

BRITISH

VOLUME 15, NO. 1

COLUMBIA

HISTORICAL NEWS



- **Indian brass bands**
- **B.C. enters World War I**
- **Policing the Gulf Islands**

On the cover . . .

Indian brass band being recorded, early 1900s? Photographer unknown. (NPA)

This extraordinary photograph appears to have been taken at an Indian residential school, perhaps one in British Columbia. The likeliest candidate is St. Mary's Mission. The architecture is Second Empire style which was popular towards the end of the nineteenth century. The recording device, a cylinder model gramophone, dates to the turn of the century and was used for field recording by anthropologists as late as the mid-1920s.

It is quite possible a reference to this event lies buried in a late nineteenth or early twentieth century newspaper. As for the recording itself, it too may have survived. Readers of the *B.C. Historical News* who have information on the circumstances surrounding this photograph are asked to write David Mattison at the Sound and Moving Image Division, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, c/o Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C. V8V 1X4.

. . . story starts on page six.

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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL NEWS

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From the Editor

Hello.

Welcome to the first issue done in the new format. I hope you find the *NEWS* easier to read and more enjoyable to look at. These renovations are possible due to a generous grant from the British Columbia Historical Trust Fund.

Taking on the job as editor, I have noticed that there are not nearly as many bits of news from the various societies throughout the province as there could be. Could all of you please make sure that the secretary of your organization is keeping us posted? Something as simple as putting the *NEWS* on the mailing list of your newsletter would help us keep up.

On this page you will also notice a very short letters to the editor section. These are the only two letters received since last issue. Could some of you interested people out there please send in some more comments, brickbats, or compliments so we can have a sense of how we are doing?

I am looking forward to working on the *NEWS* for the next year as the job combines my two lifelong interests in local history and graphics. Happy reading and do tell me what you like and don't like.

Best wishes,
Maureen Cassidy.

To the Editor

The Editor:

re: Vol. #13, No. 2 — Winter 1979 — Page 23.

Not of earth-shattering importance, but I suppose history should be accurate.

“Alan Duncan Bell-Irving, a Vancouver lawyer, prepared these reminiscences in 1959.”

Alan Duncan Bell-Irving was *NOT* a lawyer. Duncan Harry Bell-Irving, a separate branch of the family, is a lawyer.

Yours sincerely,

H. Bell-Irving
Lieutenant-Governor
Government House
Victoria, B.C.

The Editor:

I would like to bring to your attention an error in the Volume 14, No. 4 issue, page 27, as follows: “Johnson-Cull, Viola, comp. *Chronicles of Ladysmith and District*, with editorial assistance by Miss E. Norcross, Ladysmith, Ladysmith New Horizons Historical Society, 1980, xv, 392 p., ill \$4.00”.

The cost is \$12.95. Will you please correct this? Different stores charge their own mark up.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. E. R. Cull
Ladysmith, B.C.

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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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A Message from the President

Greetings,

We are embarking on a new year, hopefully a very busy and progressive one. Because this is the first issue of *British Columbia Historical News* in the new format, I would ask the membership to assist the Association and the editor to make the publication live up to what the name implies. Send us news of the history of British Columbia by submitting articles concerning the history of the province. Send us news of the various societies, acquainting us with the ways you research, preserve and present your local history.

Through these efforts by all of us, we can prove to the people and the government of the province that we play a most important part in saving for posterity the history of this beautiful province.

Again, I ask your co-operation in the business of the Association for the year ahead. It is only by working together that any undertaking can be successful.

I am looking forward to our year.

Your President,



Barbara Stannard.

CONTEST RESULTS

We received ten correct replies to last issue's contest question: "What government enterprise first opened its doors on June 15, 1921?" The ten names were put in a basket and Megan Cassidy, eleven months old, selected the winner. The winner is

Mrs. Clare McCallister
302-118 Croft Street
Victoria, B.C.

She will receive a copy of *The Invasion of Canada* by Pierre Berton by mail shortly.

The answer to the question is, of course, the British Columbia Liquor Control Board.

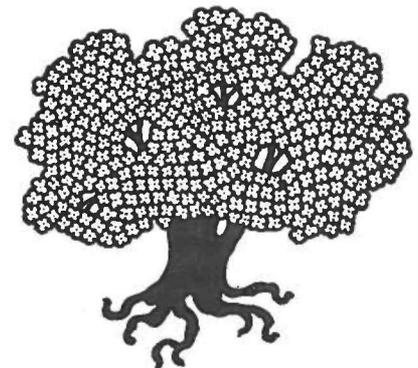


Barbara Stannard with her grandson Christopher.

Editors' note: This is what Barbara modestly wrote us about herself.

"I received my education in British Columbia, the state of Washington and the province of Saskatchewan. My professional education was in business. Over the years I have taken a number of courses in various subjects on the continuing education program.

"My interests are primarily children and their welfare, and history through my thirty years association with organizations geared to history and museums. I am, at present, president of the Nanaimo Centennial Museum."



Get Ready!

The Cowichan Historical Society is the host for this year's Annual Meeting. It will be held at the Cowichan Inn at Cowichan Bay during the first week in May. Myrtle Haslam is the convenor.

Registration forms will be in the winter issue of the *News*.

On The March

Indian Brass Bands, 1866–1915

By David Mattison



DRUM MAJOR'S STAFF.

Indian brass bands, a progeny of missionary and Salvation Army efforts, have existed in British Columbia since 1867 when the St. Mary's Mission brass band put in an appearance at the Queen's Birthday celebrations in New Westminster. The band appears to have had a continuous existence from that point on; twenty years after one of its initial appearances one of its members helped establish a similar band at the Squamish Mission on the north shore of Burrard Inlet, now within the City of North Vancouver.

Indian brass bands consisted of traditional European instruments usually ordered from Eastern Canada, probably Toronto or Montreal. Instruments adopted by different bands at various times include the euphonium, cornet, trombone, clarinet, French horn, saxophone, trumpet and assorted drums.

The Anglican lay missionary, William Duncan of Metlakatla, began what was probably the second Indian brass band when he returned from England via San Francisco in 1871 with a set of instruments. The first notable public occasion at which the Metlakatla brass band played was the arrival of Governor-General and Lady Dufferin in late August 1876. The Metlakatla band is supposed to have had a dramatic effect on neighbouring Tsimshian and Haida. Within a decade other Anglican and Methodist missions on the north coast had native brass bands.

By the late 1880s more bands were being organized among the Roman Catholic villages. Before the Indian brass band contests at Prince Rupert in the early 1910s the largest single gathering of brass bands was probably at Sechelt when five or six congregated for the opening services at Our Lady of the Rosary in early June 1890. The Catholic Indian brass bands, in comparison with the Protestant bands, appear to have been a short-lived phenomena.

The Salvation Army has also been credited with creating an interest in brass band music among native Indians. Yet the Protestant and Catholic missions with brass bands had usually established these several years before the Salvation Army arrived in British Columbia. Quite clearly, however, the Salvation Army represented another outlet for native musicians.

The history of the Salvation Army on the north coast is a confusing one and beyond the scope of this brief pictorial representation of Indian brass bands, many of which began as religious groups but by the 1900s had evolved into secular institutions. The Salvation Army native bands remained faithful to Army tunes else they were no longer worthy of Army sanction.

The Protestant response to the implied threat of the Salvation Army on the north coast was to organize, in the Anglican missions, groups called the Church Army, while the Methodists, with characteristic reserve, styled their own association the Epworth League. If the examples of Aiyansh, Kincolith and Greenville (Lakkalzap) are typical, then the Church Army was not possessed of a single brass band instrument, but performed their marching duties with the aid of drums and flags. The opening in 1896 of Holy Trinity Church, Aiyansh, was attended by the Kincolith and Lakkalzap brass

bands, along with the Church Army contingent, while a similar ceremony at Kincolith in 1900 saw the Aiyansh Brass Band and the Church Army present.

A third major force in the creation of Indian brass bands was the chain of schools for Indian education. The majority of these schools were run by Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries on behalf of the Department of Indian Affairs. All the larger residential schools had brass bands by 1903. Those from Coqualeetza, St. Mary's Mission, Kuper Island, and St. Eugene Mission (Kootenay Industrial) earned such a reputation of excellence, according to their sponsors, that invitations were extended by nearby communities for their attendance at events ranging from civic holidays to garden parties.

The native Indian response to brass band music has seemed at times both odd and perfectly respectable. The reasons for the popularity of these musical groups has received scant attention from anthropologists. Native peoples' acceptance and success with Western musical forms is not unique to British Columbia, for the Royal Hawaiian Band, dating back to 1836, was, by 1870, comprised exclusively of native Hawaiians. It was once led by a Prussian bandmaster, as was the band at Metlakatla. Unlike most Indian brass bands, however, the Royal Hawaiian Band has remained an important cultural institution.

In the following pages are reproduced several photographs of the most important Indian brass bands from the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first two of the twentieth. The fifty-year period of these band's collective existence corresponds with two important dates in B.C. history: the Act of Union merging the two Crown Colonies and the final report of the Indian land reserve commission whose members were entertained by a number of brass bands.

The photographs were obtained from three sources: Provincial Archives of British Columbia (PABC); City of Vancouver Archives (CVA); and the Notman Photographic Archives (NPA). I am especially grateful to Joan M. Schwartz for bringing the last photograph to my attention and to Stanley Triggs for giving me permission to publish it for the first time.

David Mattison is an archivist with the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. He grew up listening to the music of the Royal Hawaiian Band.

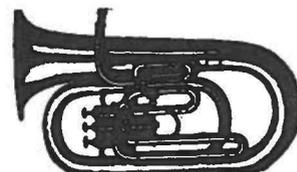
MINIATURE CORNET.



TRUMPETS.

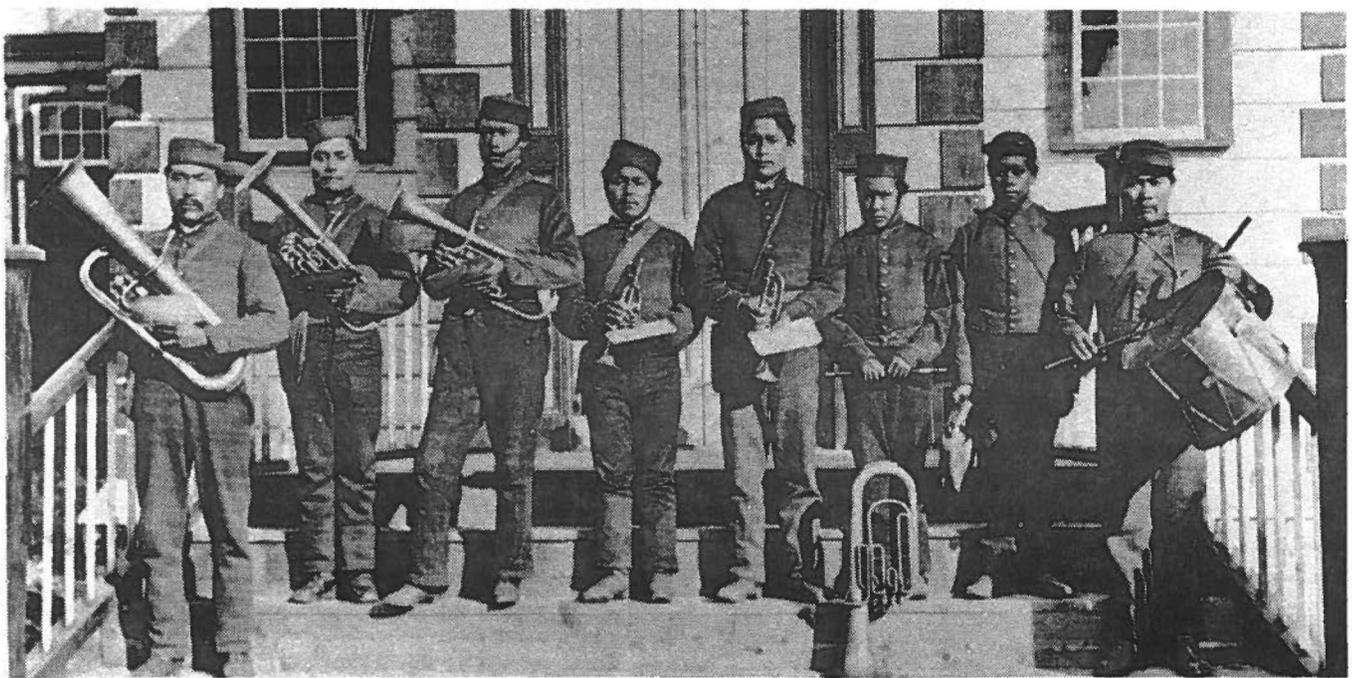


EUPHONIUMS



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“Metlakatla Indian Band,” June 30–July 3, 1881. Photographer: Edward Dossetter. (PABC Photo no. 16491)

The Metlakatla brass band was the pride of the Pacific Northwest coast from about the mid 1870s to 1887. Generally thought to be the first brass band of native musicians, the band was historically upstaged by the St. Mary’s Mission band which came into existence about 1866-67. One of the first appearances of the Metlakatla band came with the 1876 visit of Governor-General and Lady Dufferin. A Toronto newspaper writer described the group of bandsmen as “gorgeous in cast-off uniforms of United States soldiers, purchased at a sale of condemned military clothing recently held in Alaska.”¹ Lady Dufferin, whose impressions of vice-regal life in Canada were later published, was not sufficiently moved by the novelty of an Indian brass band. What she found odd was that the band should play atop the prison.²

William Duncan, the controversial founder of the Christian Tsimshian community of Metlakatla, is believed to have brought band instruments with him upon his return from England in February 1871. A Prussian bandmaster named Ephor has been credited with giving music lessons to either Duncan and/or his pupils. After the bandmaster had fulfilled his obligations a student took over. This student, Roderick Vokel, was later hired by the enthusiastic Kincolith villagers to teach some of their members how to play. Another band was also formed at about the same time at Port Simpson.³

The Metlakatla band was brought out for all important visitors, among whom can be mentioned Bishop Bompas (1877), Admiral James C. Prevost (1878), and Superintendent of Indian Affairs I. W. Powell (1879 and 1881). When Duncan seceded in 1887 from the Church Missionary Society, moving over 800 followers on August 7 to Annette Island, Alaska, Bishop William Ridley somehow managed to keep the band functioning. Music continued to play an important role in the lives of the Tsimshians at New Metlakatla, for by the early 1900s other musical associations were formed including “a reed band, a string band, an orchestra, a ladies’ orchestra, and a girls’ zobo band.”⁴

Stationed on the steps of the school, these bandsmen may be among those who departed with Duncan for New Metlakatla. Edward Dossetter, a Victoria photographer, accompanied Powell on the 1881 voyage and made a splendid series of photographs at most of or all the points visited. Another photograph (PABC photo no. 1287) of the Metlakatla band, also taken in the 1880s, shows fourteen musicians, excluding a young boy who appears to be carrying a hand drum, in front of the church. Both the old and the New Metlakatla brass bands performed into the 1910s.

