BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL NEWS

Journal of the British Columbia Historical Federation

Volume 36, No. 3
Summer 2003
$5.00
ISSN 1195-8294

Sex trade

Women's pages

Story of a gun

Mission among the Nuu-Chah-Nulth

Breakfast at Noon

Remembering Ted Affleck and Jim Spilsbury

Prince George Conference

Museo de America, Madrid

Woman from Nootka. Drawing by Thomás de Suria, 1791

British Columbia Historical News
Journal of the
British Columbia Historical Federation
Published Winter, Spring, Summer, and Fall.

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SUBSCRIPTION $15.00 PER YEAR
FOR MAILING OUTSIDE CANADA ADD $10.00

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THIS PUBLICATION IS INDEXED IN THE CBCA, PUBLISHED BY MICROMEDIA.

ISSN 1195-8294

PRODUCTION MAIL REGISTRATION 1245716

PUBLICATIONS MAIL REGISTRATION NO. 09835

MEMBER OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA ASSOCIATION OF MAGAZINE PUBLISHERS

British Columbia Historical Federation

PO Box 5254, Station B., Victoria BC V8R 6N4

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"Any country worthy of a future should be interested in its past."
W. Kaye Lamb, 1937

Subscribe! It's worth it!

This is my last issue as editor and producer of *BC Historical News*. Starting with the fall issue, John Atkin will take over. I want to thank all who never stopped sending me articles and columns and all who enjoyed reading them. A special thank you to those who made it possible to do this job: my wife Helmi in the first place and also book editor Anne Yandle, proofreader Tony Farr, Cathy Chapin for her maps, and Joel Vinge who manages the subscriptions, treasurer Ron Greene, the friends at Polar Printing Inc. in North Vancouver and Mail-o-Matic in Burnaby. I thank you all for your enthusiastic and efficient co-operation.

It seems not so long ago that Ron Welwood and his team let me take over the Federation's flagship from Naomi Miller. I can't thank them enough for their trust. I enjoyed doing this more than I can say. Now it is my turn to pass the helm to a successor.

John Atkin is well qualified to be the next editor. He is a historian, heritage advocate, author, and a well-known heritage walking tour guide. John co-founded and served as vice-president and president of Heritage Vancouver and sat on the board of directors of the Heritage Society of British Columbia. He continues to promote Vancouver's history and heritage through a monthly television spot, lectures, and walking tours. He works closely with the Vancouver Museum, the Dr. Sun Yat Sen Chinese Classical Garden, and the Architectural Institute of BC. His next book, *Vancouver Walks* (with Michael Kluckner) will be published in May.

I am sure that under John's direction "The News" will continue to flourish.

the editor

How Agreeable Their Company Would Be[1]

The Meaning of the Sexual Labour of Slaves in the Nuu-chah-nulth–European Sex Trade at Nootka Sound in the Eighteenth Century

by Elliot Fox-Povey

Elliott Fox-Povey lives in East Vancouver, Coast Salish Territory, and is currently enrolled in the PDP program at Simon Fraser University. He approached the eighteenth-century Nuu-chah-nulth–European sex trade looking for the unreported agency and dignity of the Native women workers.

ON THE morning of 8 August 1774, Nuu-chah-nulth people near the Hesquiat Peninsula paddled canoes to the Spanish ship *Santiago*, intercepting the first Europeans to observe the Nuu-chah-nulth coast.[2] The Nuu-chah-nulth exchanged fur, clothing, and sardines for pearl shells and Spanish knives until, less than a day after trading had begun, bad weather forced the ship to move.[3] Four years later, on 29 March 1778, Europeans again entered Nuu-chah-nulth territory at Nootka Sound, very near Hesquiat, and Nuu-chah-nulth people once again paddled out to them and initiated trading.[4] This time the exchange was drawn out over an entire month, so trading relations and preferences developed considerably further. In need of repairs and supplies, the European ships, the *Discovery* and the *Resolution*, which carried an expedition of British led by Captain James Cook, anchored in a cove near the village of Yuquot. The Nuu-chah-nulth sought metal most of all, but also obtained various manufactured items.[5] The British sailors also sought what they desired: primarily natural materials to repair and resupply their ships for their northern voyage, but also sex with women.[6]

The great resale profit made by Europeans on sea otter furs endowed that trade item with singular importance for the intense relationship that followed, and for historical analysis of early European–Native contact on the Northwest Coast. Although the sex trade developed parallel to this maritime fur trade up and down the coast, and far outlived it, the sex trade has received little serious historical attention. This essay examines the nature and historical treatment of the eighteenth-century European–Nuu-chah-nulth sex trade at Nootka Sound, from its beginning with Cook's expedition in 1778 through its destabilization in the 1790s during the Spanish occupation and Vancouver's expedition, when European maritime trade peaked in the area.

The organized sale and purchase of sex was introduced by Europeans, but developed through Nuu-chah-nulth interest in trade and on the terms of established Nuu-chah-nulth social hierarchy. The Nuu-chah-nulth struggled to limit sexual contact with Europeans and largely redirected Europeans' sexual aggression toward enslaved women for the profit of Nuu-chah-nulth slave owners. The sex trade at Nootka Sound, primarily the sale and purchase of the sex of slaves, could be seen as the earliest documented and most frequent act of violence between Europeans and Natives of the Northwest Coast. Yet the sex trade has been excluded from the discussion of violence associated with European visits to the Northwest Coast, as historians have focused only on violence stemming from intercultural conflict, ignoring this serious violence, which resulted from intercultural collaboration. The European–Nuu-chah-nulth sex trade also deserves serious historical examination because of the long-term persistence and impact of the trade such as increased slave "value" and raiding, and the spread of new epidemic venereal diseases.

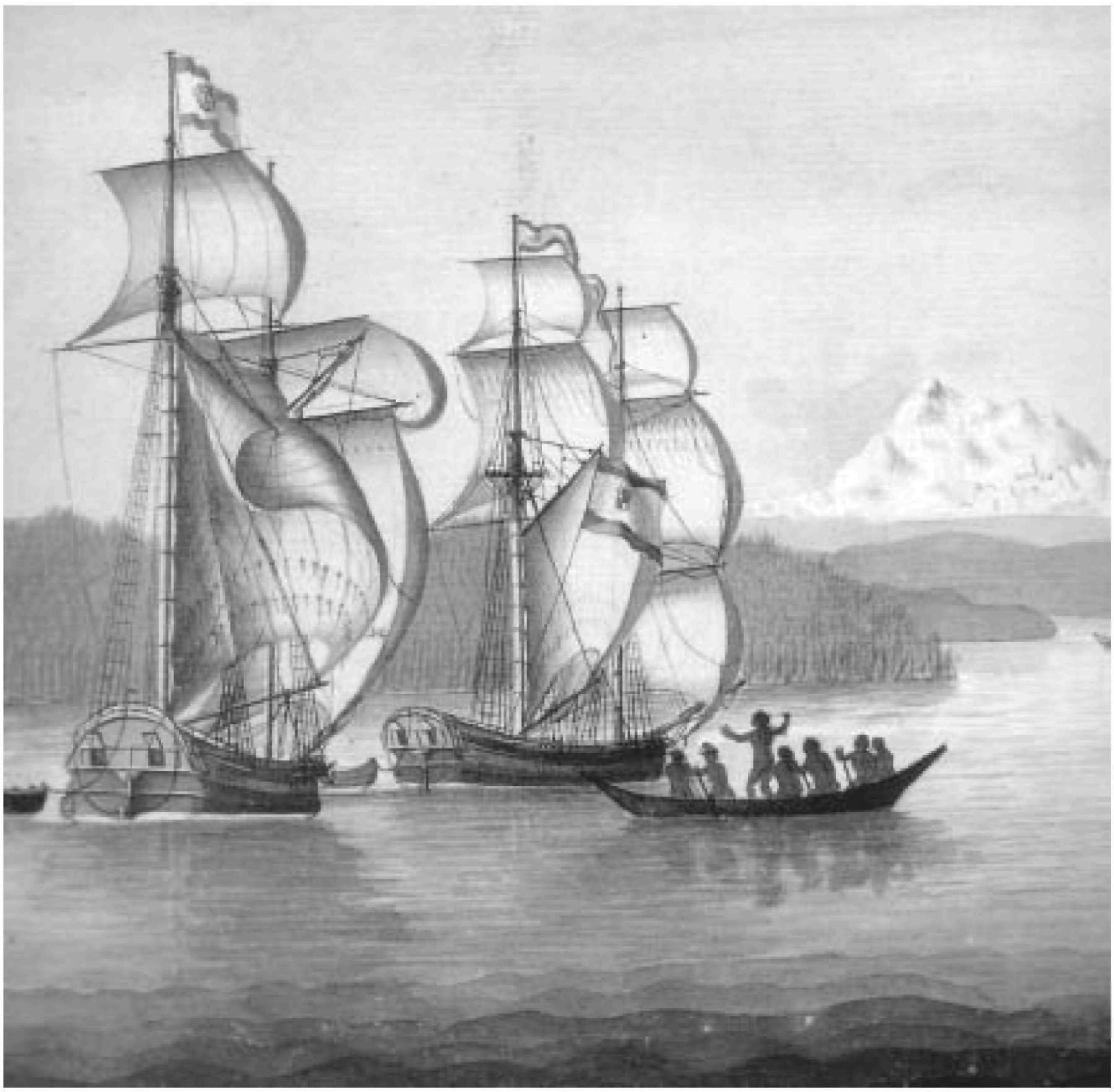
The Nuu-chah-nulth had no sex trade prior to contact with Europeans beyond small, secret gifts between individuals, but the organized sale of sex to Europeans seems to have come about through adaptation not imposition.[7] The Nuu-chah-nulth were highly skilled and experienced traders. Both the eagerness with which they initiated trade with European expeditions,[8] and the sharpness with which they conducted such trading attest to this.[9] For example, from the very start of the trade with European ships, the people of Yuquot utilized their existing trading relationships among regional Nuu-chah-nulth groups and their key geographic location to limit competition and exchange a quantity of furs well beyond local resources for their own profit.[10] Also, like other peoples of the Northwest Coast, the Nuu-chah-nulth had a well-established system of human ownership.[11] Slaves, usually captives taken in raids on other coastal groups, performed labour, could be killed or punished at will, and contributed generally to the wealth and high status of their owners.[12] When Europeans proposed

