MOUNTAIN DISTRICT. Every mining expert who has visited SEAMBOAT predicts that the next two months will witness a rush to STEAMBOAT which will equal the rush to California in '49 and the subsequent rushes into Cripple Creek, Nevada, Alaska and the Yukon. Those who are on the ground first are the men who are going to win. Last year C. S. Walgamott and his associates went into the STEAMBOAT region. They discovered several rich claims. THE ORE TAKEN FROM THESE CLAIMS SPARKLES WITH GOLD; IT IS IMPREGNATED WITH IT. THE STEAMBOAT CENTRAL MINES, LTD., has purchased SADDLE ROCK, SADDLE ROCK No. 3 and KILO No. 5, from Mr. Walgamott and these properties are full of—

GOLD!

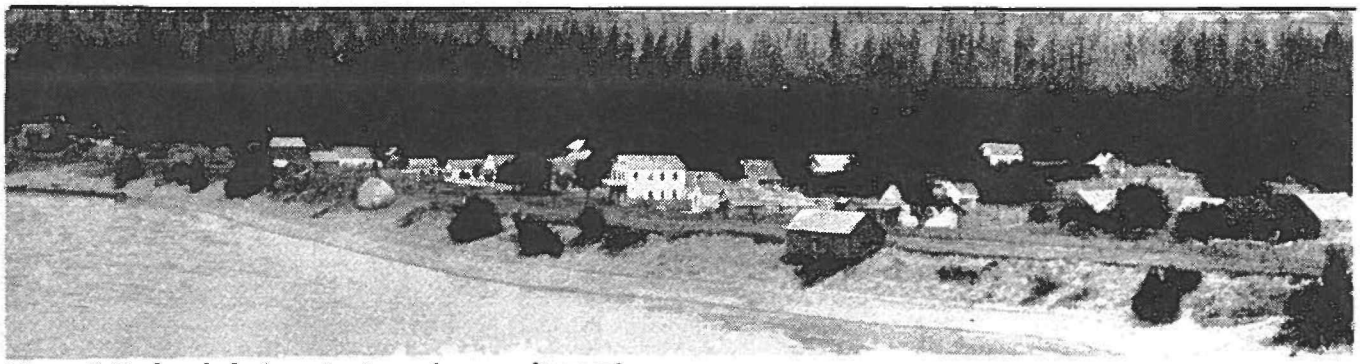
Do you want to share in the vast wealth of the STEAMBOAT MOUNTAIN region, where $520 a ton is the AVERAGE value shown in NINE ASSAYS taken from TWO DIFFERENT TUNNELS? Assays taken from the surface show an average of $10.50 in gold AFTER ELIMINATING ALL VALUES OVER $30. And experts estimate that it will cost only $2.50 PER TON TO MINE AND MILL THE STEAMBOAT MOUNTAIN ORE. These figures ought to interest you. They tell a story of OPPORTUNITY UNEQUALLED since the discovery of Goldfield, Nevada. DO YOU WANT TO SHARE IN THIS OPPORTUNITY? If you do, let us know. We are disposing of $50,000 worth of stock that has a par value of $1.00 a share at 25 cents a share. IT IS THE BEST CHANCE TO MAKE MONEY YOU WILL EVER HAVE. Let us talk with you. Our address is Suite 806 Bower Building, 543 Granville Street.

WALGAMOTT & EAMES, Fiscal Agents

STEAMBOAT CENTRAL MINES LTD.

Remember the Steamboat ore we'll show you is speckled with

GOLD!



Hope, B.C. shortly before the Steamboat excitement.

Doyle the sole resident of the two Steamboat townsites, the post office was "temporarily" abandoned. Doyle had just come south from fourteen years in the Yukon, and was probably considering his next move.

Several travellers left descriptions of the Steamboat trail, including the imaginative J. H. Gerrie. There was a consensus that the trail ran through some fine country, but there was no agreement on its condition below 23 Mile. Opinions varied from "Like a path in Stanley Park" to "Impassable".

Part of the disagreement would stem from the time of year, and the remainder to inexperience. Several backpackers travelled the thirty five miles in a summer's day, and regular packtrains ran between Hope and Steamboat. Existing trails were reused as far as possible.

Leaving Hope, the trail cut southeast over Coquihalla Flats to the slopes of Hope Mountain, climbing above the Coquihalla River. At 4½ Mile the trail (formerly the 1860 Engineers' wagon road) passed below Bridal Falls, then a local beauty spot, shown on maps and surveys from 1860, onwards. As far as the Nicolum River, this section of the trail will be found largely intact, below the modern highway to Princeton.

At the Nicolum (6 Mile) the trail crossed immediately to the north bank. The first roadhouse, a canvas cabin, at 6½ Mile, would have been just inside the present Nicolum Provincial Park. Similar accommodations were offered by Fred Simpson at "Camp Comfort", 9½ miles from Hope.

"Lake House" at 14 Mile was an old campsite when the Similkameen trail was built in 1860/61. It was just over the Sumallo divide beyond Beaver Lake, just clear of the 1961 Hope Slide.

Near the west entrance to Manning Park, several fine sections of the 120 year old trail remain on the left, one being the well-known "Engineers Road" Stop of Interest. Next, the great cedars along the Sumallow River were noted by most travellers. At 23 Mile, the Steamboat trail turned sharp right from the Similkameen trail, exactly opposite the "km 35" sign on the present highway.

It was just as hard to maintain a bridge here over the Skagit River seventy years ago as it is today. Travellers in 1911 had to "deep-ford" to reach the left bank, until the freshet subsided and the bridge was replaced, in June by the provincial road superintendent.

Beyond 23 Mile House, by most accounts, the trail deteriorated. Captain W. W. de Lacy had cut the privately funded Whatcom trail up the Skagit very lightly indeed, with a few men, whereas the Royal Engineers, working for the Colonial Govvernment, used over a hundred men to construct the solid wagon road which endures, in part, today.

At 33 Mile, ten miles below the Similkameen turnoff was 10 Mile Creek and Steamboat Mountain townsite, located to intercept traffic to the earlier, and more complete Steamboat Townsite, half a mile to the south. The tunnels of the Steamboat Gold Mining Company's Discovery claim were located southwest of Steamboat peak at about elevation 5500 feet, about two miles by new trail above Steamboat Townsite. The Discovery claim was reckoned to be thirty five miles by trail from Hope.

The Steamboat excitement undoubtedly influenced the first line located for the Southern Transprovincial Highway, which ran to the Skagit over the present Silver Skagit route, then through the two Steamboat townsites, up Muddy (Nepopekum) Creek and through Gibson Pass to the Similkameen. Construction began in 1912, and reached five miles south of Silver Lake before being abandoned in 1913.

The Skagit or Whatcom trail from 23 mile still runs south through giant cedars on the left bank of the Skagit to where the Silver Skagit road crosses by Bailey bridge, ten miles below, where the original "Steamboat" raft was launched a hundred years ago.

[1] British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1911, Report of Minister of Mines.

[2] Dominion of Canada Sessional Papers, 1912, Geological Survey of Canada, Summary Report.

Have You Ever Wondered . . .

Who Invented the Egg Carton?