¹ *Toronto Mail*, September 19, 1876, quoted in Stock (1881), p. 105.

² Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, *My Canadian Journal 1872-8* (1891), p. 263.

³ Contemporary sources with information on the old and New Metlakatla brass bands include Stock (1881); *Church Missionary Gleaner* (1874-1898); *Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record* (series 3, 1876-1903); *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society* (1819-1913); Collison (1915); Arctander (1909); Dept. of Indian Affairs annual reports; and newspapers. It was Collison who originated the idea that Duncan established the first brass band of native talent in British Columbia.

⁴ Arctander (1909), p. 337.

There were two striking and long-remembered displays of pageantry on the part of missionaries and their Indian followers in North Vancouver at the Squamish Mission (sometimes called Ustlawn). One Vancouver resident, O. L. Charlton, related with almost total recall a visit by Archbishop Alexandre A. Taché, Archbishop Joseph Fabre, Bishop Paul Durieu, Father Albert Lacombe, and Father Patrick Fay to the mission on September 11, 1887:

A large flotilla of canoes had proceeded to Vancouver, and met the Archbishop and Bishop and lesser clergy at Andy Linton's boathouse, at the foot of Carrall street, adjoining Water street. As the flotilla was ready to leave Linton's float of logs, "Squamish Joe" he was a prominent Indian from that North Vancouver Reserve; he was a longshoreman at Moodyville — not the same man as Chief Capilano Joe — gave the signal to the band to play, and to the canoe men to move out; the bandsmen were all in the canoes . . . And the band played — I'll bet you couldn't guess — "Yankee Doodle."⁵

The Squamish Indian brass band was organized in November 1886 under the leadership of Henry Edwards from St. Mary's Mission. Bishop Durieu was given credit for initiating the band. Instruments were ordered from Eastern Canada and these apparently arrived in early January 1887 at which point Henry Edwards returned to Vancouver.⁶

Within five months the band developed such proficiency that a suggestion was made to have the band "aid in celebrating the arrival of the first train" in May 1887.⁷ The idea appears to have gone no further. The Vancouver City Band, itself of no mean reputation, offered musical competition and is known to have performed that day. The Indian band did not play in Vancouver's first Dominion Day parade either, a distinct contrast to the attitude towards the northwest coast Indian brass bands.

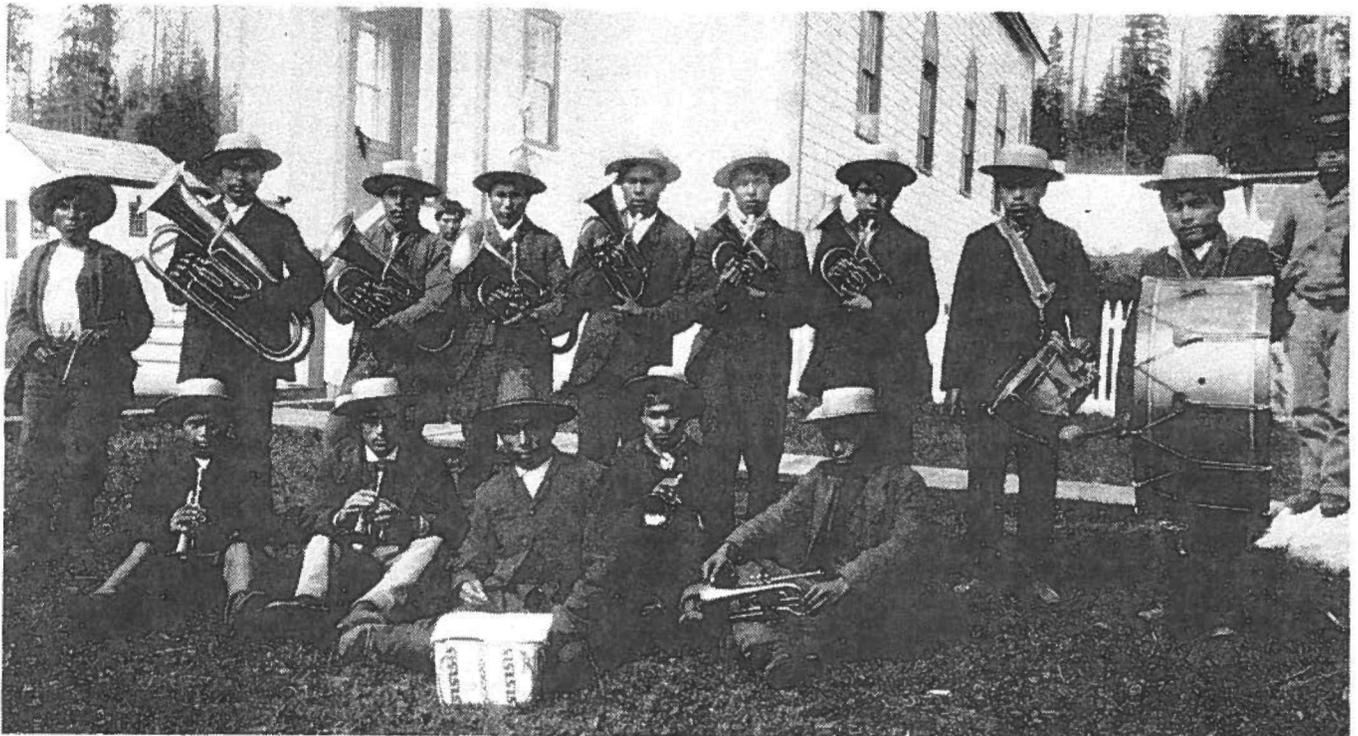
By 1888 the Squamish band was again in the news with a report of the "Corpus Christi" celebration at the North Shore mission. It was during this occasion that C. S. Bailey crossed the water and photographed the participants and the setting. He took excellent pictures of the two brass bands, one being that shown here, the other being the fledging Squamish Indian brass band. Prior to their arrival at the mission the Fort Douglas band had provided entertainment to the amazed citizens of New Westminster. It was suggested that the Douglas musicians be invited to play in the 1888 Dominion Day festivities, but again this appears not to have been followed up.⁸

⁵ J. S. Matthews, *Early Vancouver*, v. 6 (1945), pp. 74-75. Charlton's account is corroborated by articles on the visit in the *Evening Herald* (Vancouver), September 10 and 12, 1887, p. 4 and 1 respectively.

⁶ *Vancouver News*, November 27, 1886, p. 1; and January 7, 1887, p. 4.

⁷ *News-Advertiser* (Vancouver), May 22, 1887, p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1888, p. 6.



"518. [Fort] Douglas Indian Brass Band," June 21, 1888. Photographer: C. S. Bailey. (CVA INDIANS P. 139, top)



Brass bands at Sechelt, B.C., June 4 or 10, 1890. Photographer: Bailey & Neelands. (CVA OUT. P. 426)

Bishop Paul Durieu's pride was the Sechelt mission started in 1862 following a two-year hiatus after the first Catholic missionaries were rejected. The Sechelt Indians did not organize their band until December 1888; not to be outdone they arranged for "two full brass bands, of fifteen pieces each, composed of native musicians only."¹⁰ Their moment of glory, along with that of four or five other bands, came during the opening festivities (figure 1) of Our Lady of the Rosary, the building on the left of the photograph.

A reporter who attended the dedication described one of the greatest assemblages of Catholic brass bands:

The Indians of the [Sechelt] Mission gave their brethern from the interior a hearty welcome. Their band was stationed on the steps of the new church and as the steamer lay to, struck up a lively air. Six brass bands in all were in attendance, most of them uniformed in the most fantastic garb that could be devised. A band from Lillooet had fine new buckskin suits throughout, gaily decked with bright colored flowers worked upon the borders.¹¹

The day before this was written Bishop Louis D'Herbomez died in New Westminster; he was buried at the Oblate cemetery at St. Mary's Mission on June 6 with two brass bands in attendance.¹² On June 10 the final ceremonies at Sechelt were held.¹³

Throughout the newspaper coverage of this event there was no mention of the presence of a photographer. At least nine photographs were marketed by Bailey & Neelands, a photographic partnership which lasted little more than 12 months. Two of the bands in this photograph are identifiable: the first is the Sechelt brass band whose members are wearing bandsmen uniforms with caps; the second is the Lillooet band whose flower-bedecked buckskin jackets and straw hats form an interesting contrast to the Sechelt uniforms. Other bands in the photograph may be the St. Mary's Mission band, the Squamish band, and the Fort Douglas band. There are at least two other photographs of the Sechelt band taken by Bailey & Neelands and the Bailey Bros. Frank Isidore, the bandmaster, is seated next to the bass drum, his baton resting on the drum. According to J. S. Matthews he was still with the band in 1933.¹⁴

¹⁰ *News-Advertiser*, December 13, 1888, p. 8.

¹¹ *World (Vancouver)*, June 4, 1890, p. 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, June 5, 1890, p. 4.

¹³ *Ibid.*, June 9, 1890, p. 4.

¹⁴ Information on Isidore from CVA OUT. P. 428.

St. Mary's Mission, established as a residential school for Indians in 1861 by Father Leon Fouquet, O.M.I., could boast the first Indian brass band in British Columbia. During the May 24 celebration at New Westminster in 1867

His Excellency [Governor Seymour] was received with loud cheering from the thousands of assembled natives, a general salute from the Volunteer Companies, and as he took his place upon the platform the St. Mary's Amateur Brass Band composed of native boys belonging to the school, played and afterwards sang the National Anthem. And we must remark that both the instrumental and vocal efforts were creditable alike to the teachers and pupils of St. Mary's school.¹⁵

Six years later Superintendent of Indian Affairs Israel Wood Powell was likewise greeted by a brass band from the same school, though the occasion, also a Queen's Birthday fete, was tempered by the issue of Indian land claims raised by Father Paul Durieu.¹⁶

The photograph shown here was taken on May 19, 1891 during the Mission City land auction of lots owned by J. W. Horne, a Vancouver real estate promoter and politician. C. S. Bailey, the Vancouver photographer, was present at this sale but this photograph has not been identified as his work. Brother Patrick Joseph Collins, on the left of the circle, was the leader upon this occasion.¹⁷ One of the other brass bands in attendance can be seen listening in the background to their native Indian counterparts.

The Vancouver *World* reporter offered this assessment of the native children's performance:

This band is made up of young pupils attending the above school, and range in age from 6 to 12 years. The instruments played by several of the young boys are of greater length than they are in height. So small are they that it takes a couple of the lads to carry the small drum. To say that the music played by this band is was excellent gives the reader but a faint idea of what their performance is like. It is to be hoped that an opportunity will be given at an early date for Vancouverites to listen to what is unquestionably the best Indian band in the Province, or for that matter in the Dominion.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Daily British Columbian* (New Westminster), May 29, 1867, p. 3. Some secondary sources on the history of New Westminster and Mission (B.C.) give the initial appearance of this band as 1864.

¹⁶ *Mainland Guardian* (New Westminster), May 28, 1873, p. 3. Rev. T. Pandosy conducted the band.

¹⁷ Brother Collins is identified on the back of the copy print in the PABC. Information on the land sale and Bailey's presence is found in the *News-Advertiser*, *Daily Colonist*, *Daily British Columbian*, and *World* of May 16-25, 1891 period.