[1] "...how agreeable their Company would be to us & how profitable to themselves." Quotation from the 6 April 1778 journal entry of Chief Surgeon David Samwell of Captain Cook's Expedition; six days after contact. See David Samwell, "Journal" in *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, vol. 3, ed. John Cawte Beaglehole, (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1967-1974), 1095 (6 April 1778).

[2] Juan Pérez, "Letter," *Juan Pérez on the Northwest Coast: Six Documents of His Expedition in 1774*, ed. & trans. Herbert K. Beals, (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1989) 88-90, 146.

[3] Perez 89. A Nuu-chah-nulth account was recorded fifteen years later by Joseph Ingram. See Joseph Ingram, "Letter to Esteban Jose Martinez (1789)," *Juan Pérez*, ed. & trans. Herbert K. Beals, 215-217.

[4] Richard I. Inglis and James C. Haggarty, "Cook to Jewitt: Three Decades of Change in Nootka



Museo Naval Madrid

Left: Sutil *and* Mexicana *at Juan de Fuca. Detail of a drawing by José Cardero.*

a trade in sex with women, slavery provided Nuu-chah-nulth elites with a class of sex workers who were outside of Nuu-chah-nulth social rules of sexual modesty, and whose work would only re-affirm existing wealth relationships.

British sailors, for their part, carried the expectation of purchasing sex into every port; the men aboard Cook's ships were particularly attuned to such a relationship as they had come directly from the islands of the South Pacific where sex with Native women was widely available.[13] Nearly every observation of Nuu-chah-nulth women documented by men of the expedition reveals their concern with how attractive or "modest" (either how desirable or how available) the women were.[14] For example, William Bayly noted they were "exceedingly modest and reserved," Lieutenant James Burney, on the other hand, that they were "Jolly, likely Wenches."[15] The one line Captain Cook himself wrote on Nuu-

were probably of the Yuquot-Tahsis confederacy; however, since the sources I am using are often vague about which people they are describing, I avoid such specific terms and refer to "the Nuu-chah-nulth at Nootka Sound" or "at Yuquot" or "Maquinna's people." The term "Europeans" is used in this essay to identify both the Euro-American and European visitors to Nuu-chah-nulth territory.

[5] James Cook "Journal" in *The Journals,* vol. 3, ed. John Cawte Beaglehole, 302; and others.

[6] Samwell 1094. William Bayly quoted by John Cawte Beaglehole ed., *The Journals,* 311 (footnote).

[7] Twentieth-century informants report this to Philip Drucker. See Drucker, Philip, *The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes–Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 144,* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951) 309. It is also asserted by John Lutz, "The Erotics of Exploration," paper presented to the 1997 meeting of the Canadian Historical Association at Memorial University of Newfoundland, 13; Fisher "Cook and the Nootka" 95; Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict : Indian-European relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890,* 2nd ed. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1992) 19. No source was found that denied this.

[8] Inglis & Haggarty 213. According to Gough 20, "even before the ships entered the inner reaches of the harbour, Natives had approached the vessel,

Sound," *Le Castor Fait Tout: Selected Papers of the Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1985,* ed. Bruce G. Trigger, Toby Morantz, and Louise Dechêne, (Montréal: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, 1987) 197-8; Barry M. Gough, "Nootka Sound In James Cook's Pacific World," *Sound Heritage* VII/1 (1978) 15; and others.

On Terminology: The Nuu-chah-nulth people who encountered both Perez's and Cook's expeditions have been called Mowachaht and Muchalaht. See Robin Fisher "Cook and the Nootka," *Captain James Cook and His Times,* eds. Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979) 91-94. But Inglis & Haggarty 214-215 question whether these political groupings can be known to have existed at that time, or even whether the village later called Yuquot was called this by the inhabitants when Cook's expedition visited. McMillan claims the Mowachaht confederation began after 1804. See Alan D. McMillan, *Since the Time of the Transformers: the Ancient Heritage of the Nuu-chah-nulth, Ditidaht, and Makah,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999) 199. Most of the Nuu-chah-nulth mentioned in this essay

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crying '*Macook*'-will you trade?" On one of the first ships after Cook's, Alexander Walker remarked on the skill, experience, and eagerness to trade of the Yuquot people. See Alexander Walker, *An Account of a Voyage to the North West Coast of America in 1785 & 1786*, eds. Robin Fisher and J. M. Bumsted, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1982) 41, 42.

[9] McMillan claims the Nuu-chah-nulth people Cook's expedition encountered already had a very intense sense of trade. See McMillan 179. James R. Gibson, *Otter Skins, Boston Ships, and China Goods: the Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest Coast, 1785-1841*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992) 114, 121. Sophisticated protocol, relatively extreme sense of ownership, Inglis & Haggarty 201-202. John Rickman, on Cook's expedition, claimed, "these people certainly carry on a traffic with strangers." See John Rickman, *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, (London: E. Newbery, 1781) 246.

[10] Fisher "Cook and the Nootka" 91; and others. Bayly writes, "It was evident that they engrossed us entirely to themselves, or if at any time they allowed Strangers to trade with us it was always managed the trade for them [sic] in such a manner that the price of their articles was always kept up while the Value of ours was lessening daily. We also found that many of the principals of those about us carried on a trade with their neighbours with the articles they got from us; as they would frequently be gone from us four or five days at a time and then return with a fresh cargo of skins curiosities &c. …" William Bayly "Journal" in *The Journals*, vol. 3, ed. John Cawte Beaglehole, 302.

11 Leyland, Donald *Aboriginal Slavery on the Northwest Coast of North America* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1997); and others. I have avoided referring to slaves of the Nuu-chah-nulth as themselves Nuu-chah-nulth since many were members of other groups until they were captured, and slaves were likely not considered citizens or persons of the group where they lived.