By Lynn Shervill

The next time you take your dozen eggs from the supermarket cooler, their safe arrival at home will be thanks in no small part to B.C. inventor Joe Coyle. The Coyle Safety Egg Carton, distributed the world over after a humble initiation in Vancouver in 1919, was the highlight of a career which included the founding of three Northern B.C. newspapers.

Born in 1871 in Ontario, Joseph Leopold Coyle worked as a printer, surveyor and newspaper reporter in Eastern Canada and the United States before finding his way, via *The Juneau Daily Dispatch* in Alaska, to Hazelton, B.C. in 1907. His intention was to start his own newspaper there but John Dorsey, a principal in the Vancouver-based North Coast Land Company, convinced him the new community of Aldermere in the Bulkley Valley was the place for an eager and experienced newspaperman. It appears Dorsey's prime interest was in establishing a local vehicle for his real estate promotion. Only one issue of *The Bulkley Pioneer* was published in Aldermere before Dorsey and his North Coast partners withdrew their financial support from the Bulkely Valley operation and re-established *The Pioneer* in Port Simpson.

Coyle, on the other hand, pursued his initial plan, founding *The Omineca Herald* in Hazelton in 1908. The paper survived for many years but only briefly under Coyle's guidance. His short association with the Bulkley Valley had left him with a compelling desire to return. This he did in 1909 and immediately founded *The Interior News*, publishing the paper on his ranch near Aldermere before moving the operation into the community six months later. In 1913 Coyle moved the paper again, this time to Smithers, an emerging divisional point for the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, where it is still published today.

It was during his time in Aldermere, however, that Coyle invented the predecessor to the modern day egg carton. According to Coyle's daughter, Mrs. Ellen Myton of Bellingham, Wash.,

The Coyle Egg-Safety Carton

one Gabriel Lecroix, a local rancher, was in the business of shipping eggs to the Aldermere Hotel. Few of Lecroix's eggs ever arrived intact, leading to "loud criticisms and recriminations between the packer and the hotel". As Coyle's newspaper office was in the immediate vicinity, he was privy to the disagreements and decided to do something about them.

"Dad's cushioned container solved the problem," said Mrs. Myton. "It was even demonstrated that you could drop the carton (in a certain way!) and the eggs survived intact."

By 1919 Joe Coyle had decided to start manufacture of his egg carton ... and thereby revolutionize that aspect of the packaging industry. He moved to Vancouver where, for a short while, his carton was made by United Paper Products but only after Coyle had designed the machines required for its production. In 1920, due to financial problems with United Paper Products, Coyle took his venture to Los Angeles and produced the carton himself, setting up a family business. What happened next is related by Mrs. Myton.

"Dad wanted to retain his independence but needed capital so a deal was made with a Leon Benoit in Chicago. The Coyle Safety Egg Carton was produced at a factory on Halstead Street in Chicago and then in New York. It was also manufactured in Indiana and in Pittsburgh at the Grant Paper Box Company. Later production started in Toronto at the Colette Sproule Co., and in London, Ontario by Somerville Industries. It enjoyed extensive sales abroad — South Africa, Hawaii, Alaska, Mexico, England, the Continent. From the New York factory 200 million cartons were sold annually."

A Chicago newspaper described Coyle's invention as "pleasing in design with many structural advantages. It has a cushioned bottom and is air conditioned, offers a large egg space, a good printing surface and has no glued parts to become detached or metal parts to rust."

Unfortunately, according to Mrs. Myton, the magnitude of the business grew beyond the ability of her father to control it. "As is so often the case with inventors," she said, "he was no match for the sharp practices of big business and their sharper lawyers. The Coyle carton made several millionaires but Dad was not one of them. We lived comfortably but not affluently."

During the heyday of the carton's production, the Coyle family lived in London, Ontario, returning to New Westminster in 1941 where Coyle designed another carton and began its production. By this time Joe Coyle was 70 years old. With his son Patrick, he continued the business until the advent of the molded and plastic egg cartons.

"Conversion of the plant to new machinery and methods would have involved a huge expenditure," Mrs. Myton said. "And Dad was then in his early nineties, still working the presses and planning for the future."

Joe Coyle died in New Westminster on April 18, 1972, just shy of his 101st birthday. According to his daughter the last egg carton deliveries from his Vancouver plant were made at about the same time.

"His invention of 1911 survived until his death in 1972 and then died quietly with him."

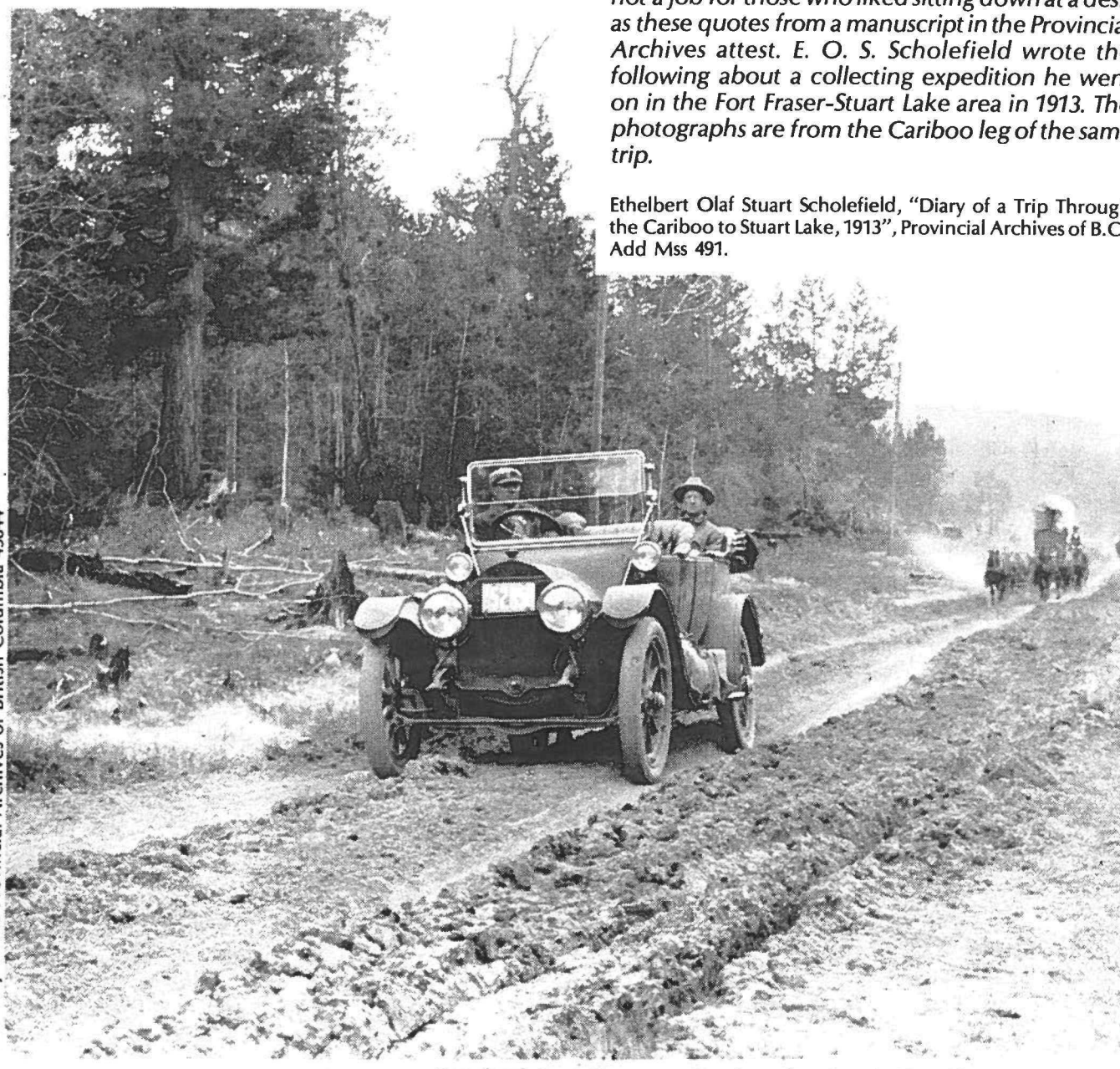
Lynn Shervell has reported for the *Interior News* and is author of the recently published *Smithers: From Swamp to Village*.