¹⁸ *World*, May 20, 1891, p. 5. Two other bands, the Vancouver City Band and the New Westminster Artillery Band, were also present.



St Mary's Mission brass band at Mission City land auction, May 19, 1891. Photographer unknown. (PABC photo no. 75177)

Port Simpson could boast at one time of at least two, if not three, brass bands. W. H. Collison wrote that Port Simpson was the third place after Metlakatla where the Tsimshians organized a brass band. Port Simpson was a Methodist village managed by Rev. Thomas Crosby for several years from about 1873.¹⁹ One of the bands was playing as early as the fall 1887, for Indian Affairs Commissioners C. F. Cornwall and J. P. Planta reported that

*The Indian village, spread over a considerable area, with several streets and numerous houses, presented quite an imposing appearance . . . There is a fire-brigade house and a Temperance Hall; street-lamps are used, and a brass band was heard at practice in the evening.*²⁰

By the turn of the century Nelson's [Silver] Cornet Band had been organized, perhaps by Chief Harry E. Nelson. One performance by this band in Vancouver in September 1900 brought down the wrath of Rev. J. B. McCullagh of Aiyansh.²¹ The following year the band was playfully photographed the morning of a reception for the Indians who had gathered to honour the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (later King George V and Queen Mary).

The Port Simpson brass bands, like other northern coastal bands were present at almost every ceremonial occasion and exposition, including the 1905 New Westminster Provincial Exhibition, the 1906 visit to Vancouver of Governor-General Earl Grey, the 1910 visit of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to Prince Rupert (the Metlakatla, Kitkatla and possibly Kincolith bands were also present), and the 1912 visit of the Duke of Connaught to Prince Rupert. One of the Port Simpson bands won the grand prize at the October 1905 exposition at New Westminster, while a descendant of these bands, the Port Simpson Concert Band, was performing up to 1968.²²

¹⁹ One of Crosby's autobiographies, *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship* (1914), tells of his experiences at Port Simpson.

²⁰ British Columbia, Commission on the Condition of the Indians of the North West Coast, *Papers Relating to . . .* (1888), p. 419.

²¹ J. B. McCullagh, *The Caledonia Interchange (September 1900)*, pp. 13-14. The band McCullagh founded, the *Aiyansh Harmonic Silver Band* (also formerly known as the *Aiyansh Brass Band* and the *Kitlaktamik Harmonic Silver Band*), as well known as any of the other northern bands, was still functioning in the early 1970s.

²² Leslie A. Drew (1971) is the first article on northern bands after a 1933 newspaper article by the Rev. Dr. Unsworth.



Nelson's Cornet Band, Vancouver, October 3, 1901. Photographer: Edward Bros. (CVA INDIANS P. 24)



“On the March,” Skidegate Indian band, ca. September 13–14, 1913. Photographer unknown (PABC photo no 94055)

The Masset brass band dates to the early 1880s and was likely a direct response to the success of the Metlakatla brass band and the loss of winter diversions through the influence of the Anglican missionaries. Although W. H. Collison was the first Anglican missionary to Massett (1876–1879) he makes no mention of his role, if any, in establishing a brass band at his mission. He was succeeded by George Sneath (1879–1883), Charles Harrison (1883–1890), and J. H. Keen (1890–1900). The Masset band was functioning as early as Christmas 1883 when Harrison describes a worship service that day in which the brass band participated.²⁴

The Skidegate Concert Band, founded about 1907 by a Haida named W. E. Ross, came to prominence after winning the J. S. Gray Cup at an Indian brass band contest held at Prince Rupert on May 24, 1911. Having been tutored by former Victoria musician Arthur Solomon, the band captured two cups after competing against six other brass bands, including those from Kitkatla, Kincolith, Nass [Greenville?], Upper Nass [Aiyansh?], Port Simpson, and Metlakatla. Kincolith, which had two days’ notice of the competition, took second place.

The 1912 contest was postponed but the Skidegate Concert Band, not aware of this, showed up and won by default. The band successfully argued their case for retention of the trophy and agreed to play for its permanent ownership at a playoff competition during the visit of the Duke of Connaught that fall. On September 23, 1913, playing on the Government wharf at Prince Rupert against six other bands, the Skidegate Concert Band took the grand prize for the third and final time. The Duke himself presented the coveted Gray Cup to the winning bands that evening at the Westholme Theatre.²⁵

The Skidegate Concert Band, whose members wore uniforms of dark green with gold trimmings, were photographed during the visit of the federal commissioners investigating Indian reserve lands.²⁶ Also photographed was an impromptu marching performance of an unidentified band at Skidegate. Both photographs are found in an album assembled upon the completion of the commission’s work in 1916.

²⁴ C. Harrison, letter to C.M.S., March 19, 1884, quoted in J. H. Van den Brink (1974), p. 76.

²⁵ Information on the Skidegate Concert Band triple victory was compiled from articles in the *Queen Charlotte News*, *Prince Rupert Evening Empire*, and *Victoria Daily Times*.

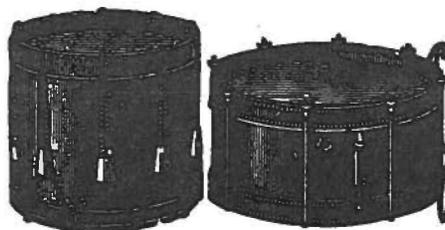
²⁶ The transcript of evidence pertaining to the Queen Charlotte Agency shows that the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission on Indian Affairs visited Skidegate from September 13–15, 1913, and were presented with a grievance by one Henry Green who objected to the Department of Indian Affairs ordering Arthur Solomon not to live on the reserve because he was a drinking man. Solomon, however, was no longer teaching the band according to testimony given by Indian agent Thomas Deasy.

Indian Brass Bands in B.C., 1865–1916

This table is not complete and is open to revision.

Location	Name of Band (If Any)	Year Established
St. Mary's Mission		ca. 1866–67
Metlakatla		ca. 1875
Kincolith (Nass River)		ca. 1880
Port Simpson		ca. 1880
Squamish Mission (North Vancouver)		1886
Fort Douglas		ca. 1887
Sechelt Mission		1888
Aiyansh (Nass River)	Aiyansh Brass Band; Aiyansh Harmonic Silver Band; Gitlakdamik Harmonic Silver Band	ca. 1890
Kitkatla		1890s?
Greenville (Lakkalzap)	Greenville Concert Band	1890s?
Bella Coola		1890s?
Bella Bella	[Bella Bella Cornet Band]	1890s?
Lillooet		By 1890
Lytton		1890s?
Chilliwack	[Squiala Band?]	By 1891
Kakawis	Christie Indian School Brass Band	1900–01
Skidegate	Skidegate Concert Band	ca. 1907
Masset		By 1883
Kitimat	Kitimaat Silver Band	By 1899
Canyon City (Nass River)	[Salvation Army]	1910s?
Kitwanga (Skeena River)	Totem Pole Brass Band	1910s?
Port Simpson	Nelson's Cornet Band	By 1900
Mount Currie Reserve		1910s?
Kitsumkalum (Skeena River)		By 1899
Saanich Day School [?]		1896
Kuper Island Industrial School		By 1894
Williams Lake Industrial School (St. Joseph's Mission)		By 1894
Coqualeetza Industrial School (Chilliwack)		1896–97
Kamloops Industrial School (Kamloops)		1897
Kootenay Industrial School (St. Eugene Mission, Cranbrook)		By 1898
Alert Bay Industrial School (Alert Bay)		1902
Alberni Boarding School (Alberni)		By 1903

SIDE DRUMS.



Policing the Gulf Islands

1893-1905

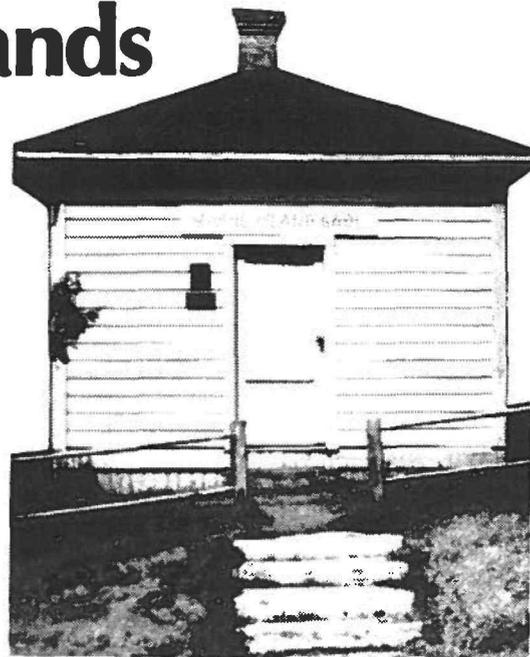
By Marie Elliott

Lying in close proximity to the Canadian/United States Border, the southern Gulf Islands of British Columbia include numerous small islets besides the larger islands of Saltspring, Galiano, Mayne, Saturna, and North and South Pender. At the turn of the century, while boat engines were still being perfected, this marine district was one of the most physically challenging to police. Not only was law enforcement carried out on foot but often with the use of sheer muscle power — in a rowboat!

Overcoming many hardships, the early settlers had worked industriously to clear the land. At the end of twenty years they were justly proud of their island farms, well-stocked with sheep and cattle. But, unfortunately, sheep and cattle rustling had kept pace with the growth in ranching, and what was once a petty annoyance now reached epidemic proportions. Home base for the thieves appeared to be the San Juan Islands. The many protected bays to the south and east in the Gulf Islands, such as Fiddler's Cove, Saturna, provided ideal locations for their clandestine operations.

The Constables

After numerous appeals by the Islands residents to F. S. Hussey, Superintendent of the Provincial Police, special constable Thomas M. Robb was eventually assigned to Gulf Islands patrol in March, 1893. Mayne Island was selected as his "headquarters" because it had a wharf and post office and was centrally located on the steamer route between Victoria and the mainland. Mayne Island House, a small hotel and store



Plumper Pass Lockup as it is today.

operated by W. M. Robson, J.P., at Miners Bay provided accommodation for the constables until a lockup was built in 1896. Robb was replaced by William McNeill in September, 1893, and in May, 1894, Arthur Drummond was appointed on a permanent basis, followed by Stephen Hoskins in 1898 and Angus Ego in 1900.

A police launch from Victoria assisted the men in patrolling the Islands during the summers of 1893 and 1894. For all other seasons of the year, and from 1895 onwards, the only method of transportation for the constables was a 16-foot rowboat equipped with a sail. Efforts by Arthur Drummond to secure a steam-powered launch in 1897 were turned down.

Officially termed "Plumper Pass and the Islands", the district extended from the U.S.-Canadian Border to Porlier Pass at the north end of Galiano Island, and from the Strait of Georgia west to Vancouver Island. The more densely populated Saltspring Island was thus a responsibility, and from 1900 to 1905 parts of North Saanich were also included.

Travelling in the line of duty did not stop at these boundaries. Stephen Hoskins recalls having to walk from Cowichan Bay to Duncan in order to contact other district constables,³ and all serious

cases had to be tried in Victoria or New Westminster. When investigating the theft of a boat in October, 1894, Drummond journeyed as far as Seattle, rowing to Waldron Island where he then caught the steamer. Other boat thefts involved trips to the canneries at Ladner on the Fraser River or to the growing city of Vancouver.

Besides smuggling, cattle rustling, and boat thefts, the constables had to investigate pit-lamping and the illegal sale of liquor to the Indians, deliver trading and liquor licences approved by the Superintendent of Police, and report any out-break of a communicable disease. (Constable Ego vaccinated thirty-eight people on Galiano for smallpox in 1903.) Cannery season on the Fraser River caused a mass migration of workers through Active Pass with subsequent thefts and breaking and entering. The constable on duty remained at Mayne Island while water traffic was heavy during June and September.

There were few unusual deaths to investigate. Most were from drowning or natural causes, although timber clearing by the Japanese resulted in the accidental deaths of men on Pender, Galiano and Mayne. In handling what was the most sensational case of the period, the shooting death of recluse Barnard (also known as Marnard) Wenzel of Tumbo Island in 1903, Constable Ego displayed incredible zeal. When an item in the *Vancouver Daily Province* suggested that the wheels of justice turned slowly in the Gulf Islands, William T. Collinson, J.P., Mayne Island, came to Ego's defence:

I made out the warrant and handed it to Constable Ego, and although blowing strongly at the time, Ego left immediately in a sixteen-foot rowboat for Tumbo Island, twelve miles along the open Gulf, and in less than three hours had found Wenzel dead. By 10 o'clock that night Ego arrived here at the Pass with Captain Shultz, who he had picked up on the way. Two o'clock next morning found Ego on his way to Saltspring Island, ten miles distant, to notify the Coroner. Having fulfilled his mission he landed back at the Pass in the afternoon, at once setting to work to empanel a jury, and by next morning had everything ready, jury, grave-digger, and a coffin to boot — making the latter himself. All this forty-four miles was performed in a rowboat, right down steady rowing; and you say Ego travels by slow freight. All the same, if you have a swifter man on your staff let us hear of him and he shall be dubbed The Imperial Limited.