[12] Donald.

[13] Samwell; Lutz; Paige Raibmon, Lectures, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, 14 and 16 November 2001.

[14] Raibmon, Lecture 16 Nov 2001.

[15] Bayly quoted in Tomas Bartroli, "Captain Cook on Canada's Pacific Coast: A Preliminary Account," (Bennett Library, Simon Fraser University, MS, 1978) 125; James Burney quoted in George P.V. Akrigg & Helen B. Akrigg, *British Columbia Chronicle, 1778-1846: Adventure By Sea and Land*, (Victoria, BC: Discovery Press, 1975) 24. Fisher "Cook and the Nootka" 94.

[16] Cook 311.

[17] For example, see Walker 86; Portlock's journal of *King George* and others referred to by Lutz; Puget refered to by Gibson 235; and Howay's *Voyages of the Columbia* in Gibson 371.

[18] Samwell 1094-1095.

[19] Samwell 1095. Although Lutz uses of (Officer) Samwell's accounts of initiating sex trade at Nootka Sound, he strangely attributes the purchase of sex exclusively to the ship's crew, not its officers: "On the quarterdeck almost all the attention was to the 'virgin land.' But as you moved through the ship to the forecastle accommodation of the sailors, attention shifted increasingly from exploration to sexploration." See Lutz 8. Bartroli makes the point that at first only officers may have been able to afford to buy sex from the Nuu-chah-nulth. See Bartroli 127-128. Unfortunately, Bartroli too regresses into wild speculation, suggesting that regular sailors would not have purchased sex at Nootka Sound because they did not have private cabins, and the climate of Nootka Sound would leave the ground too soggy to lie on, and they would have had too great a fear of cannibalism to receive oral sex.

[20] Charles Clerke, "Journal" in *The Journals*, vol. 3, ed. John Cawte Beaglehole, 1326.

[21] Samwell 1095.

[22] Clerke 1326.

[23] Lieutenant James Burney quoted in Akrigg & Akrigg, 24; King, "Journal" in *The Journals*, vol. 3, ed. John Cawte Beaglehole, 1405; Edgar quoted by John Cawte Beaglehole ed., *The Journals*, 311 (footnote).

[24] Fisher, "Cook and the Nootka" 96. In George Lang's essay about the development of the Northwest Coast trade language Chinook, he recognizes European–Nuu-chah-nulth communication for the sex trade as responsible for the early adoption of the Jargon word for women "B tšman" from the 'Nootka' "B´uu´ma." See George Lang, "The Price of Prostitution," Making Wawa, <http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/~chinook/nootka/klootschman.htm> 21 March 2002.

[25] Edgar quoted in Bartroli 125.

[26] Bartroli 125.

[27] Ellis quoted in Bartroli

chah-nulth women was spent wondering whether their looks qualified them "being call'd beauties."[16] The documented observations of later European traders at Nootka Sound evaluate Nuu-chah-nulth women in just the same terms.[17]

Some men documented more than just their own visual evaluation and interest of the women at Nootka Sound. David Samwell, surgeon on the *Discovery*, documented how openly eager some of the men were to buy sex from young women. Just a week after first contact, on 6 April 1778, Samwell wrote: "Hitherto we had seen none of their young Women tho' we had often given the [Nuu-chah-nulth] men to understand how agreeable their Company would be to us & how profitable to themselves, in consequence of which they about this time brought two or three Girls to the Ships."[18] But the exchange did not end there. Samwell claimed that over the following three weeks while their ships were anchored at Nootka Sound, himself and other "young Gentlemen" so often paid the price of "a Pewter plate well scoured for a Night" with a young woman brought to the ship that when "leaving this Harbour [were] not being able to muster a plate to eat our Salt beef from."[19]

Both Samwell and Charles Clerke, commander of *Discovery*, noted that the European men first scrubbed many of the women brought on board for sex. Clerke explained how "a Girl, who was a Week or 10 days on board the Ship, with one of

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Archivo del ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid.

the Officers, was taken great pains with to be got clean if possible."[20] Samwell described "taking as much pleasure in cleansing a naked young Woman from all Impurities in a Tub of Warm Water, as a young Confessor would to absolve a beautiful Virgin who was about to sacrifice that Name to himself."[21] Several other men described the sex trade similarly, if less explicitly. Clerke wrote that women "were offer'd by the [Nuu-chah-nulth] Men for dalliance to our People, and by some accepted."[22] Several of the men who did not directly describe the trade in sex, did reveal in their journals that they saw their fellow sailors strip and wash Native women on board ship.[23] Bayly recorded among other vocabulary learned for the purpose of trading with the Nuu-chah-nulth, words for female and male genitals and the all important verb meaning "to Roger," that is, to have sex.[24]

Some women may have sold sex to the men of Cook's expedition under their own agency. Thomas Edgar claimed that "the women have not the least Objection to bartering their Favours."[25] Writing some time after the fact, George Gilbert wrote that women in Nootka Sound had come alongside *Discovery* in canoes, he believed, to barter themselves.[26] William Ellis, another surgeon, reported on some women at Nootka Sound who "were quite at the service of anybody who would pay *them* handsomely."[27] A few men did, he claimed, negotiating a sex trade with women apparently acting under their own agency.[28]

But most reports of the sex trade between Cook's expedition and the people at Nootka Sound, and reports of the sex trade in the years to follow, describe not working women, but a trade in the sex of slaves.[29] Ellis observed in another incidence where sex was traded, that "the women did not dare look up, appeared quite dejected and were totally under the command of those who brought them."[30] He believed they were probably foreign captives who were considered slaves.[31] William Bayly, the astronomer of Cook's expedition, stated that sex with women at Nootka Sound was only possible by paying men who leased or "let out" women of "the lowest class."[32] Samwell claimed he had paid not the women themselves but men "who generally accompanied them made the Bargain & received the price of the Prostitution."[33] An observer at the Spanish garrison at Nootka Sound in 1792, José Moziño, noted that while sexual contact by

Above: *View of Nootka Bay from the shores of the Spanish establishment. Drawing by José Cordero.*

Opposite page: *Natzapi of Nootka, Maquinna's brother-in-law. Detail of a drawing by Tomás de Suria.*

Notes continue >>>

125. Emphasis added.

[28] Bartroli 125. My argument below for recognizing the violence of this sex trade *entirely* hinges on the question of (or lack of) agency on the part of most women performing sexual services, not on any notions of a necessary relationship between violence and sex work.

[29] For further arguments that sex with slave women was the dominate sexual service traded at Nootka Sound, see Donald 233; and Fisher and Bumsted's editorial note in Walker 231.

[30] Ellis quoted in Bartroli 125.

[31] Bartroli 125-6.

[32] Bayly quoted by Beaglehole ed., *The Journals*, 311 (footnote).

[33] Samwell 1095.

[34] José Mariano Moziño, *Noticias de Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792*, 2nd ed, trans. & ed. Iris H. Wilson Engstrand, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991) 43.