Joseph Coyle with his wife and daughter Ellen, August 24, 1912.

Discovery: 1913

Editor's note: The life of the provincial librarian/archivist in British Columbia in the early years was not a job for those who liked sitting down at a desk as these quotes from a manuscript in the Provincial Archives attest. E. O. S. Scholefield wrote the following about a collecting expedition he went on in the Fort Fraser-Stuart Lake area in 1913. The photographs are from the Cariboo leg of the same trip.

Ethelbert Olaf Stuart Scholefield, "Diary of a Trip Through the Cariboo to Stuart Lake, 1913", Provincial Archives of B.C., Add Mss 491.



Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia 45844

Reached Fort Fraser yesterday after hard, fine day trip in from Quesnel. First night slept under the sky. Second night, as we had no tent, had to make the best covering possible with a piece of canvas open at the sides and end pitched in thunder, lightning, rain and hail. Slept in rough log cabins the other two nights. Rain and hail every day but one. Do not feel quite well. Hope to go on to Hudson's Bay post this afternoon. Very bad journey and no road houses — brought my own blankets and grub box.

Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia 45859

Made Sucher Creek in time for dinner with Mr. & Mrs. Powers who keep a "road-house", consisting of a one-roomed log-cabin. Mr. and Mrs. P. live in a tent, while guests lay their blankets in a bedstead in a corner of the cabin or on the floor — I took the floor. Terrible dinner of boiled potatoes, boiled turnips, stewed raisins and hot bread. After sleeping in the open found the cabin insufferably hot and stuffy but it was too wet to sleep outside ... got up betimes; dressed while Mrs. Powers prepared a breakfast of fried turnip and potatoes, tea, bread, butter and marmalade ... Left Sucher Creek about eight-thirty o'clock. Felt quite ill after that breakfast dinner — must have got a chill also, for which our wet camp at Mud River may be responsible.

News and Notes

Seniors' Summer Study: UVic in the Kootenays June 13–19 or June 20–26

The Senior's Summer Study operated by the University of Victoria on the campus of David Thompson University Centre (DTUC) in Nelson is an opportunity for people sixty years or better (or whose spouse or travelling companion qualifies) to study aspects of the rich natural and human history of the Kootenay Region.

Life experience makes you an interesting student. There are no formal educational requirements, just a positive attitude toward living and learning and an interest in being a participant in a vibrant learning community.

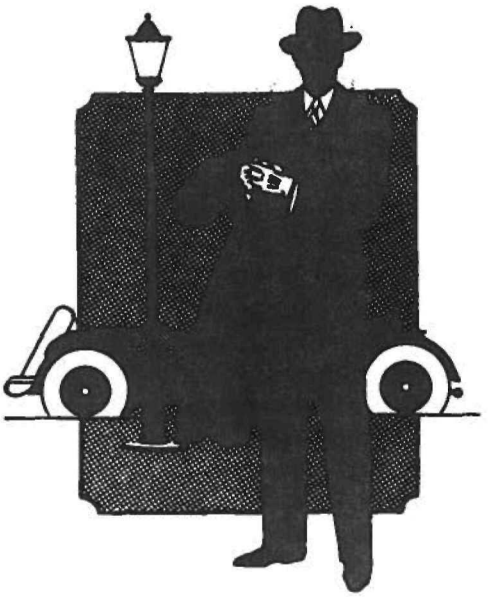
Three courses will be given from Monday to Friday, with each class allotted 1½ hours. The general course outline is one on natural history, a second on the early settlers of the areas and one course on creative expression. There will be two field trips each week to areas of interest led by the professors.

The cost includes all meals, your room, course fees and field trips — from Sunday evening to Saturday morning. It does not include your transportation to Nelson, but you should be able to come and forget about your wallet while you are enjoying Seniors' Summer Study. The projected cost for one person in a double occupancy room is $199.00; for a single room it is slightly more. (The tuition portion of the fee is deductible from your income tax.)

For further information call Cynthia Williams or Anne Fraser at the University of Victoria (112-721-8463) or write University Extension, University of Victoria, P.O. Box. 1700, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y2.

Manitoba Archives

The Provincial Archives of Manitoba, which also includes the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, will be closed to the public September 13-17, 1982, for the purpose of taking inventory.



ANNOUNCEMENT

THIRD B.C. Studies Conference

February 1984

The third B.C. Studies Conference will be held at the University of British Columbia in February 1984. Proposals for conference papers are now invited.

PURPOSE

The B.C. Studies Conference is interdisciplinary with an historical focus. The organizers invite proposals for papers that will enhance our understanding of any aspect of British Columbia's development.

FORMAT

Approximately ten sessions will be held at the conference, each session made up of two papers on a related subject followed by a commentator's critical assessment. One special evening session will also be held.

DEADLINE

Suggestions for conference papers will be considered as they are received; the final deadline for proposal submissions is December 1, 1982.

ENQUIRIES

Enquiries should be directed to R. McDonald, Department of History, University of British Columbia; Alan Artibise, Department of History, University of Victoria; and Hugh Johnston or Robin Fisher, Department of History, Simon Fraser University.

Reports from the Branches

Vancouver

In October the Vancouver Historical Society held a seminar on oral history, which was conducted by Allen Specht of the Provincial Archives. As a result of this seminar, attended by about twenty people, the Society has formed a committee to initiate an oral history project to record the reminiscences of long-time residents of Vancouver.

The major social event of the fall season was a dinner and historic fashion show held at St. James' Church. One hundred members and guests attended and enjoyed Ivan Sayers' models who displayed a series of costumes illustrating women at work and at play in British Columbia from the 1890's to the present.

The Society ran a successful local history book sale at the B.C. Studies Conference held in Vancouver on October 30th. Orders are still coming in as a result of the booklist that was distributed to members afterwards. The Society hopes to run another book sale at the B.C.H.A. Convention in Duncan.

Speakers of the past months have included Melva Dwyer (Art in Vancouver architecture); Ralph Maud (Charles Hill-Tout); and Hugh Johnston (Komagata Maru).

— Report submitted by Anne Yandle

Windermere District

1981 was a busy year. We were fortunate in having two students working in the Museum through the summer — Pam Tranfield and Lisa Rohrick. Our thanks to Mrs. Eileen Fuller who did the accounting connected with the employment of these young ladies, and to Winnifred Weir who undertook their supervision.