October 28, 1903.⁴

All three of the permanent constables were

outstanding men in many respects. The foregoing is only one of numerous examples of their dedication and hard work. They were shrewd judges of character, quickly learning to separate local feuds from legitimate complaints, and with a salary of only \$60–\$65 per month, were able to operate on a very slim budget. They accepted their responsibilities without complaint, and easily gained the respect of the Islands residents. Stephen Hoskins described his situation thus:

As a policeman, you looked upon any place you hung your hat as home. Everyone made you welcome. I always had blankets in the boat, and a certain amount of grub. Sometimes you'd strike a poor shack, pull in, take the best they had, and give 'em what you had of yours.⁵

Seldom did the constables take time off from work. To do so the Superintendent had to be notified and a temporary replacement found. Drummond made full use of his free time by organizing camping parties for his friends on Saturna and South Pender. On one occasion he took his flotilla to the smugglers' site at Fiddler's Cove.

Arthur Drummond and Stephen Hoskins had lived in the Gulf Islands for several years before being appointed. Drummond was one of three brothers who resided on Saturna, scions of Drummond Castle in Scotland. Drummond later served in the Kootenay region as a police constable, retiring eventually to Duncan.⁶

Stephen Hoskins left England in 1890, homesteading on the Prairies before coming to British Columbia and thence to Galiano in 1894. Initially he turned down the opportunity to join the Provincial Police in 1896: "I told them I would never make a policeman in 1,000 years — I hadn't the guts." He had acted as a temporary replacement for Drummond from 1896, however, and finally accepted the permanent position when the latter was transferred in 1898. Hoskins subsequently served with the Victoria City detachment and later in the Kootenays before becoming a Government Agent.⁷

Angus Ego was born in Orillia, Ontario, and came to British Columbia in 1894. He had acted as special constable at Sidney before being posted to Mayne in 1900. In 1905 he was transferred to Lillooet where he remained for a number of years before retiring to Sidney to operate a pool hall.⁸ Ego was the last constable to serve at Mayne Island. For reasons that are not clear, but possibly because of larger population demands, headquarters for the Gulf Islands district were moved to Saltspring in 1905.

The Plumper Pass Lockup

It was not until three years of police work had been completed in the Gulf Islands that a lockup was deemed necessary. With steamer connections, a post office, and a central location, Miners Bay was the logical site even though locations on the other Islands had also been suggested. Arthur Drummond's friend and neighbour on Saturna, Warburton Pike, generously donated property situated two hundred yards up the road from Miners Bay wharf, and Levan Cullinson, a local resident, was awarded the building contract for \$320.00.

The 1896 Public Works Report published the following description:

Erected a lock-up 15 feet by 23 feet, with one room and two cells, cottage roof, walls of sized 2 by 4 scantling, spiked every 18 inches, and enclosed with rustic floors of sized 2 by 4 scantling, set edge up, and spiked together and to sills.⁹

The building plan was similar to many lockups built at that time, although cedar logs were occasionally substituted for building material elsewhere in the province. The single room in front of the cells was large enough for magistrate's court, if necessary.¹⁰

By January, 1897, the lockup was completed and within a month a Galiano resident, Henry Freer, arrested on a charge of larceny, had the dubious honour of being the first prisoner.

Because the lumber had not yet dried out, Drummond borrowed blankets and a bed from Robson's hotel so that Freer wouldn't have to sleep on the damp floor. Unfortunately, the prisoner spent a miserable week incarcerated before he was found not guilty at New Westminster.

During the months of January and February, 1897, Drummond continued to board at Robson's hotel.¹¹ Following receipt of hotel statements for room and board, however, Superintendent Hussey sent a reminder to the constable that he should now consider the new lockup as his residence — no further charges for lodgings would be expected from Mayne. The Department supplied a stove and table and chairs, but it seems that a bed was the policeman's responsibility. It was not until 1900 that Constable Ego dared to suggest to the Superintendent that the Government purchase the bed of the previous constable, Stephen Hoskins.

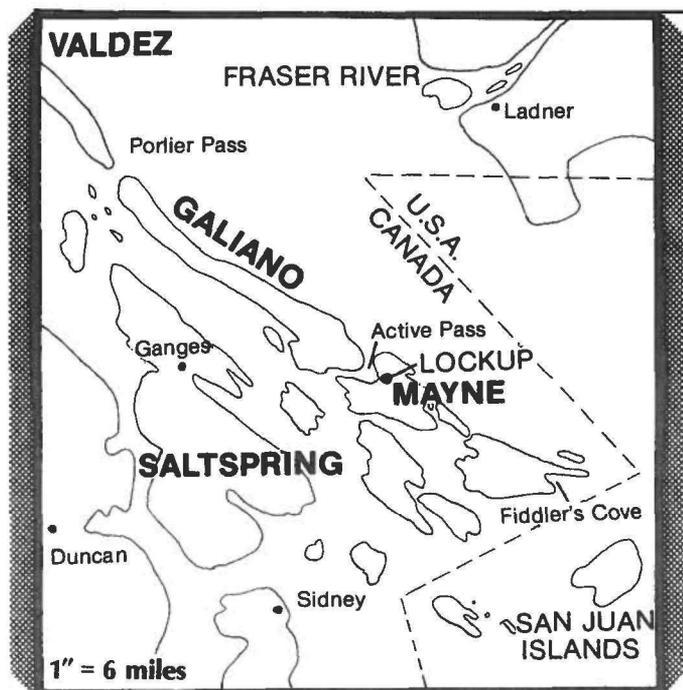
It is not certain how many prisoners were confined in the lockup since monthly police reports for the period in question are unavailable. All the correspondence and annual Police Reports examined suggest that the building saw more use as a police residence than as a detention centre.¹² One cannot ignore the fact, however, that the mere presence of the building in a district would help to serve as a deterrent for petty crimes.

When headquarters for the Gulf Islands district was transferred to Saltspring in 1905 the

Arthur Drummond (4th from left) with a camping party at Fiddler's Cover, 1897.

(Photo courtesy Mrs. Eve Grey Smith)





600 square miles of rowboat patrol.

constables found the lockup near Vesuvius Bay in an awkward location for law enforcement, three miles inland from the Ganges steamer landing. Six years after the move to Saltspring, District Constable O'Hara wrote a long letter to Superintendent Hussey, requesting that Miners Bay, Mayne Island, once again be made the Islands headquarters. He stressed the importance of its central location compared to Saltspring, that it had the only hotel in the outer Islands, and also telephone connections. O'Hara was allowed to have the Mayne lockup refurbished, but it appears that Saltspring has remained the Gulf Islands headquarters from 1905 to the present day.

Eventually, the Mayne Island lockup and property were acquired by the island's first resident doctor, Dr. Christopher West, who used the building for storage purposes. In 1970 his descendants generously agreed to turn over the property to the Mayne Island Agricultural Society in order that it could be a Centennial museum project.¹³ There were over seventy lockups in use in 1900, but today this small gaol is one of the few remaining in the Province. It is open to the public during the summer months and by special arrangement with the MIAS at other times of the year.

The Gulf Islands have always attracted rugged individualists willing to cope with an isolated marine environment, and the police constables who were assigned to the Plumper Pass and Islands district were equally self-reliant. While it still represented part of the western frontier, they

eased this unique police district of British Columbia into the twentieth century with dedication and hard work, yet received little in the way of recompense save the respect of the Islands residents.

One vast improvement to the policeman's lot was his method of transportation after 1911. Since all the Islands had wharves and adequate steamer service by this time, the constables were allowed to use this public conveyance for their patrols, rather than a rowboat. Arthur Drummond's desire for a police launch, however, would not be fulfilled until the 1920's during the rum-running era.

Marie Elliott is a graduate student in History at the University of Victoria, with interests in Gulf Islands and Provincial Police history. She would appreciate receiving information regarding lockups still remaining in other parts of the Province.

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FOOTNOTES

- 1 Unless otherwise noted all material for this article is located in the Provincial Police files, primarily incoming correspondence and Superintendents' letterbooks, PABC.
- 2 Plumper Pass is the former name for Active Pass.
- 3 G. E. Mortimore, "He Never Fired His Gun," *The Colonist*, September 15, 1957, page 14.
- 4 *Vancouver Daily Province*, October 23, 1903, page 1 (Collinson gives incorrect date of October 24) and November 4, 1903, page 7.
- 5 Mortimore, op. cit.
- 6 Gulf Islands Branch, B.C. Historical Association, *A Gulf Islands Patchwork*, Fleming Review Printing, Victoria, p. 58.
- 7 Mortimore, op. cit.
- 8 *Saanich Peninsula and Gulf Island Review*, December 28, 1937.
- 9 *B.C. Sessional Papers*, "Public Works Report", 1896, page 309.
- 10 *B.C. Sessional Papers*, "Public Works Report", 1897, records that a lockup was built at Vesuvius Bay. Rev. E. F. Wilson wrote in his pamphlet *Salt Spring Island, British Columbia, 1895*, that the lockup had "only been occupied about five times, once for cattle stealing, twice for killing game out of season, and twice for fighting; this speaks well for the peaceable condition of the community." This was the only other lockup in the southern Gulf Islands until 1896 but it did not have a resident police constable, as did the gaol at Mayne Island.
- 11 You could hardly blame Constable Drummond for not wanting to leave Robson's Hotel. Three meals and a bed cost \$1.00 per day and Mrs. Robson was an excellent cook.
- 12 *B.C. Sessional Papers*, 1897-1905.
- 13 Conversation with Mrs. V. Haggart, President, Mayne Island Agricultural Society.



Troops leaving Victoria on the Princess Sophia in 1914.
 (Photo courtesy Provincial Archives of British Columbia, #45737)

August 1914 British Columbians Start to War

By John Stevens

With a declaration of war sent by Germany to Russia on August 1, 1914, the localized clash between the forces of Serbia and Austro-Hungary became a major European conflict. Throughout the British Empire, all thoughts centred on whether or not Great Britain would become directly involved in the hostilities. For many British subjects, the situation was viewed with a belief that it was only a matter of time before they would be called to "lend their aid in the defence of the Mother Land"¹ at this "crisis in its history"² in order to "uphold the honour of the British Empire."³

It was in such an atmosphere of unswerving loyalty to the mother country that the premier of British Columbia, Sir Richard McBride, "gave expression to the sentiments" of the province "in the present grave international crisis."⁴ In voicing his confidence in British Columbians to do their duty for the sake of the homeland, Sir Richard scarcely needed to call for volunteers, for already there were hundreds of eager young men deluging recruitment centres across the province with offers to serve. This was particularly true in the southwest corner of the province where the proliferation of highly competitive newspapers ensured almost hourly reports of the war, which

heightened the spirit of patriotism. Crowds formed outside Vancouver, Victoria, Esquimalt and New Westminster recruiting stations as soon as the local regiments and militia units had received their requested permission from Ottawa and their parent regiments in Britain to recruit to full war strength.⁵

The response of British Columbia men was overwhelming. Within a few days Vancouver's Sixth "Duke of Connaught's Own" Rifles, Irish Fusiliers, 72nd Seaforth Highlanders, Victoria's Fifth Regiment, 50th Highlanders, 88th Fusiliers, and New Westminster's 104th Regiment Fusiliers were reported to be at full strength. There were enough volunteers in the smaller centres of Duncan, Nanaimo, Nelson and Vernon to form completely new regiments. So enthusiastic were these "brave British patriots" that the *Victoria Daily Colonist* proudly announced that the local "squadron of B.C. Horse (was) over-recruited; double the number of men required for war footing (had) signed their application."⁶ All this occurred even before Great Britain had declared war.

The desire of recruits to fight for Great Britain and the Empire was not the only evidence of British Columbia patriotism. Anxious crowds

waited outside newspaper offices "for the fateful announcement that the Empire had joined the conflict."⁷ So striking was the "quietly apparent, prevailing spirit of loyalty" that the *Colonist* remarked in its Monday, August 3 edition:

It is doubtful if, within the memory of any living Victorians, has the usual peaceful Sabbath been distinguished by the under-current of excitement as was the case yesterday . . . As the day proceeded the bulletin board attracted an ever-increasing crowd.⁸

The *Daily Province* similarly marvelled at the actions of local citizens, concluding: "Never has such a wave of patriotism swept over Vancouver as at the present time."⁹ Public councils and private organizations throughout the province made pledges and sent telegrams to Ottawa and London, repeatedly announcing their common desire to express "the utmost loyalty and affection of the Canadian people to the crown and their readiness to make all sacrifices,"¹⁰ promising "prompt support with men and munitions of war (to maintain) the unity and integrity of the British Empire."¹¹

Not all facets of British Columbia society welcomed the coming of war. From more than one pulpit in the province came the cry: "Oh the wanton waste of war! God avert it!"¹² Yet war was not averted, and after Great Britain's entry into the hostilities on August 4, the various religious leaders of the province changed to a highly patriotic tone: "As our mother country is involved we have to exercise to the utmost our talent and zeal for the triumph of her arms."¹³

Once war was a certainty for the Empire, men in the smaller communities and workcamps of British Columbia were assured of a position in the forces and they readily departed for recruitment centres. From such places as Abbotsford and White Rock in the Fraser Valley, Ashcroft and Armstrong in the Okanagan, Greenwood, Creston, and Cranbrook in the Kootenay-Boundary country, Fort George and Smithers in the north, and Alberni, Masset and Bella Coola on the coast, men marched and sailed off to the war.