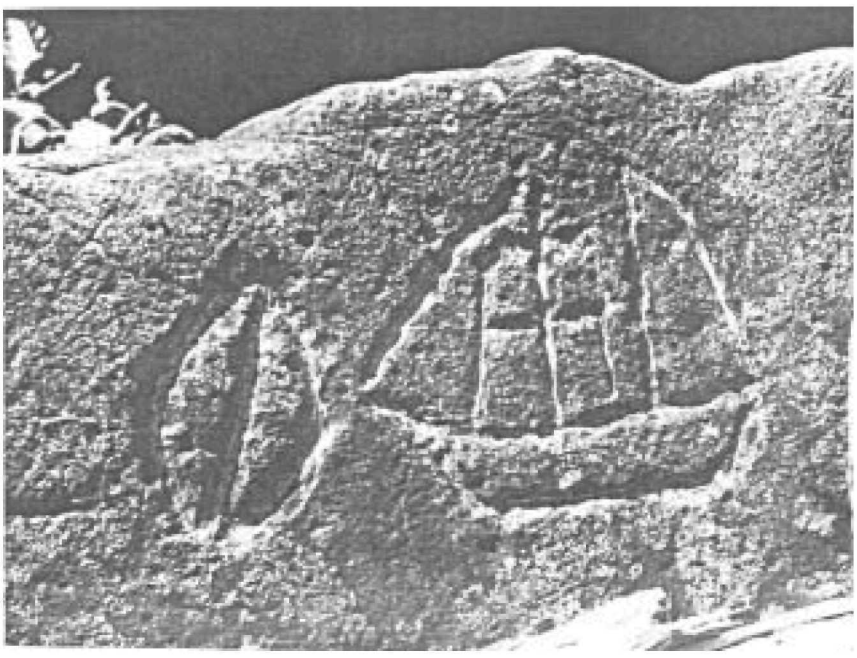
Below: *Petroglyph of a sailing ship and vulvic image at the Wedding Rocks site near the Makah village of Ozette.*

non-slave Nuu-chah-nulth women was strictly controlled, "The standard is not the same for women of the lower class. The *taises* [chiefs] themselves prostitute these women, especially to foreigners, in order to take advantage of the profit earned from this business."[34]

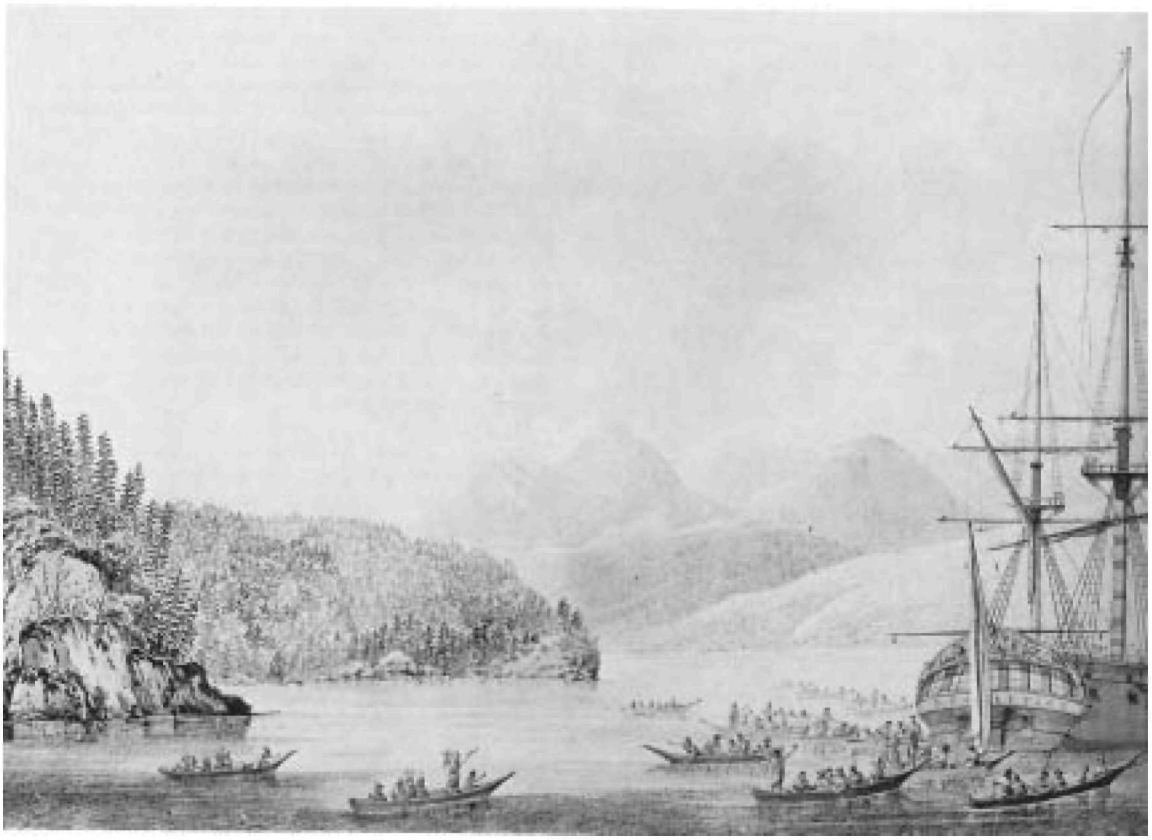
As slaves, not only did the women receive no payment for their sexual services, but they also did not do the work by choice. Although Samwell called the men who brought and traded the women "their Fathers or Other relations," he realized the women did not act freely.[35] He says that "in their behaviour [they] were very modest and timid," and when their services had been negotiated they were "prevailed upon to sleep on board the Ships, or rather forced to it by [those] who brought them on board."[36] Alexander Walker, amongst the earliest sea otter fur traders who began flooding into Nootka Sound in 1786, gave a clear account of the sex trade as a trade in the sex of slaves. He observed that after some negotiation with Nuu-chah-nulth men, "three or four poor wretches were produced for prostitution. These were the dirtiest drabs in the Village, and appeared neither to be the Wives nor Daughters of any of our acquaintances. It is probable from the unusual contempt with which they were treated, and the fatiguing offices about which they were constantly employed, that these Women were Captives, taken in War, and reduced to a state of Slavery."[37] Such descriptions of the women slaves dominate the accounts of sex trade at Nootka Sound.

Many historians have considered early Nuu-chah-nulth–European relations without mentioning anything about sexual contact.[38] But of those that do, most recognize this contact was primarily characterized by European men purchasing sex with slave women from their owners.[39] However, even they have ignored the meaning of these facts: that Nuu-chah-nulth – European contact involved the widespread organization of European men receiving sex from Native women who had no power to refuse or control over conditions, and received no pay. Beginning with Samwell's journal entry of 6 April 1778, report on the first "girls" brought aboard, the sex trade at Nootka Sound may be the earliest documented and most frequently occurring act of violence between Europeans and Natives of the Northwest Coast. Discussions of violence between Europeans and the Nuu-chah-nulth, however, generally ignore the sex trade. The violence of the trade has not registered because it does not clearly appear to be intercultural conflict like the destruction of the Nuu-chah-nulth village of Opisat by a European trading ship, or Maquinna's attack on the *Boston*.[40] It is not even as clearly conflictual as petty theft from a ship, or a disrespectful attitude of Europeans at a Native ceremony. The sex trade was the result of successful intercultural collaboration between high status Nuu-chah-nulth people and European men. That it was the extension of a system of violence within Nuu-chah-nulth culture does not make it any less violence by Europeans upon Native women.

Although most women providing sex to the Europeans received no pay for their work, the Nuu-chah-nulth men negotiating the exchange certainly did. Samwell claimed that the Nuu-chah-nulth traders, after bringing those first few "girls," "found that this was a profitable Trade [and] they brought more young women to the Ships."[41] Nuu-chah-nulth traders took full advantage of the sex trade. By nearly all accounts, the prices they charged were higher than the British sailors paid for sex elsewhere, and perhaps higher than what the Nuu-chah-nulth received for other items and services.[42] According to Bayly, through trading sex, the traders were able to obtain items "they wanted, which they could not otherwise get."[43] Similarly, Walker noted that the Nuu-chah-nulth traders only produced women for sex with the Europeans "after a great deal of Art was used, and those articles which they held in the greatest esteem, were liberally given" by the European men.[44] The early commercial importance assigned



Courtesy Allan Macmillan.



The British Library, London.

Left: *A view in Ship Cove, Nootka Sound, 1778. Drawing by John Webber.*

to the sex trade by Nuu-chah-nulth traders is demonstrated by the manner by which Walker and his shipmates were greeted upon entering the Nootka Sound. Like Cook's expedition, they were met with many canoes, but instead of ceremony, the Nuu-chah-nulth men "laughed heartily, passed their jokes on us with great freedom, and gave us to understand, that for Iron, we might have their Wives (or Women) explaining their meaning by many indecent actions."[45] Nuu-chah-nulth traders seem to have identified European visitors with their desire for sex, as implied by the rock carving of a European ship sailing into a giant vulva, found in the territory of the Makah, southern relatives of the Nuu-chah-nulth. Moreover, though only a few European ships had visited since Samwell first expressed his eagerness to buy sex, they recognized the profit to be made and appeared quite confident about controlling their new trade.