The members held open house on three occasions. The first was in February when Mrs. Laird showed her collection of slides of buildings of historical interest built before 1923, showing how they appear today. The second was June 20, the date of the museum opening for the summer. This occasion was named "Madeline Turnor Day" to honour her many years of pioneering and service in the valley. Many friends came to talk over old times with her and an interesting collection of memorabilia connected with her family was shown. The third open house was held during the summer in honour of Konrad Kane and featuring Arnor Larson's photographs of appropriate mountain scenes. Mr. Larson has donated these imaginative pictures to the museum.

A committee was formed to see what can be done to improve the condition of the Windermere Cemetery. This undertaking will be done with the backing of the Village of Invermere and the committee will work along with the Lions Club, who have made this a project also.

Through the tireless efforts of Arnor Larson the photographic lab is completed and has been put to good use.

The major undertaking of the year was the moving and restoration of the Brisco School House. Our thanks go to all those who gave so generously of their time to make this possible. The school house was ready on schedule for the June 20 opening.

Lack of finances was an ongoing problem throughout the year. We are grateful to those who did so much to keep our heads above water; in particular, Mr. Roger Smith. The Village of Invermere kept the Museum Park grounds in good order and aided us with funds to pay for this maintenance and assistance in paying utilities. Also, the Canadian Arts Council gave us a substantial grant.

Many new acquisitions have been donated by members of the community. Through the capable work of Mrs. Mary Laird these have been marked and listed in a well-organized file.

Attendance during the year was over 1,600, including many visitors from Great Britain, Germany, Australia and other countries.

Special thanks from our members go to Mr. Charles Osterloh, our retiring treasurer, who worked tirelessly and cheerfully in this department, and to the directors and committee

members who worked hard on the displays and general organization, creating a good image to the public and making the museum a pleasant, attractive place.

— Report submitted by E. Stevens.

Did You Know?

Lake Windermere is named because of a real or fancied resemblance to Lake Windermere in England's lake district.

Lake Windermere and its sister Columbia Lake are really just widenings of the Columbia River which flows through them on its way to Golden and hence to the Pacific.

David Thompson named a 10,772 foot peak in the Purcell Mountains west of Invermere "Mt. Nelson" because, when at Lake Windermere in 1807, he heard of the death of Admiral Horatio Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar two years before.

Chemainus Valley

Due to changing holiday trends, the Chemainus Valley Historical Society changed the time of the annual meeting from March to November.

At the November 1981 meeting, the following officers were elected: past president, Elmer Albee; president, Tony Motherwell; vice president, Grace Dickie; secretary, Audrey Ginn; and treasurer, Edith Stephenson. The following directors were appointed by the new president: George Pedersen, Betty Pedersen, Mary Anne Hiehaus, Lillian Gustafson and Karen Flakstad.

The main project of the society during 1981 was having the Pioneer Cemetary at Lamalchi Bay on Kuper Island brush-cut and generally tidied up. There are twenty-two graves in this cemetery but only four have markers, so the Society wants to arrange for a suitable memorial cairn with all the names.

In the spring, the society mourned the passing of Harry Olson who had been a valued member since the start of the Historical Society in Chemainus.

At the May meeting the members heard an address by Ning Chang of Chemainus who spoke about the first Chinese community in Chemainus. It was so interesting that the Society requested a copy of his notes to keep on file.

During the year, Elmer Albee gave a talk on old times in Chemainus and named the occupants of every home and business around 1919. Later in the year, Mr. Albee gave an account of the bus lines on Vancouver Island from 1924 to the present day.

Adam Hunter of Thetis Island was a guest at the September meeting and he talked about the pioneers on Thetis Island. Adam has a handwritten letter from the Government Agent in Nanaimo dated September 1896 authorizing his father, Peter Hunter and Peter's brothers to survey and build a 12 foot wide road from his home to a point near the site of the present ferry landing which was approximately four miles. This entailed using teams of horses, cutting trees and clearing the right-of-way and grading the road. For all this work, the Government agreed to pay the Hunter brothers the total sum of $150.00

Members of the Society are looking forward to an equally interesting year in 1982.

— Report submitted by Grace Dickie

Golden & District

Golden and District Historical Society has accelerated its efforts in both museum and historical research. The group has attracted new members and revitalized its original members. Minor successes and the acquisition of grants elated all the lagging workers. Enterprises are being pursued with excitement and enthusiasm.

"Golden Memories — Revised" is going to the printer in March. The book tells of the earliest pioneers, then unfolds the industry and activities which kept the town and district viable and expanding. Mrs. Ethel King and her committee have written many letters, researched all available sources, written, revised, and proofread many pages.

There is always a nostalgic pause when looking through piles of old photographs to find suitable illustrations. Why, oh, why didn't the photographer write information on these delightful snapshots? "This is the Johnson family — the girls were Emily and ... can anyone remember the name of the younger one?" We have availed ourselves of collective expertise by taking these unidentified photographs down to the extended care wing of the local hospital. The senior citizens relish the opportunity to look at these pictures and to reminisce.

The Brisco log schoolhouse, transported forty miles up the valley by volunteers has been rebuilt and restored by Norman King. The building boasts a roof freshly covered with shakes split and donated by the Old Timers Hockey club. The inside was scrubbed and whitewashed by delinquents contributing hours of "community service". The tongue and groove flooring, cut as a special favour by the Donald Sawmill, was installed by Mr. King and Wilf Habart. The restoration of this schoolhouse has been a labour of love, because Norman's wife Ethel taught in it prior to their marriage.

The museum building and its displays had undergone very little alteration since opening day in 1974. Early in December three eager young workers started changing all that. Working on a Canada Community Development Grant they renovated the back room and the book room, created a large loft for storage space, made hidden treasures more accessible, and they will create new displays in remodelled settings.

— submitted by Naomi Miller

Historic Trails Update

I had hoped to include details of the Historic Routes Symposium scheduled for this May, sponsored by the Heritage Conservation Branch with the support of the British Columbia Historical Association and other groups. I have been advised that the provincial government policy of fiscal restraint has forced postponement of this project until at least 1983.

My last report in this department brought several replies giving information on the status of and problems in preserving historic trails in various parts of the province. I hope to comment on these at a later date.

Meanwhile, those of you who may have felt that historic lines of communication have been somewhat neglected in the study and appreciation of British Columbia's past should have no trouble in enjoying the Winter 1982 issue of the News!

— John Spittle

While the War of 1812 was being fought in the eastern part of North America, a Vermont Yankee represented the North West Company in New Caledonia. Who was he?
(Warning: The answer is *not* Simon Fraser!)

For the correct answer we offer a prize of a copy of Pierre Berton, *Flames Across the Border, 1813-1814.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981.

Entries should be addressed to "Contest", P.O. Box 1738, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y3 and should arrive before June 1, 1982. If there is more than one correct answer, we will draw for the prize winner.

Need to do Some Research?

Archival Notes

By Michael Halleran

There are over one hundred institutions maintaining archival collections, both large and small, across British Columbia. A list of their addresses has been prepared on the basis of the *Directory of Museums, Art Galleries and Archives* published by the Provincial Secretary and the membership list of the Association of British Columbia Archivists.