They did not leave unnoticed, for their fellow citizens gave them warm if not rousing send-offs. Newspapermen in these small communities proudly printed the names of all local volunteers.¹⁴ Businessmen and civic leaders exultantly boasted that their town was certainly contributing its share to the defence of the Empire.¹⁵ Community and district pride was certainly a major impetus in winning new recruits.¹⁶

Those British Columbians who remained

civilians held nothing back in their public displays of loyalty to King and country. In the larger cities cheering crowds paraded the streets in spontaneous patriotic demonstrations upon learning that Britain was at war with Germany. In Vancouver, the residents "marched through cheering masses of citizens"¹⁷ as the new recruits received their first drilling, while the *Sun* gleefully reported a Granville Street midnight procession started by six "jingled enthusiasts" which turned into "a noisy, loyal demonstration by a crowd, immune from the grinning police," joyously singing "Soldiers of the King."¹⁸

Such displays of British loyalty were greeted favorably by all, but newspaper editors and others were quick to condemn the few who chose to turn the pro-British crowds into anti-German mobs. Threats on German businesses in Victoria and the burning of the Kaiser in effigy in downtown Vancouver were frowned upon as the acts of a "minority of uncivilized hooligans."¹⁹

In smaller towns citizens celebrated the coming of war with open air concerts of patriotic music and evening lantern slide presentations, with scenes of the Royal Family and the British fleet being greeted with intense enthusiasm.²⁰ Many such public assemblies were associated with wartime fund raising, which was to a large extent managed by the women of British Columbia.

The role of women in the war was not to be one of merely awaiting the return of their sweethearts, husbands and sons. Suffragettes throughout the Empire called a truce. They and others devoted the full force of womanhood towards the cause of victory. The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire expressed their willingness to serve by making many offers of assistance. In the class-minded British Columbia society of 1914, they suggested that "women of means could give personal and direct sympathy and service while others could give their talents to fill the vacant places of men called to serve their country," and then restore these positions to the men on their return home.²¹ Knowing that their interests would be safeguarded, "there was not a man in British Columbia who would be unwilling to give his services for the defence of the Empire."²²

The "Daughters" and other women's associations also organized first aid training courses, collected goods to comfort the troops and provide civilian war relief, and offered instructions for housewives in economizing in food preparation.

With only the H.M.C.S. *Rainbow* to patrol the entire British Columbia shoreline, there was

general concern, if not alarm, in every provincial port over a possible attack by the *Leipzig* and *Nurnberg*, German cruisers off the North American Pacific coast. While the *Rainbow* departed to bring back two British sloops of war stationed in San Diego, reinforcements were made by setting up guns on Points Grey and Atkinson to guard the entrance to Vancouver harbour, and two hundred troops prepared to be sent from Vancouver to protect the Prince Rupert dry dock.

What brought the greatest peace of mind to

(escorting H.M.S. *Algerine* and H.M.S. *Shearwater*), the fears of coastal vulnerability largely disappeared. As news despatches of events in Europe became more strictly controlled, the initial excitement of the war faded away. The *Sun* remarked: "after a period of anxiety . . . Vancouver has settled down into the routine of business,"²⁴ while the *Prince Rupert Daily News* stated that "there are evidences that the excitement of the last week is somewhat subsiding and that business will soon resume its usual trend."²⁵



A woman's "knitting group" in Vancouver or Victoria during World War I. (Photo courtesy Provincial Archives of British Columbia, #73143)

coastal inhabitants was Sir Richard McBride's secret purchase (on behalf of the Dominion government) of two Chilean submarines just completed in the shipyards of Seattle, before Great Britain's declaration of war and the enforcement of the United States' Neutrality Laws.

While most British Columbians simply heaved a collective sigh of relief, the *Colonist*, well-known as the Victoria mouthpiece for the Conservative party, could not resist printing a special one-quarter sheet edition with the sole announcement of Sir Richard's purchase, praising him for his swift and ingenious actions. The *Times*, Liberal rival of the *Colonist*, felt it could not allow such praise to pass unnoticed, and provokingly announced:

*Providence is kind. It gave Germany the Kaiser; also British Columbia Sir Richard, as a sure defence in time of trouble.*²³

Upon the triumphant return of the *Rainbow*

Many entrepreneurs had already turned their attention to the possibility of British Columbia profiting from the war. The European war was expected to stimulate the demand for foodstuffs — "all kinds of grain, meat, fish and canned goods, each in enormous quantity (would) be required."²⁶ The prosperity of Western Canadian farmers would mean "a tremendous impetus to all Canadian manufacturers . . . to British Columbia, with her mines and forests and her extraordinary position with regard to the Pacific, the catastrophe probably mean(t) enormous expansion."²⁷

Such statements were few and far between, for they came dangerously close to sounding in favour of profiteering on the misfortunes of the Motherland and the certain hardships of British Columbia's own men when sent overseas. However, one point many seemed to agree on was that "the withdrawal of foreign reservists now sojourning in Canada (would) tend to relieve the labour situation."²⁸

Though it was true that many German and Austrian natives left British Columbia "to answer the call of their colours," many chose to stay in their adopted land, as did the vast majority of their compatriots who had become naturalized British subjects. Leaders of these two national communities in British Columbia strove to assure "resident Britons" that they would seek no part in the hostilities, and would only wait for the return of peace; "then all of us Germans and Britons alike shall be ready to exchange once more the sword against the axe and the spade to unite our efforts again in our high task of culture and human progress."²⁹

Others stated that Austro-Hungarian immigrants were hardly likely to return to a land which "had never done any good to them or their ancestors," and that to leave their adopted country would be to abandon their means of living. Consequently, they "would not be the last to respond to the call of their adopted country."³⁰ The sentiment of 'British' Columbians was largely in agreement with such statements, though stories were quick to spread if any enemy aliens were seen in suspicious-looking groups.³¹

Of perhaps greater import were the very patriotic stands taken by the Japanese and Sikh communities in British Columbia. Residing for the most part on the coast, men of both nationalities readily presented themselves to Vancouver, Victoria and New Westminster recruiting stations. Almost all had military experience in the Indian and Japanese forces.

Newspapermen marvelled at the eagerness of these "foreigners" to fight for Great Britain, and many of their reports on such subjects as "Patriotic Mass Meeting of Japanese — Express Sympathy with England" and "100 Victoria Sikhs Are Eager To Serve" convey a mild tone of shock. It was likely also guilt for having so ill-treated the Sikh community in the *Komagata Maru* incident only a few weeks before and for the overall injustices and discrimination experienced by all Asians in the province. It was generally recognized that by allowing them to enlist in the Canadian forces, the help of India and Japan would be won for Great Britain across the Pacific. Others, however, continued their white supremacist attitudes, with such comments as: "The Japanese section of town is highly excited over the war. The little brown men are all very loud in their expressions of friendliness to Britain."³² Still, there seemed to be no objection to these men becoming recruits, as long as they formed separate regiments — perhaps white British Columbians hoped they would not return after the war.

There were of course many other nationalities resident in British Columbia. In the Kootenays, many East Europeans laboured in the hard-rock and coal mines, unless they became recruits — as twenty-three Montenegrans did in Rossland, "all anxious to fight for the British Empire."³³ However, in Fernie the local newspaper editor seems to have tried everything in his power to dissuade miners from going off to fight in the war. In what must be termed unique comments for the British Columbia press of the day, he delivered his outstanding thoughts:

It really does seem ridiculous that in our country (it's always ours when they want you to fight, dontcherknow!) we should experience any difficulty in getting a job, doesn't it?³⁴

Let us determine as brother unionists that the present war be fought by those who persistently advocate it. The spoils of war are not ours. Our share is the widow, orphan and cripple.³⁵

However, such comments were not typical of British Columbia labour at the time. Most workers considered it to be patriotic duty to support the war effort — the coal miners in Nanaimo called an end to their strike in early August "as loyal British subjects, hav(ing) no desire to embarrass the government of the Empire ... in this its day of trial."³⁶

Further opponents of the war were not nearly so vocal as the editor of the *Fernie Ledger*. The arguments of others centred mainly on the cost, in dollars, of a continuing conflict, and its interruption to trade and commerce. Such opinions were most strongly voiced in the smaller, more recently established communities of the province, dependent on the presence of male labour for their economic survival.³⁷ Yet while some feared the growing expense of the war and the overall increasing indebtedness of the world's leading nations (and the taxes that were sure to come), others suggested such projects as a dreadnought to present to the Empire from the people of British Columbia — "a little sacrifice in the way of contribution or taxation" to the order of \$10,000,000.³⁹

Though such a gift never materialized, others did. British Columbia newspapers widely reported the very novel gifts from Canada: the women's hospital ship, one million bags of flour to the mother country, as well as one hundred thousand bushels of oats from the people of Alberta — "the finest and most expensive ... the British trooper's horses shall know what sort of oats Alberta grows."⁴⁰ Not to be outdone, British

Columbians suggested that their government should offer a gift of "100,000 boxes of choice (Okanagan) Valley apples for the enjoyment of British troops."⁴¹ The pride in these uniquely Canadian military supplies was in knowing that they were worthy and welcome contributions to the overall war effort of the British Empire.

It would be a mistake to say that there was no Canadian sentiment among British Columbia patriots in the first weeks of August 1914, although evidence of such sentiment is not easily found. The expressed anxiety over the economic lives of British Columbia towns, the planning for the future needs of war-stricken neighbours, and the worry for the safe return of British Columbian tourists stranded in Europe at the time, all indicate a growing sense of concern for fellow Canadians and for the future of Canada.

One of the most outstanding incidents of active Canadian sentiment in British Columbia at the onset of the war was the North Cowichan council's urging of the Dominion Government to adopt a distinctive Canadian flag that could be carried into battle by the Canadian troops.⁴² The idea was picked up by several B.C. newspapers and something of a debate ensued, resulting in several recommendations for the said flag's design from private citizens considering the "Red Ensign" to be inadequately inspirational.⁴³ The last word seems to have gone to the *Colonist*, which stated that the impromptu debate was

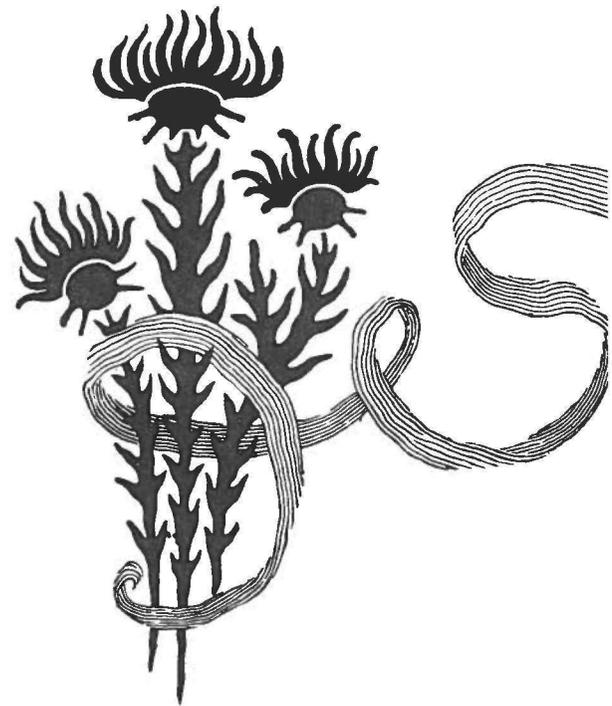
*... all very interesting, but we confess never to have felt particularly keen on the idea that Canada should have a distinctive flag. We have no great objections if it is thought desirable ... but we hope all the Empire over the Union Jack will be the symbol of British institutions and all that is implied therein. One throne, one flag, one purpose has for more than a century been the guiding principle for Canadians ...*⁴⁴

Evidence of British and Imperial patriotism among British Columbians in August 1914 is overwhelming. Their spontaneous, defiant enthusiasm was "a striking demonstration of the fact that the flame of daring and patriotic self-sacrifice which created the British Empire burn(ed) as brightly (still) in the British Dominions beyond the seas as it did in the heroic days when Britons laid the foundations of the Empire."⁴⁵

We have seen how the men of British Columbia, of all origins, readily presented themselves for military service "to defend the motherland." We have seen how civilians responded to the challenge with great demonstrations of loyalty to King and country, and we have learned of prayers offered for spiritual

sustenance and funds raised for material support, all towards the success of the Empire at war. Above all, we have seen how vociferous British Imperial patriotism submerged the budding Canadian sentiments of British Columbians in August 1914. It follows to say that British Columbians were British patriots at the onset of the Great War; what they were four years later is another matter.

John Stevens is a student at the University of Victoria and a fifth generation Victorian.