Nuu-chah-nulth traders were able to charge such a high price because they held with the visitors a near monopoly on heterosexual sex. Sexual contact was generally not available to Europeans at Nootka Sound during the sea otter trade, except by paying Nuu-chah-nulth men for sex with enslaved women. While Walker and his shipmates, for example, had indeed been invited to purchase sex, they soon found out it was not with the Nuu-chah-nulth traders' wives. The Nuu-chah-nulth traders acted as though they were negotiating a price for sex with their wives but then stopped short, Walker lamented, only "to raise a laugh against us."[46] Despite being made the butt of jokes for their lack of understanding Nuu-chah-nulth rules about sexual contact and the sex trade, Walker and his shipmates remained eager to purchase sex, and when they had offered enough in exchange, they were sold the sexual services of slave women.[47]

The behaviour of Nuu-chah-nulth people who were not directly involved in the sex trade also contributed to maintaining this monopoly. Perhaps expressing their own lack of interest, non-slave women largely abstained from even light sexual contact with European men. The journals of visiting Europeans, concerned always with evaluating the sexual availability of Native women, commonly remarked upon the modesty and chastity of the non-slave Nuu-chah-nulth women.[48] The women rejected, complained one British seaman, even "the most trifling attacks of gallantry."[49] Similarly, outside of purchasing sex, Walker and his shipmates seemed to experience some difficulty even talking to Nuu-chah-nulth women.

[35] Samwell 1095.
[36] Samwell 1095.
[37] Walker 87.
[38] McMillan, Inglis & Haggarty, Duff, Gough, and Jones lead discussions about early Nuu-chah-nulth –European contact without mention of sexual contact. See Wilson Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia, Volume 1: The Impact of the White Man*, 2nd ed. (Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1969); See Laurie Jones, *Nootka Sound Explored: A Westcoast History*, (Campbell River, British Columbia: Ptarmigan Press, 1991). Inglis & Haggarty (201) and McMillan (180) are particularly thorough in their discussions of the various items of trade, except sex. McMillan even discusses the European originated venereal diseases among the Nuu-chah-nulth (192), and provides the *figure 1* photograph of the Makah sailing ship and vulva petroglyph (168) without mentioning sexual contact. Richard Hough recognizes the sex trade, declaring, "these Nootka natives were quick to pick up lessons and in future (and in ever increasing numbers) girls were provided" but not that these "girls" who were provided were slaves. See Richard Hough, *The Last Voyage of Captain James Cook*, (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1979), 136-137.
[39] Fisher "Cook and the Nootka"; Lutz; Cole Harris, "Social Power and Cultural Change in Pre-Colonial British Columbia," *BC Studies* Nos. 115/116 (Autumn/Winter 1997/98): 45-82;

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Akrigg & Akrigg. Fisher, intent on his argument of collaborative social change, says that "this European vice brought little demoralization to Indian society" as long as only slave or low status women were sex workers as they "did not break Indian social sanctions by going aboard ships." See Fisher *Contact and Conflict* 20.

[40] For discussion of these events see McMillan 185, 188. Fisher especially is concerned with identifying *conflict* or uncollaborative social change, not violence in itself. See, for instance, Fisher "Cook and the Nootka" 96.

[41] Samwell 1095.

[42] Bayly quoted by Beaglehole ed., *The Journals,* 311 (footnote). Walker 87. Fisher "Cook and the Nootka" 94.

[43] Bayly quoted by Beaglehole ed., *The Journals,* 311 (footnote).

[44] Walker 87.

[45] Walker 42. Walker later realized it was certainly not their wives that were being offered.

[46] Walker 87.

[47] Walker 87.

[48] Cook 313; Bayly quoted by Beaglehole ed., *The Journals,* 311 (footnote); Archibald Menzies, *Journal of Vancouver's Voyage [Dec. 1790 - Feb. 1794],* 2 vols. (BCPA) July 20, 1792; John Jewitt *Captive of the Nootka Indians: the Northwest Coast Adventure of John R. Jewitt, 1802-1806,* ed. Alice W. Shurcliff & Sarah Shurcliff Ingelfinger, (Boston: Back Bay Books / Northeastern University Press) 89; and others.

[49] A crewmember of the *Chatham* quoted by Fisher, *Contact and Conflict,* 19 (footnote).

[50] Walker 41.

[51] Walker 54.

[52] Walker 85.

[53] Walker 87.

[54] Walker 85.

[55] Menzies, 20 July 1792.

Canoeing women his ship accidentally encountered, "kept at a considerable distance, and refused to enter into conversation with us."[50] Walker described another particularly disappointing occasion when their interest was not only rejected, but Nuu-chah-nulth men were called to intervene: "When it was dark, we went ashore, and found a few Women. These being alarmed, made a noise, and several Men immediately appeared. Finding nothing by poverty [as nothing was available to them] and suspicion...we hastened back to our Boat."[51] Even among people at Nootka Sound with whom the Europeans had established a daily familiarity, Walker believed the Nuu-chah-nulth "Men watched us suspiciously."[52]

Familiarity with the European men likely gave the Nuu-chah-nulth reason to be suspicious. Despite being turned down everywhere, except when purchasing sex with slaves, European men persisted in their pursuit of sexual or romantic contact with Nuu-chah-nulth women. Limiting sexual contact with Europeans at Nootka Sound served not only the commercial monopoly, but it also shielded non-slave women from European sexual aggression. Walker remarked with surprise that "the frequent attempts, that were made to debauch the [non-slave] Women, and the tempting bribes that were offered for this purpose, were with very few exceptions constantly rejected."[53] Such a threat were Walker and other European men perceived by the Nuu-chah-nulth, that on the occasions they came upon a village when the men were away, "the Women shut us out of their houses, and barricaded the doors with Chests and Planks. This was said to be the effect of the Mens jealousy, although it appeared to me more natural to suppose it to be procured from the fears of the Women, who took this method of freeing themselves from our coarse importunities."[54]

The sailors of Vancouver's voyage tried to initiate sex with women and were similarly rejected in 1792, after six more years of intense trading contact between the Nuu-chah-nulth and Europeans. Menzies reported from *Discovery* that, "none of them [women near Nootka Sound] would suffer any of our people to offer them any indecent familiarities, which is a modesty in some measure characteristic of their Tribe."[55] Peter Puget described the fruitless advances of sailors from *Chatham* upon a fourteen-year-old Nuu-chah-nulth girl who had "contrived by an Excellent Management and distribution of her smiles to receive innumerable presents from her Admirers but without granting her favors to any one."[56]

The corresponding persistent rejection by non-slave Nuu-chah-nulth women, which generally limited Europeans' opportunity for sexual contact to sex with slaves purchased from Nuu-chah-nulth traders, served to reinforce Nuu-chah-nulth hierarchy. The absence of competition from non-slave women not only ensured the high prices for the slave sex trade, but limiting European sexual contact to slave women also protected established Nuu-chah-nulth social order. It preserved the sexual modesty expected of non-slave women by shielding them from European sexual aggression. But it also reaffirmed the subjugation of slaves, and funded the wealthy, high status slave owners. As long as sexual contact was generally limited to a trade of the labour of those of the lowest status within Nuu-chah-nulth society (slaves), to profit those of the highest status (slave owners), it supported rather than threatened the established Nuu-chah-nulth social hierarchy.