A circular letter has been sent to all the institutions on that list asking that they perodically provide information about new acquisitions of manuscripts, photographs and aural history tapes. This information will be printed in subsequent issues of the *News* as a service to researchers.

Some of the collections are well known and others are less so. Researchers, especially beginners, tend to look to obvious sources, indeed they may not know other sources exist. Perhaps by drawing attention to new acquisitions throughout the province, researchers will be directed to sources of information previously unknown as well as to new areas of investigation. You can find gold by fossicking ground that has already been worked, but the biggest nuggets are often in creeks that have been overlooked by earlier prospectors.

Michael Halleran was treasurer of the B.C.H.A. for several years. He asks that information about collections missed be sent to him in care of the *News*.

Organisations and Institutions with Archival Collections

Arranged in alphabetical order by city

Matsqui-Sumas Abbotsford Museum
33660 South Fraser Way
ABBOTSFORD, B.C. V2S 2B9
Curator: Diane Kelly

Alert Bay Museum
Box 208
ALERT BAY, B.C. V0N 1A0
Manager: Joyce Wilby

Ashcroft Museum
Box 129
ASHCROFT, B.C. V0K 1A0
Curator: Robert Graham

Atlin Museum
Box 111
ATLIN, B.C. V0W 1A0

Barkerville Historic Park
BARKERVILLE, B.C. V0R 1B0
Curator: B. Dale Perry

British Columbia Ambulance Archives
4730 Imperial Avenue
BURNABY, B.C. V5J 1C2
Director: Cor Zanabergen

Heritage Village Museum
4900 Deer Lake Avenue
BURNABY, B.C. V5G 3T6
Curator: Rick Duckles

British Columbia Telephone Archives
3777 Kingsway
BURNABY, B.C. V5H 3Z7
Historian: Tony Farr

Simon Fraser University Archives
Simon Fraser University
BURNABY, B.C. V5A 1S6
Archivist: Don Baird

Geneological Branch Library
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints
5280 Kincaid Street
BURNABY, B.C. V5G 1V9

Campbell River and District Museum
1235 Island Highway
CAMPBELL RIVER, B.C. V9W 2C7
Curator: Jay S. Stewart

Doukhobor Village Museum
Box 3081
CASTLEGAR, B.C. V1N 3H4
Curator: Anna Gattinger

Registered Nurses Association of British Columbia West Kootenay District Nursing Archives
302 Centre Avenue
BLUEBERRY CREEK, B.C.
V1N 3C1
Archivist: Helen McLeod

Selkirk College Archives
Box 1200
CASTLEGAR, B.C. V1N 3J1
Chief Librarian:
John Mansbridge

Canadian Military Engineers Museum
MPO 612 CFB Chilliwack
CHILLIWACK, B.C. V0X 2E0
Contact: Tom Higgins

Wells Centennial Museum
209 Corbould Street
CHILLIWACK, B.C. V2P 4A6
Curator: Nora Layard

Mennonite Historical Society of British Columbia Museum and Archives
2825 Clearbrook Road
CLEARBROOK, B.C. V2T 2Z3
Vice-Chairman: A.A. Olfert

South Cariboo Historical Museum
Box 46
CLINTON, B.C. V0K 1K0
President: Bert Dibben

Coquitlam Historical Society Museum
1011 King Albert Avenue
COQUITLAM, B.C. V3J 1X6
Curator: Louise Richards

Courtenay and District Museum
Box 3128
COURTENAY, B.C. V9N 5N4
Acting Curator: Trevor Davies

The Railway Museum
Box 400
CRANBROOK, B.C. V1C 4H9
Executive-Director:
Gary Anderson

Creston and District Historical and Museum Society
Box 1123
CRESTON, B.C. V0B 1G0
Contact: H.L. Dodd

Cumberland Museum
Box 74
CUMBERLAND, B.C. V0R 1S0
Curator: Norman Alexander

American Foundrymen's Society Archives and Museum, B.C. Chapter
8499-110 A Street
DELTA, B.C. V4C 2K5
Curator: Donna Police

Delta Museum and Archives
4858 Delta Street
DELTA, B.C. V4K 2T8
Curator: Mary A. Brown

Cowichan Valley Museum
2737 James Street
DUNCAN, B.C. V9L 2Y1
Curator: Myrtle Haslam

Fernie and District Historical Society
Box 1527
FERNIE, B.C. V0B 1M0
Curator: William D. Quail

Elphinstone Pioneer Museum
Box 766
GIBSONS, B.C. V0N 1V0
President: David Helm

Golden and District Museum
Box 992
GOLDEN, B.C. V0A 1H0
Curator: Naomi Miller

Kilby Provincial Historic Park
Box 48
HARRISON MILLS, B.C. V0M 1L0
Curator: C.T. Wood

Hornby Island Archives
HORNBY ISLAND, B.C. V0R 1Z0
Chairman: Betty Smith

Jack Lynn Memorial Museum
Box 288
HORSEFLY, B.C. V0L 1L0
Curator: Harriette Erickson

Windermere District Historical Museum
Box 1075
INVERMERE, B.C. V0A 1K0
Curator: Winnifred Weir

Kamloops Indian Band Museum
315 Yellowhead Highway
KAMLOOPS, B.C. V2H 1H1
Contact: Manny Jules

Kamloops Museum and Archives
207 Seymour Street
KAMLOOPS, B.C. V2C 2E7
Curator: Ken Faverholdt

S.S. Moyie Museum
Box 537
KASLO, B.C. V0G 1M0
President: Harold Carss

Diocese of Kootenay Archives
Box 549
KELOWNA, B.C. V1Y 7P2
Archivist: Gail Greenhalgh

Kelowna Centennial Museum
470 Queensway
KELOWNA, B.C. V1Y 6S7
Curator: Ursula Surtees

Keremeos Museum
Box 27
KEREMEOS, B.C. V0X 1N0
Curator: Alberta Parsons

Kitimat Centennial Museum
293 City Centre
KITIMAT, B.C. V8C 1T6
Curator: James Tirrul-Jones

Kaatza Historical Scoiety
Box 135
LAKE COWICHAN, B.C. V0R 2G0

Lillooet Museum
Box 441
LILLOOET, B.C. V0K 1V0
Curator: Renee Chipman

Mackenzie Public Library Archives
Box 1095
MACKENZIE, B.C. V0J 2C0
Contact: Helen Knorr

Maple Ridge Museum
Box 223
MAPLE RIDGE, B.C V2X 7G1
Curator: Daphne Sleigh

Ed Jones Haida Museum
Box 186
MASSET, B.C. V0T 1M0

Nicola Valley Archives Association
Box 1262
MERRITT, B.C. V0K 2B0
Curator: Katherine A. Howes

Mission Museum
33201 Second Avenue
MISSION, B.C. V2V 1J9
Curator: Dorothy Crosby

Nakusp Museum
Box 280
NAKUSP, B.C. V0G 1R0
Curator: Bert Gardner

The Bastion
Natives Sons of British Columbia
211-450 Stewart Avenue
NANAIMO, B.C. V9S 4C6
Contact: W.R. Stannard

Nanaimo Centennial Museum
100 Cameron Street
NANAIMO, B.C. V9R 2X1

David Thompson University Centre Archives
NELSON, B.C. V1L 3C7
Director: Ron J. Welwood

Nelson Centennial Museum
402 Anderson Street
NELSON, B.C. V1L 3Y3
Curator: W. A. Fetterley

Silvery Slocan Historical Museum
Box 281
NEW DENVER, B.C. V0G 1S0
Contact: Judith Maltz

Douglas College Archives
Box 2503
NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.
V3L 5B2
Director: David Williams

Irving House Historic Centre and New Westminster Museum
302 Royal Avenue
NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.
V3L 1H7
Curator: Archie W. Miller

Museum of the Royal Westminster Regiment and Royal Westminster Association
530 Queens Avenue
NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.
V3L 1K3
Curator: Doreen Cull, C.D.