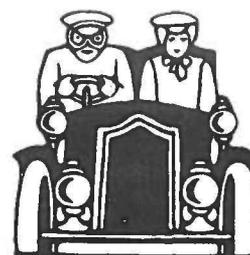


FOOTNOTES

- ¹ "Chilliwack Volunteers for Active Service," *Chilliwack Progress*, August 13, 1914, p. 1.
- ² "Mayor Barber Offers Services," *Chilliwack Progress*, August 13, 1914, p. 1.
- ³ "Marched Through Cheering Masses of Citizens," *Vancouver Daily Province*, August 7, 1914, p. 4.
- ⁴ "This Province Stands Ready," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, August 1, 1914, p. 1.
- ⁵ "Vancouver Regiments Are Desirous of Fighting Shoulder to Shoulder With Brothers in Arms in England," *Vancouver Sun*, August 3, 1914, p. 13.
- ⁶ "Call To Colours Finds 5TH Ready; Squadron of Horse Over-Recruited," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, August 4, 1914, p. 3.
- ⁷ "Crowds Anxiously Awaits (sic.) War News," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, August 3, 1914, p. 3.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*

- ⁹ "Patriotism Rises in the Breasts of Vancouverites," *Vancouver Daily Province*, August 3, 1914, p. 4.
- ¹⁰ "Canadian Clubs Send Cablegram Showing Loyalty and Affection For Throne and Person of King," *Vancouver Sun*, August 5, 1914, p.m.
- ¹¹ "Unswerving Loyalty To the Motherland Slogan of Canadians," *Vancouver Sun*, August 4, 1914, p. 2.
- ¹² "Sermons as Preached in Vancouver Pulpits," *Vancouver Sun*, August 3, 1914, p. 5.
- ¹³ Timothy Casey, Archbishop of Vancouver, "Pray for Success of British Arms," *Vancouver Daily Province*, August 6, 1914, p. 11.
- ¹⁴ "War News," *Bella Coola Courier*, August 15, 1914, p. 1.
- ¹⁵ "Recruits for 104TH Regiment," *Abbotsford Post*, August 4, 1914, p. 1; "Alberni Playing Her Part," *Alberni Advocate*, August 14, 1914, p. 2; "Six Volunteers For Canadian Contingent," *Armstrong Advertiser*, August 13, 1914, p. 1; "Chilliwack Volunteers For Active Service," *Chilliwack Progress*, August 13, 1914, p. 1.
- ¹⁶ "Men of Kootenay, Are You Ready?," *Nelson Daily News*, August 12, 1914, p. 4.
- ¹⁷ "Marched Through Cheering Masses of Citizens," *Vancouver Daily Province*, August 7, 1914, p. 4.
- ¹⁸ "Midnight Procession," *Vancouver Sun*, August 7, 1914, p. 2.
- ¹⁹ "Kerosene Soaked German Kaiser Burned In Effigy In City," *Vancouver Sun*, August 6, 1914, p. 11.
- ²⁰ "Audience Loyal At Empress," *Revelstoke Mail-Herald*, August 8, 1914, p. 1.
- ²¹ "Daughters of Empire Ready for Service," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, August 4, 1914, p. 7.
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ Editorial, *Victoria Daily Times*, August 6, 1914, p. 4.
- ²⁴ Editorial, *Vancouver Sun*, August 10, 1914, p. 4.
- ²⁵ Editorial, *Prince Rupert Daily News*, August 14, 1914, p. 2.
- ²⁶ Editorial, *Prince Rupert Evening Empire*, August 1, 1914, p. 2.
- ²⁷ "Canada's Position", *Vancouver Daily Province*, August 4, 1914.
- ²⁸ "Effect of War On Business," *Revelstoke Mail-Herald*, August 15, 1914, p. 5.
- ²⁹ Karl Weiss, M.D., *Vancouver German Press*, cited in *Victoria Daily Times*, August 8, 1914, p. 18.
- ³⁰ "Where Their Duty Lies," *Vancouver Sun*, August 4, 1914, p. 4.
- ³¹ "Phoenix Austrians are Practising Shooting," *Revelstoke Mail-Herald*, August 14, 1914, p. 5.
- ³² "Local War Items," *Victoria Daily Times*, August 7, 1914, p. 18.
- ³³ "Rosslanders Volunteer," *Revelstoke Mail-Herald*, August 15, 1914, p. 6.
- ³⁴ "Our Country!," *Fernie Ledger*, August 15, 1914, p. 4.
- ³⁵ "War? What For?," *Fernie Ledger*, August 8, 1914, p. 4.
- ³⁶ "U.M.W. Local and War Crisis," *Nanaimo Free Press*, August 7, 1914, p. 4.
- ³⁷ "Introspect," *Fort George Herald*, August 7, 1914, p. 3.

- ³⁸ "The Cost Of War," *Fort George Herald*, August 15, 1914, p. 2.
- ³⁹ "Proposal," *Golden Star*, August 8, 1914, p. 4.
- ⁴⁰ "Canada's Answer," *Vancouver Daily Province*, August 12, 1914, p. 6.
- ⁴¹ "B.C. Apples For British Troops," *Vancouver Daily Province*, August 13, 1914, p. 18.
- ⁴² "Cowichan Councilors Ask Distinctive Flag," *Vancouver Sun*, August 6, 1914, p. 11.
- ⁴³ "Our Mail Box," *Victoria Daily Times*, August 7, 1914, p. 11.
- ⁴⁴ "A Canadian Flag," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, August 7, 1914, p. 4.
- ⁴⁵ "The Lion's Cubs," *Revelstoke Mail-Herald*, August 15, 1914.



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The research for this essay involved 162 separate articles taken from the British Columbia newspapers listed below, for editions published from August 1, 1914 to August 15, 1914, inclusive.

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Armstrong Advertiser
Ashcroft Journal
Bella Coola Courier
Chilliwack Progress
Cranbrook Prospector
Creston Review
Fernie Ledger
Fort George Herald
Golden Star
Grand Forks Gazette
Interior News (Smithers)
Kamloops Standard
Nanaimo Free Press
Nelson Daily News
Phoenix Pioneer
Port Alberni News
Prince Rupert Daily News
Prince Rupert Evening Empire
Queen Charlotte Islander (Masset)
Revelstoke Mail-Herald
Rossland Miner
Vancouver Daily Province
Vancouver Sun
Victoria Daily Colonist
Victoria Daily Times
West Yale Review (Hope)

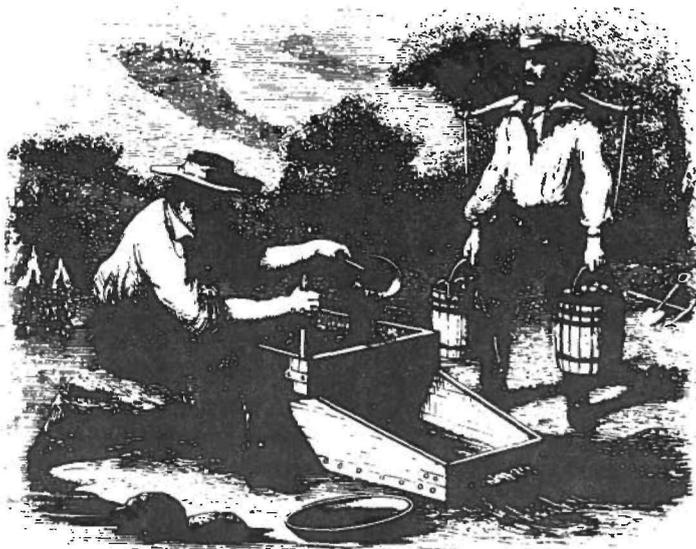
News and Notes

B.C. Studies Conference

Friday to Sunday
October 30 — November 1, 1981
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6

Two years ago the first B.C. Studies Conference at the University of Victoria attracted amateur and professional historians from across Canada. It was decided to make the conference a bi-annual event sponsored in turn by the three B.C. universities. Simon Fraser University is pleased to host the second conference and welcomes all who are interested in the history, geography and culture of British Columbia to join in what we are sure will be a stimulating and eventful three day meeting.

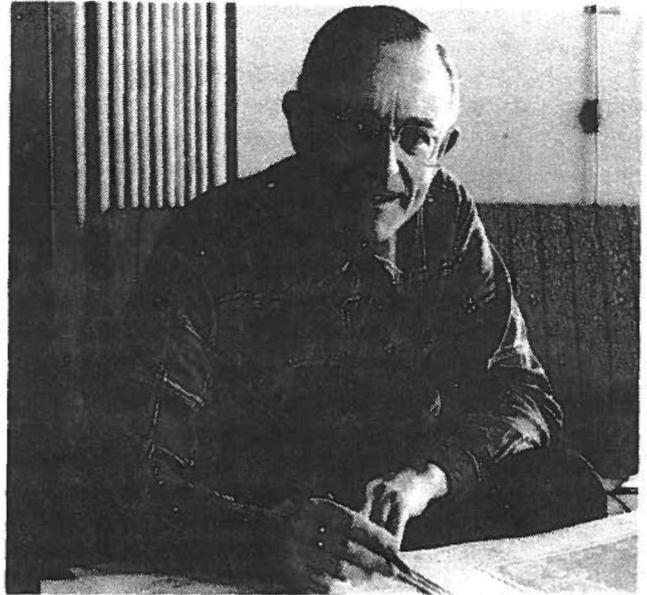
For more information
write or call
B.C. Studies Conference
Continuing Studies
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6
291-4771/4565



WORKING WITH THE ROCKER.

Bob Harris at work mapping trails.

Photo by Roy Edgell.



(Editor's Note: R. C. Harris has spent a busy summer hiking and clearing trails. Look for an article from him next issue on the Walla Walla Trail. In the meantime, he has consented to share a little bit about himself with us.)

Bob Harris arrived in British Columbia in the Spring of 1950, to indulge in his lifelong interest in bridges and trails. His first job in B.C. was field engineer replacing an old suspension bridge on the Telegraph Trail north of Hazelton, the Anlaw Bridge over the Skeena River on the road to Kispiox (Fort Stager), replaced by a 250 foot steel truss bridge.

Following this, Bob Harris continued 25 years with the Vancouver Branch of Dominion Bridge Company, working and travelling widely in British Columbia.

Before coming to B.C., Bob served six years with the Royal Engineers in various parts of the world. He has naturally taken a great interest in the work of the Columbia Detachment of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, 1858-1863 (Lt. Col. R. C. Moody, R.E.) and the North American Boundary Commission, 1857-61, (Lt. Col. J.S. Hawkins, R.E.).

News and Notes

Reports from the Branches

Alberni District

Summer holidays will curtail the public lectures sponsored by the Society but the "behind the scenes" action of collecting, organizing archival material and the compiling of the history of the valley continues unabated. Those on tap for summer work are Dorrit MacLeod, Helen Ford and Ann Holt.

The year's activities last fall began with emphasis on the history of the Alberni Valley and organizing an ethnic council. For the story of the valley project, convenient sectional groupings of "time blocks" on a variety of subjects were allocated to the willing and the sometimes not-so-willing. "Digging" into the early times of ethnic groups, local industry, photographers, schools, churches and sports continued with an encouraging nudge now and then from President MacLeod. Publicity is directed toward the non-historically minded with the hope of persuading participation rather than preaching to the converted.

The highlight of October's meeting was a visit by such distinguished members of the West Coast Indian community as Adam Shewish, Danny Watts, and George and Margaret Clutesi. They were welcomed to the lecture by Dennis St. Clair, director of the archaeological "dig" at Shoemaker Bay. Helen Ford took November's meeting as she told members and visitors about the early churches, the co-operation of the congregations and the interdenominational church. It was noted that more work is needed to "flesh out" the history in this area.

February was considered a "sell out" night with Kay Dukowski (nee Drinkwater), a daughter and granddaughter of pioneers, presenting her report on the Bainbridge logging mill: a top notch job on the "railroad show" begun by Clarence Hoard in 1917. She also was invited to present her lecture to the Rotary Club dinner meeting.

In April Dick McMinn, retired captain of the M.V. *Lady Rose* and prize-winning poet, took his listeners down memory lane. In May, at the request of teacher Bob McGraw, Society members acted as docents for a group of French-

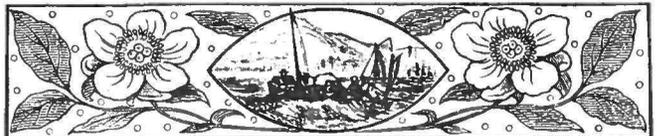
speaking students from Iberville, Quebec, and their local hosts from Mount Klitsa Junior High School as they toured the MacLean logging mill and Stamp Falls Provincial Park.

A good year but for the black tragedy of the theft of an original scrapbook donated by the Tye Club. It was stolen from a display case in the lounge of Echo Community Centre. Members are concerned for the archival material held in trust but also for the absence of information on valid and useful insurance coverage for the varied historical items which arrive at the society's door for protection and preservation.

— Report submitted by Ruth Roberts.

Vancouver

The Vancouver Historical Society has held several diverse events for the education and enjoyment of its membership. On September 19th it sponsored a "New Westminster heritage home tour" with Mrs. Lucy Chambers of the New Westminster Heritage Preservation Society. The



The Nanaimo Historical Society and Malaspina College present a symposium on the Hudson's Bay Company:

"The Company on the Coast"

For more information, contact Blanche E. Norcross, 710 Hamilton, Nanaimo, 754-6191.