Although the sex trade serviced internal social order, the new economic opportunities of the trade likely contributed to increased Nuu-chah-nulth inter-group violence. The early Spanish practice of "saving" child slaves from supposed Nuu-chah-nulth cannibalism by purchasing them from traders at Nootka Sound led to an increased "supply" of such children, and possibly increased raiding.[57] Similarly, the sex trade endowed the owning of female slaves with an increased commercial value, and thereby motivated for inter-group raiding, and even the raiding weaker groups *only* for the purpose of obtaining captives, which had not been the purpose of raiding before the trade.[58] By the 1860s, slavery throughout the Northwest Coast was largely fuelled by the sex trade.[59] Certainly the sex trade with Europeans increased the economic motivation for high status Nuu-chah-nulth people to acquire and maintain a large number of slaves, such as the nearly fifty slaves considered Maquinna's most valuable possession in 1803.[60]

At the peak of trading intensity at Nootka Sound in the early 1790s, there were signs that the tight control exercised over sexual contact with Europeans may have slipped. Even though Puget's sailors were disappointed, the fourteen-year-old girl's exchange of smiles for gifts indicates a change from the complete rejection of sexual or romantic contact by non-slave women described earlier by Walker and others. Men of Captain George Vancouver's expedition, who vis-

The British Library

Left: *Houses at Nootka, 1778. Drawing by John Webber.*

ited Nootka Sound two years in a row, declared a change between 1792 and 1793 in the cheap availability of sex. Having unsuccessfully solicited for sex all along their circumnavigation of Vancouver Island, Puget was impressed by the ease in which the men purchased sex when he returned to Nootka Sound in 1793. He wrote:

> I must confess I was much surprised to find so great an alteration here in the women's ideas of chastity in the space of six months...then an indelicate expression would shock most of the women and I believe at that time only two or three out of the many that frequented the Cove, were known to dispose of their favors, and those at very exorbitant prices, but now lost to all sense of shame, there were few out of those that frequented the Cove that would not openly barter their stinking charms for a few old buttons.[61]

Also on Vancouver's expedition, Thomas Manby wrote of his experience bathing women during his 1793 stay in Nootka Sound. In his opinion, they were "by no means as bashful as [on] our last visit."[62]

The changes in the sex trade so notable to men of Vancouver's expedition could be explained as the effects of increased competition between slave owners: Yuquot may no longer have been occupied by a single Nuu-chah-nulth group. Or perhaps non-slave (and therefore "modest") women were further withdrawn from the view of visiting Europeans. On the other hand, the journals of Vancouver's expedition describe changes that occurred in the sex trade in 1793—increased the availability of sexual contact, dropped prices—which may indicate non-slave women became widely involved, negotiating, perhaps even profiting themselves. Even if the changes to the sex trade were mostly about inter-group competition, or the withdrawal of non-slave women rather than indicative of a more significant loss of control by the trading men and slave owners the Nuu-chah-nulth terms, the established sex trade was threatened.

Nuu-chah-nulth elites had been struggling to maintain control over sexual contact with Europeans since the first Europeans established themselves year-round in 1789. In the early 1790s, the powerful regional chief Maquinna apparently needed to take extreme measures to limit sex with Europeans. Although displaced from Yuquot since the building of a Spanish garrison there in 1789, Maquinna refused an invitation by the Spanish in 1791 to return his people to the village, reportedly because he believed the men of the Spanish garrison would violate the women.[63] In 1792 a Spanish servant boy was killed, according to Puget because of a sexual relationship with a local Nuu-chah-nulth woman.[64] Maquinna eventually did return with his people to the preferred site of Yuquot, only to abandon it again in the summer of 1794 because of the sexual relationships between non-slave women in his community and Spanish men.[65] Such sexual contact, outside the controlled trade of sex with slaves, defied the social order and was considered, at least by Maquinna, a serious threat.

This loss of control by Nuu-chah-nulth elites over European–Nuu-chah-nulth sex did not just

[56] Peter Puget quoted in Gibson 122.

[57] Christon I. Archer, "Seduction before Sovereignty: Spanish Efforts to Manipulate the Natives in Their Claims to the Northwest Coast," *From Maps to Metaphors: The Pacific World of George Vancouver*, eds. Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993) 127-159. 153; Inglis & Haggarty 212.

[58] Donald 225, 250; Lutz 14.

[59] Donald 234.

[60] Jewitt 65. Gibson 235.

[61] Peter Puget, "Copy of M.S. Journal kept on Board the Armed Tender Chatham, During Captain Vancouver's Voyage in the *Discovery*, 1791-4," (BCPA) May 15, 1793, p.87.

[62] A letter from Manby, also on Vancouver's expedition, quoted by Lutz 11.

[63] Archer "Seduction" 143, 153. Archer's sources are Spanish journals and letters seldom considered by anglophone historians.

affect those who profited from the sex trade. After less than a decade of intensive European–Nuu-chah-nulth maritime trade, incidence of theft, land appropriation, hostage taking, murder, and the destruction of an entire village had all been recorded. But European sexual aggression may have reached new levels with the year-round European presence of the Spanish garrison at Nootka Sound, and the corresponding loss of control over sexual contact. According to Ahousat Nuu-chah-nulth elder Peter Webster, who traces the story back to the people at Yuquot, Spanish men at the garrison regularly raped and mutilated Nuu-chah-nulth girls: "They used to pull them into the blacksmith's without any romance.... The blacksmith had that red-hot iron always ready for those that refused.[66] Webster claims many of these girls died from their injuries, and that the parents could, at that time, do nothing to stop the Europeans. Although the Spanish records do not document this particular practice, a Spanish observer at the garrison, José Moziño, admitted that the men had treated the local Nuu-chah-nulth with brutality, "insulted them at various times, crippled some and wounded others, and did not fail to kill several."[67]

Sexual contact with Europeans also brought suffering and death to the Nuu-chah-nulth through sexually transmitted diseases. Many of the men of Cook's expedition were infected with syphilis, gonorrhoea, and "yaws" which they had just spread among the populations of the South Pacific Islands before they stopped at Nootka Sound for the first time.[68] Walker, in 1786 was concerned about the effects of diseases introduced to the Nuu-chah-nulth through sex with Europeans. A Spanish sailor at Nootka Sound observed in 1792 that "the natives are already beginning to experience the terrible ravages of syphilis, which threatens them with the appalling fate which overtook the ancient inhabitant of California, a race which has become almost extinct owing to this disease."[69] Chief Cassacan of the Ditidaht, relatives of the Nuu-chah-nulth immediately to the south, was reported in 1791 to be "troubled with the venereal."[70] Such accounts of the spread of European-introduced sexually transmitted diseases through Nuu-chah-nulth society suggest that although sex with slaves may have been considered shameful in Nuu-chah-nulth culture, limiting sexual contact with Europeans to the slave class did not segregate their owners and other members from the effects. Syphilis caused not just illness but sterilized many it did not kill.[71] These epidemics contributed to the massive reduction in the population of the Nuu-chah-nulth and the general amalgamation of previously independent political units.[72]

After the early 1790s Nuu-chah-nulth control was re-established over both territory and sexual contact as the Nuu-chah-nulth–European maritime trade declined. The much-anticipated withdrawal of the Spanish[73] and more favourable sea otter trading elsewhere on the Northwest Coast (where sex trade had also been established) meant far less European presence in Nuu-chah-nulth territory. Chief Maquinna and his people at Yuquot reasserted Nuu-chah-nulth control most dramatically in 1803 when they captured the European trading ship, *Boston*, and murdered all but two members of her crew. This action, which Webster recognises as revenge for the sexual violence of the Spanish, ended the flow of European ships and effectively ended the threat of sexual contact with Europeans.[74] Although the action against *Boston* effectively ended the sex trade there, the dominant Nuu-chah-nulth terms of the sex trade had already been re-asserted. According to *Boston* crewmember John Jewitt, who was Maquinna's captive for two years, Nuu-chah-nulth society would only allow the sexual services of slave women to be sold.[75] At least until the end of the nineteenth century, Europeans continued to recognise the purchase of sex with slave women as the dominant form of sexual contact with the Nuu-chah-nulth.[76]

The nineteenth-century sex trade at Nootka Sound demonstrates the power of the Nuu-chah-nulth to establish and largely maintain control over a European-introduced trade. It is also one of the earliest, and most common examples of European violence upon Native people, not even recognized as violence because it occurred through intercultural collaboration rather than conflict. Native control over social change has usually been taken as supporting the idea that the early European contact on the Northwest Coast was lucrative and enriching for Native people. But the early history of Nuu-chah-nulth – European sexual contact exposes the problem with such a classless evaluation. There were those whose company was provided, and others for whom it was profitable. For Native people at Nootka Sound in the late eighteenth century, how you were affected by the Nuu-chah-nulth–European sex trade depended on your class situation.