New Westminster Public Library and Archives
716 Sixth Avenue
NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.
V3M 2B3
Chief Librarian: Alan Woodland

North Shore Museum and Archives
209 West Fourth Street
NORTH VANCOUVER, B.C.
V7M 1H8
Curator: W.J. Baker

Oliver Heritage Society Museum and Archives
Box 847
OLIVER, B.C. V0H 1T0
Curator: Mrs. Marilyn Simmons

Osoyoos Museum and Archives
Box 791
OSOYOOS, B.C. V0H 1V0
Curator: Claire E. Burns

District 69 Historical Society
Box 74
PARKSVILLE, B.C. V0R 2S0

R.N. (Reg) Atkinson Museum
785 Main Street
PENTICTON, B.C. V2A 5E3
Curator: Joe Harris

Pitt Meadows Heritage and Museum Society
Box 381
PITT MEADOWS, B.C. V0M 1P0

Alberni Valley Museum
4255 Wallace Street
PORT ALBERNI, B.C. V9Y 3Y6

Port Moody Historical Society Museum
126 Kyle Street
PORT MOODY, B.C. V3H 3N7
Curator: A.C. Espeseth

Pouce Coupe Museum
Box 293
POUCE COUPE, B.C. V0C 2C0
Curator: Wilma Harms

Powell River Historical Museum
Box 42
POWELL RIVER, B.C. V8A 4Z5
Archivist: Gordon Stanely

Northcoast Marine Museum
309 Second Avenue West
PRINCE RUPERT, B.C. V8J 3T1
Curator: Gladys Blyth

Quesnel and District Museum
707 Carson Avenue
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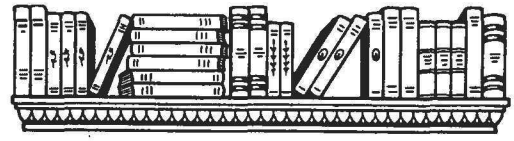

THE CARIBOO MISSION: A HISTORY OF THE OBLATES. Margaret Whitehead. Victoria: Sono Nis, 1981. Pp. 142, illus., $8.95 (paper)

Those interested in the history of Christian missions and the native peoples of British Columbia welcome the publication of Margaret Whitehead's University of Victoria M.A. thesis on the Roman Catholic Cariboo Mission.

Because few books on the Catholic Indian missions of this province have ever appeared, the Anglican William Duncan who served the Tsimshian has become the historian's typical Indian missionary. Yet, Wilson Duff's *Indian History of British Columbia* (1964) notes that of the 95% of British Columbia Indians who were nominally Christian in 1939, 57% were listed as Roman Catholic. Why?

Margaret Whitehead's *The Cariboo Mission: A History of the Oblates* begins to answer that question. French Oblates began missionary work on the Pacific Coast in the 1840s in response to the requests of French-Canadian bishops who were responsible for the territory beyond the Rocky Mountains. In the mid-1850s differences with their French-Canadian colleagues and their American neighbours in Oregon territory led the Oblates to move north, first to Vancouver Island, and, after further disagreements with French-Canadian clerics, to the new gold colony of British Columbia.

There, the Oblate order rapidly acquired autonomy as a Roman Catholic missionary force. From their base in New Westmister, Oblates under Bishop D'Herbomez and his missionary vicar and later assistant Bishop Durieu, opened missions to serve various parts of British Columbia.

In 1866 the Oblates sent Father James McGuckin to establish St. Joseph's Mission (west of present day Williams Lake) to serve the Cariboo district, primarily its Indian bands. Why? The Oblates knew the Carrier, Babine and Shuswap Indians had their own religious beliefs but also had some previous experience with Christianity and had favourably received earlier missionary visitors. Also, the scarcity of white settlements and the absence of Protestant Indian missions in the area would mean that Roman Catholic missionary work would not be inhibited as it had been in Oregon and in the Fraser Valley.

According to Whitehead, Father McGuckin, a "serious ... conscientious, practical [and] demanding" man was the main figure in the early years of St. Joseph's Mission. By background and temperament he was a desk man, not a field missionary. Nevertheless, he worked with white settlers and he started both a mission school and the ranch that was necessary to supply it and to support the Cariboo mission. Yet, Whitehead criticizes McGuckin and praises his superior Paul Durieu who "was not always a good businessman."

McGuckin and the other Oblates in the Cariboo were supposed to follow the Durieu system: "the creation of a Catholic Indian State in every willing Indian village. An administration was created under the direct authority of the Bishop, with local [itinerant] missionaries acting as ... supervisors." Indian officials — Chiefs, catechists and watchmen — kept bootleggers and pagan rites out of the village and maintained the observance of Roman Catholic morals and rituals within. However, the Oblates were short of funds and men to get this system going. Whitehead remarks that the Soda Creek, Kluskus Lake, and Fort Alexandra Indians were "returning to their old patterns" in the late 1870's. The "crux of the problem," was "a lack of missionary manpower."

Even the most notable field missionary of the Cariboo Oblates, Father Francois Thomas, found "the conversion of the Chilcotin ... was slow painstaking work." His years at St. Joseph's, 1898-1918, "the Golden Age" of the mission, were marked by his implementation of the Durieu system as the Indian Total Abstinence Society of British Columbia. Like Durieu, "his mentor, Francois Thomas was well aware that the Indians, while claiming to believe in the Church's teaching, still participated in 'pagan feasts' and ... drinking parties." The time of the missionary's quarterly visit was also "the occasion for horse races, ... said to have been 'permitted' by Paul

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Durieu, but which could have been the major drawing card for some Indians."

"To several generations of the Cariboo's Indians the mission ... meant simply the Mission School." Begun by Father McGuckin, it was enlarged in the 1890's by Durieu and the federal government as an Indian Industrial School. It later became part of the residential school system sponsored by the government but run by missionaries. Both kinds of Indian boarding schools were operated, as Whitehead notes, under an imported European style of education, "without any consideration being given to cultural clash."

Indian children and parents resisted this style of schooling by the Oblates and the three different orders of Roman Catholic nuns who came to assist them. However, the poor economic situation of Indian parents in the Depression and their need to search for work overcame some of their resistance to leaving their children at the residential school.

In the 1940's the Cariboo Mission began to experience the shift from the Durieu-style Indian villages to integrated parishes and from residential to day schools.