March 27, 1982

Accommodation is limited, early registration at the Talley Ho Motor Lodge, Nanaimo, is suggested.

afternoon walking tour covered some of the restored houses in the Queens Park area. On June 29th, Bill Baker of the North Shore Museum guided a group of members and friends through two industrial operations: Burrard Yarrows (shipyard) and Horne Shingle Mill. The group was fortunate to have been able to view both of these old manufacturing operations during work hours.

Due to heavy construction on the Hope Princeton highway, the Society decided to cancel our August hike over part of the Cascade Wilderness Trail, which includes part of the historic Dewdney Trail. John Spittle has offered to lead this hike in 1982. Watch out for more details.

Victoria

During the summer recess some sixty members of the Victoria Section visited the Sooke Museum. After a tour of the interesting museum and outside exhibits, including a working donkey engine and a blacksmith's forge in the full heat of operation, a mouth watering *al fresco* lunch was served. The visit ended with an exceptionally well presented audio visual programme on the history of Sooke and its earlier families.

Recent lectures, held at the Newcombe Auditorium, have included Dr. Sylvia Van Kirk talking on "Daughters of the Country: Woman in Fur Trade Society", Robert Turner telling of "The C.P.R. White Empresses" as well as joining with Dr. James Hendrickson to present "Seeing Victoria's History through Maps". These were highly diversified fare, amply satisfying the historical hunger of our members.

The recent election of Council for the Section resulted in installation of the following officers:

President: Tom Carrington
1st Vice President: Mrs. L. E. Chambers
2nd Vice President: Alec Reid
Membership Secretary: Geoffrey Castle
Corresponding and Recording Secretary: Stephanie Mansion
Treasurer: Bruce Winsby
Assistant Treasurer: Edward K. Belt
Programme Convenor: M. F. H. Halleran
Ticket Convenor: Mrs. F. J. Laughlin
Ex Officio (Provincial Archivist): John Bovey
as well as general members: Col. G. S. Andrews, P. J. Brennan, Gilbert Brown, Dr. Patricia Roy and David Scholes.

— Report submitted by Alec Reid

In memory of Betty Oliver, Corresponding Secretary for the East Kootenay Historical Association, passed away suddenly September 3, 1981.

Born in Merrit, B.C., July 8, 1909, she attended normal school in Victoria in 1928. Her first teaching appointment was in Lum-berton, B.C. the following year (Lumberton is now a ghost town). She moved to Kimberly in 1929 where she resided ever since. She became one of the most active community workers the city has ever known.

Betty was a member on the executive of numerous organizations. She was a teacher for many years and a newspaper reporter for forty-five years right up to her passing. She was the recipient of many awards, among them, Mother of the Year in 1963, Citizen of the Year in 1969, and the Queen's 25th Anniversary Medal for Outstanding Community Service in 1977.

Betty will be sorely missed by all.



MERIT AWARDS

The Regional History Committee of the Canadian Historical Association wishes to announce that it is soliciting nominations for its 'Certificate of Merit' awards. These annual awards are given for meritorious publications or for exceptional contributions by individuals or organizations to regional or local history. Nominations should be sent to Professor Robin Fisher, History Department, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6 before 15 November 1981.

NEED HELP? CALL ARCHIVES ADVISOR



Liz Giorando, Jillian Lynn, Kerry Dodd and Claire Burns learn archives management from Len DeLozier (centre).

The position of Archives Advisor, attached to the Provincial Archives, was created in 1978 to assist archival repositories and to provide information on archives management. The assistance takes several forms: an educational program consisting of workshops, internships, and public talks; visits to archival repositories and consultation with archivists and curators on archival problems; response to numerous letters and telephone calls concerning questions on acquisition, conservation, and access methods.

Most of the 200 or so museums in British Columbia have archival collections: photographs; private papers; institutional, governmental, and corporate records; maps; and aural history tapes. But this is only a small portion of the archival materials preserved throughout the province. Municipal governments and municipal archives, universities and community colleges, libraries, and companies hold a much greater quantity of the records necessary to explain past policies, decisions and official actions.

These sources, together with the provincial and federal government records, constitute the collective memory of thousands of people living in British Columbia over the past two centuries. These records are vitally important for the continuation of our political, administrative, legal, and social forms and as informational sources for research on our past.

This summer has been an active one. In co-

operation with staff from Cultural Services Branch and with the assistance of Provincial Archives staff and other archivists and curators, a series of nine day-and-a-half long workshops around the province were presented on the basic principles of archives management. These were attended by 146 people, primarily students hired by museums and historical societies under the Youth Employment Program of the provincial Ministry of Labour. In addition, I have visited or consulted with the archivists or curators of forty repositories. Other workshops and field trips are planned for the coming months, as well as a series of informational pamphlets to assist with the solution of specific archival problems.

The preservation of archival material in British Columbia cannot be done by one person, institution, or group. It is a concern and responsibility shared by many individuals and institutions. It needs the informed and active participation of many people, but particularly of historical societies. Preservation of historically valuable records in your community is your responsibility as well as mine.

For further information, write or call:

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Archives Advisor
Provincial Archives
Victoria, B.C. V8V 1X4
Phone 387-1801

Bookshelf



OLD TRAILS AND NEW DIRECTIONS: PAPERS OF THE THIRD NORTH AMERICAN FUR TRADE CONFERENCE, Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray (eds.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980. Pp. viii, 336.

"MANY TENDER TIES": WOMEN IN FUR-TRADE SOCIETY IN WESTERN CANADA, 1670-1870. Sylvia Van Kirk. Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980. Pp. 301, illus., map.

STRANGERS IN BLOOD: FUR TRADE COMPANY FAMILIES IN INDIAN COUNTRY. Jennifer S. H. Brown. Vancouver and London: University of British Columbia Press, 1980. Pp. xxii, 255, illus., map.

In the last few years the fur trade has become one of the liveliest areas of Canadian historical writing. Based on the rich archives of the Hudson's Bay Company and drawing on ideas and techniques from the so-called "new social history", the fur trade is one subject on which the work being done on Canada is more sophisticated than writing on the United States.

None of these books deals entirely, or even primarily, with British Columbia, but each contains some British Columbia material and together they indicate some new directions in fur trade scholarship that could be applied more systematically to the area west of the Rockies.

Old Trails and New Directions, a collection of the papers given at the third North American Fur Trade Conference, is a good introduction to the state of the art in fur trade scholarship. As the title suggests, the collection is a mixture of traditional and more innovative approaches and, as in any symposium, the quality of the contributions varies.

It is perhaps unfortunate for British Columbia readers that three essays on the Pacific coast are rather conventional in their approach. Stephen M. Johnson, "Wrangel and Simpson", James R. Gibson, "The Russian Fur Trade", and Mary Cullen, "Outfitting New Caledonia 1821-58" have written perfectly respectable papers but do not break any new methodological ground. A little more interesting in this respect is Charles A. Bishop's biographical piece on "Kwah: A Carrier Chief." Kwah was one of the leading trading chiefs of northern New Caledonia. Bishop employs the

techniques of ethnohistory, using the documentary record and information gathered by anthropologists to examine Kwah's role both in his own society and in the fur trade. Yet the problem of evidence persists. The author acknowledges that "Everything that we know about Kwah has been filtered through the eyes of persons of an alien culture" and we are left at the end with many unanswered questions about the exact nature of Kwah's leadership. In spite of these difficulties, such studies make an important point by reminding us that the process of culture contact involved individuals on both sides.

Other "New Directions" in fur trade scholarship are also represented in this collection. The most interesting recent work has been done on two aspects of the fur trade: the role of the Indians in fur trade economics and the nature of the unique society that was established in western Canada as a result of the fur trade. *Old Trails and New Directions* will introduce the reader to both these subjects as well as to the authors who have published longer works in the field.

Arthur J. Ray is the leading scholar of the economics of the fur trade in Canada and his work is represented by an essay on "Indians as Consumers in the Eighteenth Century." Ray argues that the Indians were shrewd consumers who made specific and clear demands on the Hudson's Bay Company traders and thereby affected changes in company trading patterns.

Ray has developed the idea that the Indians played an active and creative role in the fur trade more fully in two books. In the first, *Indians in the Fur Trade*,¹ a discussion of the role of the Cree and Assiniboine, Ray argues that, while the fur trade brought changes to these cultures, it involved a reciprocal relationship between the two races.

More recently, he has made a detailed examination of the economic interaction during the early years of contact between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Indians around Hudson Bay

Patricia Roy has kindly consented to stay on as the Book Review Editor. Copies of books for review should be sent to her c/o *B.C. Historical News*, P.O. Box 1738, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y3.

Bookshelf

in "Give Us Good Measure", co-authored with Donald B. Freeman.² At the heart of this book is a computer analysis of statistical data taken from the company's account books. In this economic analysis, Ray challenges interpretations of the fur trade which hold that the Indians did not have economic motives as we would understand them.

E. E. Rich first introduced this idea in an important article, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation among the Indians of North America."³ Abraham Rotstein, drawing on Karl Polanyi's concept of "non-market" contact between peoples, developed the point further by suggesting that the Indians saw the fur trade in terms of such non-economic factors as traditional politics and institutionalised gift exchange.⁴ While not entirely rejecting the social and ceremonial ingredients in gift exchange, Ray argues that the Indians clearly responded to economic factors: that in many ways their behaviour was "not unlike that of the modern consumer." The Indians manipulated competition, shopped around, and were discriminating in their demands. Yet in one way they did not react to market factors as Europeans would. Because they had a finite demand for goods, increasing prices produced fewer, not more furs. On this point Ray has confirmed the earlier argument of Rich.

Arthur Ray's work has concentrated on the area east of the Rockies, but a similarly detailed examination could well be made of trading patterns on the northwest coast. Since Professor Ray recently accepted an appointment at the University of British Columbia perhaps he will undertake this study himself. The Indians of this area were also shrewd traders and it would be interesting to see, for example, what influence the potlach, which gave the northwest coast Indians a reason for producing a surplus, had on the fur trade on the coast.

The second area of new fur trade scholarship is even better represented in *Old Trails and New Directions*. The section on the social history of the trade is the strongest in the volume. Two papers deal with the backgrounds of the European fur traders. John Nicks subjects "Orkneymen in the HBC 1780-1921" to close statistical analysis but his conclusions are somewhat less than earth-shattering. Carol M. Judd, in "'Mixt Bands of Many Nations': 1821-70", looks at the ethnic background of Hudson's Bay Company employees after 1821 and shows that the company hired men from many racial groups.

Other papers examine aspects of the distinctive

society that grew up in the fur trading country. Trudy Nicks discusses "The Iroquois and the Fur Trade in Western Canada", Jennifer S. H. Brown introduces the field of "sociolinguistics" and draws our attention to the problems of racial terminology in "Linguistic Solitudes and Changing Social Categories", and Sylvia Van Kirk provides a useful outline of "Fur Trade Social History: Some Recent Trends." Both Brown and Van Kirk have also written full-length studies of fur trade society.

Sylvia Van Kirk took the title of her book on women in fur trade society from the observation of James Douglas that the hardships and isolation of the fur trader's life were softened "by the many tender ties, which find a way to the heart." She traces the development of marriage customs between company men and first with Indian women and later with women of mixed blood. Van Kirk argues that many fur traders formed stable and lasting relationships according to the custom of the country.

These marriages were based in part on mutual economic advantage. Just as Ray shows that the Indians played an active role in the fur trade economy, Van Kirk points out that Indian women sometimes took the initiative in establishing marriage alliances with traders. The children of these first marriages with Indian women were favoured as partners by fur traders in later years.

After the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies in 1821, and with the development of the Red River Settlement, the coming of missionaries and the arrival of white women, country marriages fell into some disfavour. The position of Indian and mixed blood women became more marginal. Temporary liaisons and the prostitution of Indian women became more common in the nineteenth century, as racial prejudice became more pronounced within fur trade society.

Sylvia Van Kirk presents a convincing argument on the role of Indian women in the fur trade. She writes clearly and well and her book is liberally illustrated with a number of fine photographs. Readers who are unfamiliar with this subject would do well to start with *Many Tender Ties*.

Jennifer S. H. Brown's work, *Strangers in Blood*, is less palatable in some ways. The language of the social scientist makes this book much less fun to read, but that is not to say the effort will not be rewarded. Brown looks at kinship and social relations on a broader front than Van Kirk. She is particularly interested in the contrasting patterns of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West

Bookshelf

Company.

Beginning with a discussion of fur trade marriages, Brown argues that once Hudson's Bay Company men saw the advantages of such alliances, their relations with Indian women tended to be more permanent than those of the North West Company employees who were more mobile when they were in the west and maintained closer connections with their metropolitan society. Brown draws the distinction between the two companies much more sharply and clearly than does Van Kirk. Perhaps, indeed, she pushes the point too far.