[64] Archer "Seduction" 323, note 107.
[65] Archer "Seduction" 158.
[66] Peter Webster, "The Spanish At Yuquot," in "The Contact Period as Recorded by Indian Oral Traditions," eds. Barbara Effrat and W. J. Langlois. *Sound Heritage* VII/1 (1978): 60. Some explicit details quoted in my essay were removed at the request of the editor of *BC Historical News*.
[67] Moziño 84. Christon I. Archer, "Spanish Exploration and Settlement of the Northwest Coast in the 18th Century," *Sound Heritage* VII/1 (1978): 33-53. *Spanish Exploration* 52, describes the mood of isolation and frustration felt at the Spanish garrison, particularly from the summer of 1792 when Vancouver and Bodega y Quadra effectively agreed on a Spanish withdrawal, until their actual abdication of the post in March of 1795.
[68] Samwell 1083. Also see Lutz 14; Harris 51; Gibson 238; Archer "Spanish Exploration" 50; McMillan 192. See Bartroli 44, on "yaws."
[69] Espinosa y Tello, *A Spanish Voyage to Vancouver... 1792,* trans. Cecil Jane, (London: The Argonaut Press, 1930) 115. Moziño 43, expressed similar concerns.
[70] McMillan 192.
[71] McMillan 192.
[72] McMillan 193.
[73] Archer "Spanish Exploration" 52; Archer "Seduction" 153.
[74] Webster 60.
[75] Jewitt 65; Gilbert M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life,* ed. Charles Lillard, (Victoria: British Columbia: Sono Nis Press, 1987 (1868)) 69.
[76] Donald.

This paper was submitted last year for the W. Kaye Lamb Essay Scholarship on recommendion by Dr. Paige Raibmon of Simon Fraser University.

The Women's Pages

Letters from Friends, A House Full of Visitors, or a Source of Help

by Norah L. Lewis

LIFE could be difficult if not overwhelming for British Columbia residents living on scattered farms and ranches, in logging or mining camps, up isolated inlets or along trap lines or transportation routes during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Government and church reports, travellers' observations, diaries, autobiographies, and community and family lore confirm there were many physical, economic, and emotional demands on settlers who moved into rural areas. Few were totally prepared for life on a Cariboo ranch, a Bulkley Valley farm, or a small fishing community such as Porcher Island's Oona River.

Women were often left alone or with small children as husbands and older sons and daughters worked away to earn money necessary to support the family and build up the family investment. Such women were frequently separated by miles if not by days from their closest neighbour or nearest store. Furthermore, reaching either might be accomplished only by boat, horse, or walking, although many women were quite capable of operating a boat or handling horses. Other women, however, were equally isolated from their neighbours by language, culture, or religion. Life on the frontier could be lonely indeed.

These rural women of British Columbia were a diverse group that included long-time residents, migrants from other parts of Canada, and immigrants from the United States, Great Britain, Europe, and Hawaii. They came to British Columbia as members of settlement groups, as extended or nuclear families, or as individuals seeking land, financial success, political or religious freedom, employment, adventure, or perhaps a husband. Many experienced a shift from their traditional roles as wives and mothers looking after their families, houses, gardens, and poultry to what was deemed man's work, such as helping with fishing, haying, or the cattle roundup. A significant number, including "Aloha Twin," the Wray girls of Nelson Island, and "Sunset," supplemented their family income and larder through their hunting, fishing, and trapping skills. They also shot wolves, coyotes, eagles, or hawks that preyed on their herds and flocks. In addition, many women sought seasonal work in British Columbia's numerous fish canneries or fruit packing plants.[1]

Uprooted and relocated to new areas, women were unable to draw on traditional support networks—their mothers and older women, their peer group, or religious and cultural associations. But these women were pragmatists—quick to take stock and determine which neighbour gave wise council and who could be called upon to help in an emergency. Those unable to overcome setbacks struggled on, often to the detriment of their physical and mental health. Others simply packed up and moved on.

Although far from urban centres, rural residents were able to follow national and international news and recent events through the pages of weekly and monthly newspapers and magazines. Included among these publications were the *Family Herald and Weekly Star (FHWS), The*

Norah Lewis, a retired educator, was a member of the Canadian Childhood Project. Her recent book *Freedom to Play: We Made Our Own Fun, is* a study of the games and activities of Canadian children during the pre-television years.

[1] "Aloha Twin," *FHWS*, 1 December 1915; Sunset, *Ibid.*, 21 August 1907.

Farmers' Advocate (FA), Free Press Prairie Farmer (FPPF), and the *Grain Growers' Guide (GGG).* The *FHWS* and *FA* were considered national papers, whereas the *FPPF* and *GGG* tended to focus on western concerns. Such newspapers were popular among both English-speaking and non-English speaking families. Walter Wicks recalled that after two years of schooling in English he read the weekly *FHWS* aloud to his German immigrant parents, and an elderly Burnaby resident recalled the *FHWS* as the only newspaper in her Russian-speaking home.[2]

These newspapers had something for everyone: information relating to livestock, grain and fruit production, commodity markets, and editorial pages where writers, more of whom were male than female, expressed their views on political, economic, or social issues of the day. Columnists responded to questions on medical, veterinary, and legal matters. The latest writings of authors such as Lucy Maud Montgomery, James Oliver Curwood, Ralph Connor, and Arthur Conan Doyle were published in serial form. The advertisement section listed land, machinery, and livestock for sale, jobs and teaching positions available, as well as a myriad of miscellaneous items for sale or trade. And there were a religious page, columns that catered to bird watchers and sky watchers, and advice to the lovelorn. The children's pages printed stories, comics, patterns and instructions of things for youngsters to make, and clubs to which children could write to join and perhaps have their letters published.

The women's pages, "Prim Rose at Home" (*Family Herald Weekly Star*), "Ingle Nook Chats" (*he Farmer's Advocate*), "Home Loving Hearts" (*Free Press Prairie Farmer*), and "The County Homemaker" (*Grain Growers' Guide*), provided information on homemaking, gardening, cooking, baking, food preservation, and poultry raising. As women were usually responsible for their family's health, writers also shared their knowledge and lore on pregnancy and child birth, infant care and child rearing, treatments for their own health problems, and the care and treatment of illnesses and injuries of family members. Over the period 1900 to 1920, hundreds of women (and a few men), wrote to the women's pages of weekly newspapers and thousands read the letters that were published each week.

Why were the women's pages so important in the lives of so many rural women? First, readers were often very lonely. Those women who received little or no personal mail likened the women's pages to letters from friends or a house full of visitors. Margary Thrasher, a teacher at Snowshoe, BC, in the 1930s, felt that the "Home Loving Hearts" page provided contact with others and helped keep lonely women from climbing the walls of their cabins.

Second, the women's pages were one of the few outlets where aspiring writers under pseudonym, could satisfy their creative urges and, perhaps, see their letters in print. They were probably experiencing the greatest adventures of their lives and they wanted to share it with fellow readers. In 1903, "Effie Jennie" described the mountains, beaches, parks, busy seaport, and growing commercial district of sixteen year old Vancouver. "Sage Brush" noted that the Nicola Valley was good cattle ranching country with its dry climate and rolling hills. There was no railway to Nicola, but they did have telephones. In 1905, "Bluebird," a migrant from Ontario, wrote of the mild winters of the Okanagan. The same year "A BC Rancher," living in the Yale area, gave a lengthy report of his success at mixed farming. "A BC Rancher" was unmarried, and it would be interesting to know how many young women wrote to express their interest in him and his ranch. Other writers indicated that British Columbia was changing. In 1908, "Mountain Rose" reported that cleared land near Kootenay Landing was selling for $50 an acre, and cultivated land suitable for fruit trees and small fruits for $250 an acre. In 1911, "Graham," of Graham Island, reported development of mineral, timber, and fishing resources and noted the temperate climate of the Queen Charlotte Islands. And in 1914, "Virgina No 1" wrote that Fort George (population 2,200) was a progressive town with electric lights, very good fire protection, a dozen autos, and two cabs. British Columbia was growing and developing.[3]

Third, the women's pages were an avenue through which readers could seek and receive specific information. Who better to ask than a reader that lived in the area? Only women who were family heads could file for homesteads, although women could purchase or lease land and many did so. When single women heard that twenty acre bush lots were for sale in Southern BC, they expressed their interest in acquiring such property. "Brother Bachelor" responded

[2] Walter Wicks, *Memories of the Skeena* (Seattle: Hancock, 1975), 29.