Margaret Whitehead's *Cariboo Mission* goes a long way toward explaining why the majority of nominally Christian Indians in British Columbia were Roman Catholic in 1939, but her explanation of that phenomenon and the role the Oblates played could be improved. *The Cariboo Mission* needs context. Whitehead might profitably have compared the Oblate's Cariboo mission with their efforts elsewhere in British Columbia and on the prairies. Oblate priests were leaders and innovators in the latter area in establishing Industrial Schools, such as the one at Qu'Appelle (Lebret). The records Whitehead consulted on the Cariboo mission and school — the *Missions* of the Oblate Congregation, Indian Affairs Reports and papers — provide a wealth of comparative material. So do Anglican sources on Duncan and Methodists sources on Crosby's missions on the coast of British Columbia. Some of this has been published such as Jean Usher's biography of William Duncan and my article on Qu'Appelle Industrial School (in A.W. Rasporich, ed., *Western Canada Past and Present.* [Calgary, 1975]).

Whitehead's analysis of the Cariboo Mission would also have been strengthened by more attention to Indian history. The use of comparative material on prairie Oblate missions and schools would enhance her study of the Indian peoples of Cariboo and underscore the value of using the anthropological framework of an acculturation study for the history of Catholic missionary effort with the Indians. Such a model makes the Indians more than peripheral to the study of White-Indian contact.

Without such a framework, *The Cariboo Mission* views the Indians almost exclusively from the viewpoint of the missionaries. There is only slight mention of changes in native peoples' lives after the 1870's. Yet, wherever Whitehead notes shifts in Indian response to Oblate missionary effort she turns up patterns paralleling developments in the Fraser Valley, on the Coast, or in Saskatchewan. When various Cariboo villages 'revolted' against the Durieu system's strictures and went back to 'pagan feasts' in the 1870's, the coastal Tsawwassen and Semiahmoo had gone back to potlatching. And the Cree, Sioux and Assiniboine took off for the sun dance.

Whitehead should also be more critical in her treatment of Oblate records. She seems to accept the twin biases, folklore and hagiography, of these original records; she relies on a manuscript history by a modern Oblate priest for her discussion of the missionaries' background and practice; she fails to probe a major anomaly in this work and in the Oblate records — their treatment of the Durieu mission system; she does not question the "successful" image of it in these sources; and she does not go beyond the rhetoric of Fathers Bunoz, Morice, and Thomas, the devoted pupils of Durieu. Their writings shaped the history and the historiography of the Oblate missions of B.C.

Even Father Thomas, the greatest of the Cariboo missionaries, had doubts about how well the Durieu system actually worked. My own research on Oblate missions in the Fraser Valley and in Saskatchewan makes me wonder about the results of the system and its origins. Durieu's Total Abstinence Society and industrial schools for Indians followed patterns laid down by D'Herbomez, his superior and predecessor. Durieu's quick and generous attachment to the Dominion government's Industrial School system of the 1890s followed the 1887 visit of prairie Bishop Taché and Father Lacombe to Squamish.

Despite these criticisms, *The Cariboo Mission* deserves high praise as a history of Roman Catholic Indian missionary work. Those interested in the history of Christian misisons and the native peoples of British Columbia will be pleased to know that Whitehead has recently edited a

volume, *Now You Are My Brother: Missionaries in British Columbia,* in the Sound Heritage series.

Jacqueline Gresko, a frequent contributor to the News, *teaches history at Douglas College.*

RUSSIA IN PACIFIC WATERS, 1715-1825: A SURVEY OF THE ORIGIN OF RUSSIA'S NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH PACIFIC. Glynn R. V. Barratt. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981. 300 pp. illus. maps, index.

Russia in Pacific Waters is the first in a series, "Pacific Maritime Studies", published by the Univeristy of British Columbia Press, a notable publisher of works on maritime and Pacific history. To date,students of Pacific history (in the English language) have invariably relied on Frank Golder's classic, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850,* an account of expeditions along Asian and American coasts and related Arctic voyages. Now well out of date and insufficiently based in Russian sources, Golder has been ably succeeded by Barratt.

Russia in Pacific Waters is the first substantial survey of Russian naval activity in the Pacific from Peter the Great to Nicholas I. Barratt traces the story of how Russia sent armed ships in search of icefree northern routes, in support of fur traders, and, not least, in pursuit of scientific endeavours. The effectiveness of such ships was not great: they were few in number; they were not always well built. Nor were they always well-manned. Nor, too, were the captains and masters of these vessels seasoned and good mariners.

Yet, these ships made their influence felt at Kamchatka and Sitka, the anchors of Russian influence on either side of the Pacific. They made visits to the Hawaiian Islands and to northern California in support of Russian traders and agents. They called at Polynesia and various Pacific islands, showing the flag in support of Czarist influence and trade. But their presence hardly deterred any rivals, especially the British, whose naval supremacy was unmatched.

The motives of the Russians in the Pacific were mixed and confused, and for that reason Barratt is unclear on the 'why's' of Rusian activity. He does not pursue the sort of useful investigation heralded by Raymond H. Fisher in his splendid *Bering Voyages: Whither and Why* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977). For instance, Barratt does not adequately explain Catherine II's newly-acquired interest in Pacific naval ventures. Though Barratt gives adequate attention to Bering, Kruzernshtern, Lisianskii and Golvnin — and seeks to make sense of an awkward pattern of voyages — we are left wondering at how naval operations influenced the formation of strategy and policy in St. Petersburg.

The whole seems a little rushed, and more balance between the interplay of metropolis and frontier would bring us more appropriately, and a little less breathlessly, to Barratt's excellent last, but regrettably, short chapter "Conclusions and Reflections".

Barratt rightly concludes that Russia was incapable *at that time* of a great power role in the Pacific because she lacked an independent, self-sufficient fleet there. In fact, the roots of this inadequacy lie elsewhere: overextended, domestically corrupt, feudally dominated, Czarist Russia's reach far exceeded her grasp.

Admiral S. G. Gorshkov's *The Sea Power of the State* (first published in Russian in 1976 and in English in 1979) ought to be a poignant lesson and salutary reminder to students of world affairs that Russian eastward expansion onto Pacific shores and beyond did not end in failure. These early voyages were as important in North American history as Columbus's probes from Europe. The Russian voyagers came over two hundred years later, but they formed part of that great imperial process of the extension of power and dominance from "the world island" (Sir Halford Mackinder's term) to its outlying peripheries, including the Americas.

Barry Gough, the author of several books on British naval activities on the North Pacific Coast, teaches history at Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario.

Bookshelf

THE WATER LINK: A HISTORY OF PUGET SOUND AS A RESOURCE. Daniel Jack Chason. Seattle: Puget Sound Books (University of Washington), 1981. Pp. 192, illus. $8.95 (U.S.) Paper.

Chason's volume, published under the auspices of the Washington Sea Grant program, is a popular, well illustrated, anecdotal view of Puget Sound as a resource. It is not, nor was it intended to be, a highly academic interpretation of the role of the Sound in the economic development of the local region and the State. Herein lies the problem with the book. It is well-written and interesting, but lacks a well-documented theme and a chapter summarizing the historical role of the Sound that brings the disparate parts of the volume together.