Both authors, however, reach similar conclusions on the subordinate role of women in the fur trade after 1821. Having examined the marriages themselves, Brown goes on to discuss the fate of the offspring of these fur trade unions. The mixed-blood children sometimes remained culturally Indian, some assimilated into white communities, while others formed a part of the distinctive settlement at Red River; but, whatever course they followed, few found the problems of adjustment easy to solve.

Both Van Kirk and Brown use essentially the same sources and each uses biographical material on fur traders and their women to sustain their arguments. One wonders to what extent the selection of examples influenced the nature of the generalisations. Certainly, once again, the primary focus is on the area east of the Rockies and more work of this kind could still be done on the Pacific slope. But these two authors have done the valuable work of opening up the study of a society that was unique to western Canada during the fur

trading period.

The history of the grand old Canadian "skin game" has progressed a long way from the time when it consisted of tales of daring-do by individual, white, male traders or accounts of the activities of honourable companies. In particular, the active and creative role of the Indians has been recognised. Not only were they a factor to be reckoned with in the actual trading relationship, but Indian women formed one side of a partnership that produced a new society; a society that was neither Indian nor European.

NOTES

- ¹ Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, Middlemen in the lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).
- ² Arthur J. Ray and Donald B. Freeman, "Give Us Good Measure": *An Economic Analysis of Relations between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978).
- ³ E. E. Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation among the Indians of North America," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 26 (1960): 35-53.
- ⁴ Abraham Rotstein, "Karl Polanyi's Concept of Non-Market Trade," *Journal of Economic History* 30 (1970): 117-26; and "Trade and Politics: An Institutional Approach," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3 (1972): 1-28.

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COLONIAL LEGISLATIVE RECORDS

The Provincial Archives of British Columbia is pleased to announce its publication of the *Journals of the Colonial Legislatures of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1851-1871*. This five volume limited edition of the official legislative records of colonial British Columbia is a valuable reference work for students of British Columbia history. The minutes of the successive Executive Councils, Houses of Assembly and Legislative Councils of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia are all reproduced.

The editor, Professor James E. Hendrickson, has included extensive appendices, important legislative documents including colonial estimates and schedules of legislation. Issues of special

importance to the province such as the confederation debates, are also separately highlighted in the appendices. Professor Hendrickson has also written an introduction to the work that gives an overview of the evolution of the provinces constitutional beginnings in the colonial period. Each volume is separately indexed.

Printed with hot metal type on acid-free paper, the Journals are available at \$150 per set. Only complete sets may be purchased. The Journals are available from Information Services, Ministry of Provincial Secretary and Government Services, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C. V8V 1X4.

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RALPH EDWARDS OF LONESOME LAKE. As told to Ed Gould. North Vancouver, B.C.: Hancock House, 1979. Pp. 296, illus., \$12.95.

Hancock House, from its new North Vancouver address, has given this volume a pleasant format: eight pages of colour photographs and one of black and white, along with two useful maps, one showing the Bella Coola country in relation to Vancouver Island, and one showing Lonesome Lake in its situation, isolated in respect to minor settlements.

In the 50's Leland Stowe brought Ralph Edwards to general attention as "the Crusoe of Lonesome Lake". In 1972 another fillip was given to general interest when Edwards was awarded the Medal of Service of the Order of Canada for his work in expanding the population of trumpeter swans in his area. One therefore picks up this Lonesome Lake volume as re-entry to a familiar story.

Gould has made his presentation, ostensibly as autobiography, with Edwards telling his own tale. The impression of the first person story is well sustained. A Georgia boy, recently from California, he came to B.C. in 1912 to seek and find homestead land. He settled east and south of the Bella Coola country proper. The narrator obviously found it easy to have Edwards give detail on his multiplicity of pioneering skills, in the shifting of incredible weights and building of anything from sheds to airplanes. His wife and their three children lived with bear, deer, wolf, beaver and many another critter, but especially with trumpeter swans.

Mail, books, and other "necessities", such as food for swans, were shifted, winter and summer, on human or pack horse backs, over narrow and dangerous trails from the coastal area. Rafts and home-made boats eased the burden on the last part of the trip in. Cattle were reluctant to travel in on trails more fit for goats. There were catastrophes to cope with: a home burned down, a child's face kicked in by a horse.

Eventually materials were brought in by plane, when Edwards secured a pilot's licence at sixty-five years of age. Later he used the plane to deliver fresh garden produce to far-flung fish and game resorts on the many lakes of the remote area.

It is interesting to read Gould's presentation of Edwards, in conjunction with three other pioneering tales;

DON'T FLY OVER AN EAGLE'S NEST, by Joe Garner, whose family came from Carolina to Saltspring Island in 1903;

A POUR OF RAIN, by Helen Meilleur, whose Alaskan parents took up residence in Port Simpson in 1907, but whose account of that place goes back to 1821 and Hudson's Bay Co. Fort Simpson days; and

WINTER BROTHERS, Ivan Doig's account of life on the Olympic Peninsula before the turn of the century.

While not the best of the batch, this book may have the power to galvanize the young and energetic, and the old and would-be energetic. It could certainly renew our understanding that one person of conviction can lure others to share in his observations and remedial actions.

Clare McAllister is a member of the Victoria branch of the British Columbia Historical Association.



NEVER FLY OVER AN EAGLE'S NEST. Joe Garner. Lantzville, B.C.: Oolichan Books, 1980. Pp. 258, iii., \$9.95 paper.

A goal for many of us when we reach retirement is to set down our memoirs for succeeding generations. In ninety per cent of the cases it is well that these recollections never reach publishers' hands. Of the remaining ten per cent, *Never Fly Over an Eagle's Nest* is an example of a book that satisfies personal ambitions yet adds considerably to our knowledge of the men and women who lived in British Columbia during the first half of the twentieth century.

The Gulf Islands welcomed many types of newcomers in the early years. Not just English remittance men (who have been over emphasized), but hardy Scots, industrious Japanese and many American citizens contributed their labour and ingenuity to improving settlement on the Islands. On Saltspring, the most famous of the latter group were the Negro settlers who had established pre-emptions, with James Douglas' blessings, in the late 1850's. But there were occasions when white

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people also had to flee across the U.S./Canadian border.

Oland and Lona Garner escaped Ku Klux Klan vengeance in South Carolina by journeying to San Francisco and thence to Victoria. They, too, chose Saltspring Island for their permanent home, arriving in 1905 with all their worldly possessions piled on a flat-bottomed boat. The trials and tribulations of the Garner family striving to make a living on Saltspring form an important part of the book. A later section describes the author's forays into logging and flying, and also includes personal reminiscences of five brothers and sisters.

From the very first page, describing her abduction at three o'clock in the morning, this book becomes the story of Lona Garner more than any other member of the family. We follow with increasing concern the birth of every baby, until the tenth child almost claims her life. For the first few years on Saltspring, while their homestead was being established, she cared for her husband and family in hastily-built log cabins with dirt floors and the only running water in a nearby creek. But she managed to raise all her children to adulthood and imbue in them a strong sense of self-reliance. Two of her admonitions were: "Take neither favour nor charity" and "Don't work for somebody else, get out on your own."

Joe Garner fondly remembers the enormous breakfasts and dinners his mother cooked for the family, using local game and produce from their farm. Fried grouse with milk gravy was a special favourite. Unfortunately, we learn very little about Lona once she moves to Vancouver. Having once established her as a heroine, the author should not have let her drop out of sight.

But this book is also the story of children growing up in rural British Columbia with few amenities. As in most large country families the Garner siblings were required to pitch in and help with haying, berry picking, hunting and even logging at an early age. Pearl and Ollie were cutting enough timber to boom by the ages of fifteen and twelve, respectively.

Despite hard work and long hours, however, their close contact with nature provided the children with healthy outlets in their free time. Joe Garner's skill as a story teller is best revealed in his description of encounters with animals on the farm and in the woods. These adventures could easily be combined in a book for children.

The author writes in a lively style, yet we feel uneasy with his use of dialogue, even though Lona and Oland must have related their South Carolina

experiences many times. This criticism also applies to his later descriptions of logging and hunting exploits. Because many of the Garner brothers and sisters contributed their own chapters to the book, the reader is faced with considerable repetition. Nevertheless, Margaret's well-presented memoirs should be the springboard for more writing. There are sixteen pages of photographs which cover the time period very well. For easy reference an index and a map of Saltspring also would have been helpful. (We understand the latter is to be included in the next edition.)

At the risk of destroying a good story, it is questionable whether Oland was Emily Carr's lover at a North Saanich cabin. Maria Tippett's recent biography, *Emily Carr*,¹ places Emily in Victoria, surrounded by her family, supervising the building of her apartment house in 1913. Oland would not have worked at her father's warehouse in 1903 but possibly at Rithet's. This firm acquired the building from Carr before his death in 1888.²

Joe Garner and his family belong to a life-loving, enterprising generation who contributed in their own special way to the growth of British Columbia during the first half of the twentieth century. One hopes that by writing this book he will encourage many others to put their experiences on paper. Whether they are then published or not doesn't matter — as long as future generations have something to ponder and admire.

¹ Maria Tippett, *Emily Carr*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1979, pp. 115-117.

² *Ibid.* p. 14.

Marie Elliott is presently working diligently on an M.A. in History at the University of Victoria. The history of the Gulf Islands is a special interest.



BRITISH COLUMBIA: HISTORICAL READINGS. W. Peter Ward and R. A. J. McDonald, compilers and editors. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981. Pp. xii, 692, \$10.95 (paper).

Students of British Columbia history will note with interest this anthology of no fewer than thirty-one articles addressing eight major areas of our history. The authors' purpose is "to provide college and university students with a textbook reflecting the interests of the province's most recent historians." In this, Messrs. Ward and McDonald, two professors at the University of British

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Columbia have succeeded. Instructors in British Columbia history who annually face the task of getting up an anthology of historical essays and who have not found the Carleton Library's *Historical Essays on British Columbia* entirely suitable for the purpose will no doubt prescribe this new anthology in their courses. The volume is locally available and reasonably priced.

The work is prefaced with Allan Smith's article on the development of the writing of British Columbia history. The following essays on maritime exploration, fur trade and early Indian-European relations constitute perhaps the strongest section in the volume. Christon Archer's work on the Spanish presence in the Northwest, Jean Usher's study of William Duncan's model society among the Tsimshians, and Robin Fisher's articles on Indian manipulation of the fur trade, the propagation of Christianity among British Columbia Indians, and Joseph Trutch's historic reversal of Douglas' benign Indian policies make their appearance. Peter Cumming and Neil Mickenberg, in their articles on Native land claims, explore the historical roots of a problem that remains unsettled.

James Gibson's article on the American predominance in the maritime fur trade places in perspective scholarship that tends to emphasize, perhaps too much, the Spanish and British presence on the Northwest coast in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gibson also discusses the co-operation developed between Astor's American Fur Company and the Russian-American Company, an arrangement not unlike the one concluded in the late 1830s by the same Russian company and the Hudson's Bay Company.

The colonial period is represented by S. D. Clark's forty-year-old but still extremely valuable essay on the sociological aspects of mining society, by Barry Gough's article on the Britannic influences on the shaping of the colonial frontier, and by James Hendrickson's recently published essay on the much-neglected topic of the evolution of our colonial constitution and legislative institutions and practices.

The offerings on economic development, while presenting valuable case studies of individual entrepreneurs and the salmon industry, betray, as the authors claim in their preface, significant lacunae in our historical scholarship. Yet this problem could have been mitigated by the inclusion of some of the work by W. G. Hardwick,

A. L. Farley, or Roger Hayter on forestry, H. A. Innis on mining, or even Margaret Ormsby on agriculture.

Space for one or two of these articles could have been found, particularly since two on the salmon industry and one on the comparatively minor topic of the North Pacific seal hunt were included. The latter article, by D. G. Paterson, will be of little, even no, use. It is simply impenetrable, given its jargon. Our view of provincial economic development is somewhat improved by R.A.J. McDonald's article on the economy in the period 1886-1914, included in the section on urban growth, and by three articles on labour by David Bercuson, Ross McCormack, and Stuart Jamieson, the latter which conveys, in passing, valuable impressions of the economic structure to which labour responded.

The articles on politics — Ian Parker on Tolmie, Margaret Ormsby on Pattullo, and Walter Young on the CCF — will no doubt prove instructive for the subjects they entertain, but taken as a group they will not enable the reader to establish any great control of this crucial aspect of our past, which has been and remains neglected. Martin Robin's "The Social Basis of Party Politics in British Columbia" might have been included in order to ameliorate what is obviously a serious problem.

The volume's last section, "Race and Ethnicity," contains some of the most instructive essays on Oriental-European relations, namely the work of Patricia Roy and Peter Ward, although Sanford Lyman's comparison of Chinese and Japanese communities in North America will prove less useful in the study of these relations in British Columbia.

The editors might have consulted with the prospective users of the anthology to amplify its assets and minimize the deficiencies noted above. A select bibliography, introductions to each of the eight genres of historical studies contained in the work, and perhaps a few notes about each of the contributors should probably have been added. Although there remain a number of problems in the anthology, it will provide useful in post-secondary classrooms. The volume contains material gathered from diverse sources, not all of which is readily accessible to all university and college students in the province, and certainly not to the larger public readership to whom the anthology might well appeal.

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