This weakness is most apparent in the early part of the volume. The first four chapters concentrate on the economic development of the Puget Sound region — not necessarily on the Sound itself. Woven into these chapters is a familiar story of the early timber trade and the ties to San Francisco which characterized the early cities on both sides of the border and the subsequent diversification of trade to the mid-west after completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1882. Seattle emerged as the dominant centre on the Sound, the salmon industry grew rapidly, and coal, lumber and wheat were the main exports from this region.

In all this Chason asserts that the Sound was the critical water link, but does not develop this idea well. He does not discuss fully the trading patterns that emerged on the Sound, the important living resources, the aesthetic value attached to water locations in the early period, and degree to which the Sound facilitated interaction between communities both inside and outside the region.

The latter chapters are much more interesting. Chapters on water pollution, the public nature of the Sound, the salmon industry, aboriginal treaty rights, and environmental management document the importance of the Sound to life in the region.

In the early period Puget Sound had been the link for all communities to outside markets, but, after completion of the railroad, towns on the Olympic Peninsula were at a competitive disadvantage. Products such as lumber and fish had to be shipped to railhead in Seattle. "Instead of being closer to the ocean, the Olympic Peninsula was further from the railroad ... [The] Sound was coming to seem less a highway than a barrier."

As industrialization developed in the region so did pollution levels. Effluent from pulp mills was discharged directly into the Sound and in many cases species such as oysters which were once plentiful, disappeared. Oystermen protested, but "they were not in the same league as the pulp and paper industry." Other industries such as Boeing Aircraft and aluminum plants did not really depend on the Sound as a water link, but they did attract people to the region who began to appreciate the aesthetic quality of the Sound.

The Sound which had been a critical link in all facets of life in the early period, is no longer the critical water link for commerce. Small communities that depended on water transportation are now more isolated. The Sound, more particularly the eastern shore, is still concerned with external trade, and shore locations remain important for ship building industries and oil refineries, but the environmental values attached to the Sound are now much greater than in the last century.

Chason's volume is well worth reading. It is relatively free of errors. Two minor points could be noted — salmon canning began on the Sacramento River in 1864 (p. 10) not 1866, and "Esquimault" (p. 27) is spelled "Esquimalt". For those unfamiliar with the economic development of the Puget Sound region, this volume provides a quick popular summary.

William Ross teaches Geography at the University of Victoria.

BUILDING WITH WORDS. William Bernstein and Ruth Cawker. Toronto: Coach House Press, 1981. Pp. 102, illus., $14.50 (paper).

From two 1980 graduates of the School of Architecture, University of Toronto, comes a fresh and stimulating book which breaks new ground for both the history and future of Canadian architecture. Twenty-one of Canada's best known architects and architectural critics have been cajoled into saying something about their work, the state of the art, and the future of Canada's built

environment. Bernstein and Cawker's introduction is a genuinely scholarly contribution to the recent history of modern architecture.

Backed up by the still raw resources of Robert Hill's yet-to-be-published biographical dictionary of Canadian architects, the two editors concisely but brilliantly trace the use of the modern movement out of its Arts-and-Crafts beginnings in the 1920s to the megalomonuments of Parkin and Erickson in the 1980s.

So how do their twenty-one professional interlocutors find the future for Canada's architectural evolution? "Enough of Vitruvius, Philip Johnson and the Bauhaus. This is illusionary and vapid ... our present methods lead to oblivion" declares Edmonton architect, Peter Hemingway. Melvin Charney, a Montreal architect, finds the "disarray of Modernism" the result of "an ingrained confusion between means and ends, between metaphor and reality".

Jean Claud Marsan, professor of architecture at the University of Montreal, is more to the point: "This architecture ('International Style'), based on norms universally applicable to any function or location, neglects the principal asset of this society: its culture". Dr. McMordie of the University of Calgary decries the ravages of so-called modern functionalism in his booming home town: "Calgary ... is building a dinosaur — a city of towers after an obsolete model. The towers that Calgary builds, and that Toronto has — at least selectively — rejected, are buildings of the 1950s, when climate was ignored, and when big was beautiful and new was best."

So whither goest we? Here there is less concord among the contributors. Toward a state, says Yale-trained Montrealer Peter Rose, Canada's high priest for the referentialists of 'post modernism', where we "have too many influences to have a real mainstream". Toward a "pluralistic style" which "will save this multiplicity of interests with an architectural language that can accommodate a variety of tastes and a spectrum of meanings" echoes Anthony Jackson of the Nova Scotia Tech.

At the other extreme Barry Downs, Vancouver architect and celebrated apologist for the modern West Coast school, pleads for a return to basic Arts-and-Crafts environmentalism. Buildings "must be consciously shaped to the challenge of their location ... The psychological need in the West for sunlight and reflected light causes interior spaces to be shaped to harness and contain light."

Jack Diamond in Toronto translates this aesthetic into an eastern urban context: "Eccentric or bizarre design makes easy novelty. Context, on the other hand, makes its own very different demands. Most circumstances call for increments of a simpler kind, buildings as fragments, which can contribute to the harmony of the larger neighbourhood."

It might be expected that some architects find themselves totally divorced from this litany of discontent. Not surprisingly they are Canada's two most successful internationalist corporate architects. "... revivals now last only a few months, and like dress fashions fill the narcissicm or ennui of the moment", states Arthur Erickson who strives for simplicity of pattern and form as "a reaction to our trash oriented society". Similarly John C. Parkin, recent winner of the National Gallery competition, states categorically "Post-Modernism — or as I prefer to call it, neo-conservatism, is not going anywhere".

If debate still rages at the verbal level, does the photographic content of *Building with Words* point to a way out of this dilemma? I am afraid not. Unfortunately the buildings illustrated are not dated, but for the most part we are served a somewhat stale feast from such periodicals as *Architecture Canada* and *The Canadian Architect* of the last decade. High points are the witty historical quotation pieces of Peter Rose, the high-tech gesturalism of Burton Myers and Gaudiesque earth-womb of Douglas Cardinal. And undeniably the sculpturalism of Erickson and studied minimal forms of Parkin still photograph well.

Interesting perhaps more by way of side comment are the omissions. Where is the playful and exuberant architectural enthusiasm of Raymond Moriyama of Ontario Science Centre fame? Or the cerebral observations of jet-set conservationist guru, Jacques Dalibard — architect and executive director of the Heritage Canada Foundation?

Still Bernstein and Cawker must be congratulated for at last bringing to the surface the great ongoing debate which will dominate western world architecture during the eighties. They have given it a specific — and sparkling — Canadian context.

Martin Segger is Director/Curator of the Maltwood Art Museum and Gallery at the University of Victoria.

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April 29 - May 2, 1982

B.C. Historical Association
1982 Convention

The Inn at Cowichan Bay, Cowichan Bay, Vancouver Island

Thursday, April 29	registration, wine and cheese party, Council meeting (7:30 p.m.)
Friday, April 30	morning — walking tour of Cowichan Bay afternoon — a visit to the B.C. Forest Museum evening — entertainment
Saturday, May 1	Annual General Meeting (9 a.m.-12 a.m.) afternoon — bus tour of historic sites of Cowichan district evening — banquet (7:30 p.m.)
Sunday, May 2	new Executive Council meeting

Forms with prices and reservation requirements will be mailed to each member society early in the new year.

The Cowichan Historical Society will be the host.

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As well as the convention site, there are hotels and motels nearby.

The Cowichan Historical Society