[3] "Effie Jennie," *FHWS*, 1901; Sage Brush, *Ibid.*, 7 January 1905; "Bluebird," *Ibid.*, 12 April 1904; "A BC Rancher," *Ibid.*, 24 May 1905: "Mountain Rose," *Ibid.*, 15 April 1908; "Graham," *Ibid.*, 11 January 1911; "Virgina No. 1," *Ibid.*, 11 February 1914.

[4] "Bachelor Brother," *FHWS*, 24 Mar. 1915; "T.

West Kootenay Power Archives, Courtesy Aguila Power Corp.

Above: *An unidentified woman fishing at the lower falls of the Kootenay River, 1897.*

that the average cost of such a lot was $300 dollars an acre, and that it would cost another $200 an acre for heavy clearing, as a large logging engine, blasting powder, an experienced blaster, a cable, and an experienced cabler would be required. It would be, he considered, a very expensive move for a woman. Others inquired about work or teaching opportunities. In 1905, businessman T. Lynch of Fernie offered "reliable information" to those seeking good work opportunities, "particularly teachers, who receive from $25 to $75 per month and no trouble to find employment." In response to an inquiry by an Ontario teacher whether the wages in BC were worth the sacrifice of home and friends, "Western Teacher" responded with an emphatic "no". She also noted that a new system for financing schools had come into effect 1 January 1906, and in many cases teachers' salaries had been cut. Furthermore, teachers from other provinces had to secure British Columbia certification. Schools were often isolated, and other than one or two families rural children were generally of mixed blood. A few women wrote to warn others of the difficulties of life as domestic workers, and of husbands who gambled, invested unwisely, or abused their wives.[4]

Fourth, and most important, the women's pages provided a vital but growing support network based on a trust relationship among female editors, letter writers, and readers. Lonely women longed for the friendship, advice, consolation, and support of other women who they believed understood their hopes and fears, shared their joys and sorrows, and experienced the same gains and losses as they did. On those occasions when women came together, whether over tea at a neighbour's home, in the women's powder

room of a nearby town, or at a community or social event, they discussed and shared advice on the problems and issues that touched their lives and shaped their world. For some, however, there were no other women with whom to share their concerns, so they wrote to the "dear editors" and their "dear sisters."

Writers used pseudonyms that often told much about their mental, emotional, or financial situations as they described their lives, sought and offered advice, and raged against the injustices that they experienced or saw perpetrated against others. They demanded dower laws and property rights to protect themselves and their children. They struggled to make their shacks and cabins into homes, to feed and care for their families, and still maintain a semblance of dignity. They were incensed that their husbands, sons, or brothers were paid a dollar a day fighting for king and country, while immigrant men from enemy countries could demand and get higher wages than their loved ones.

Editors and readers generally responded with compassion, encouragement, and suggestions as to how or where women could seek advice or assistance. As editors kept records of writers' names, addresses, and pseudonyms, they were able to forward letters, clothing, bedding, garden seeds, reading materials, and sometimes money from those readers willing to share with those whose need was deemed greater than their own.

One of the major concerns of letter writers was the lack of health professionals and health care facilities in their area. The Provincial Board of Health was aware of their needs and strove to expand health services into growing rural areas. At the same time Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Presbyterian churches operated health services in areas as diverse as Victoria, Pender Harbour, Hazelton, Francois Lake, Bella Bella, and McBride. Mission boats carried physicians on their visits to settlements and settlers along the coast. The Victorian Order of Nurses included rural areas as part of their responsibility. For many, medical and health services could be hours if not days away. Furthermore, physicians were called only in dire emergencies and hospitals were viewed by many as a place to die rather than a place to heal. For some struggling settlers, physicians and hospitals cost more than they could afford.

Many families relied on a general-purpose home-care manual euphemistically called the "doctor book." Such books claimed to be edited by a physician or a registered nurse, and described the physiology and anatomy of the human body, offered advice on hygiene, indicated how to identify specific illnesses or conditions, and recommended treatment. Drugs could be purchased at a local pharmacy or through *Eaton's Mail Order Catalogue*. Child care and health care information was also available through bulletins and pamphlets distributed by the British Columbia Board of Health, insurance companies, drug companies, and newspaper columns. Patent medicines offered cures from every affiliation known to man or beast, although they often contained cocaine, strychnine, or opium, and had a higher alcohol content than good quality whiskey. But practical women turned to what they had on hand—the contents of their cupboards, pantries, and gardens to treat family illness. Turpentine, for example, was rubbed on sore and aching muscles, vinegar used as part of cough syrup, a drop of kerosene on a teaspoon of sugar cut phlegm, honey eased sore throats, goose grease rubbed on the chest eased congestion, black pepper controlled diarrhea and ginger eased an upset stomach. And, of course, mustard plasters were used to relieve congestion of the lungs. Herbs, roots, flowers, bark, and sulphur were also common ingredients in medical recipes recommended by readers. Did these medical recipes work? Obviously some did. And if they did not mothers were comforted to know that at least they had tried to treat the problem.[5]

Childbirth was probably the experience most feared by women. It could proceed normally or be fraught with complications detrimental to both mother and infant. Women were often poorly informed about childbirth. Pregnancy was euphemistically referred to as "expecting a little stranger," "the family way," or "my sickness." The local midwife was usually called to attend the birth. There appear to have been such women in many communities. Although they may or may not have had any formal training, through working with physicians and using their accumulated wisdom and common sense, they were recognized as competent nurses or midwives. When no midwife was available, women could turn to their First Nations neighbours for advice and help. For instance, my mother-in-law, Ruth Wray Lewis, remembered that her

Lynch," *Ibid.*, 26 April 1905; "Western Teacher," *Ibid.*, 24 January 1906.

[5] Norah L. Lewis, "Goose Grease and Turpentine: Mother Treats the Family's Illnesses," *Prairie Forum* 15 (Spring 1990): 67-84.

[6] "Christina," *FPPF*, 2 July 1912; *Ibid*, 15 January 1913; Linda Rassmussen,

mother Sarah Wray of Nelson Island was the only white woman in the area, and that it was her father John Wray, assisted by the local First Nation's midwife, who successfully delivered his wife's last three babies, Ruth's youngest siblings. As the number of health professionals grew and health services increased, growing numbers of women gave birth in maternity homes or hospitals.

City of Richmond Archives.

Left: *Cooking over open fire, 1912.*

Letter writers advised pregnant mothers to avoid crowds, keep calm, use Indian Women's Balm, rub oil on their abdomens and thighs for fifteen minutes a day, or take a daily dose of boiled linseed oil flavoured with lemon for the last month of their pregnancy. One woman offered her unused box of medicine to a poor and needy expectant mother. We do not know why she had not used it herself. Others wrote to suggest steeped spikenard, cohosh, or the leaves of summer savory to reduce the pains of childbirth. In July 1912, "Christina," a reader living in the Quesnel area, wrote to offer free to expectant mothers a locally grown root, which she later identified as Devil's Club. It was, she said, used by local First Nations women for several medical purposes including easing the pains of childbirth. It was "perfectly harmless, though it is powerful for allaying pain in confinement." Those who used it, and many wrote for it, claimed it relaxed the woman's muscles, made labour easier, shortened time in labour, and made the afterbirth come away. Lillian Laurie, women's editor for the *FPPF*, sent a sample of the root to the University of Manitoba for testing. She was informed that it belonged to a group of plants used in medicines elsewhere but not in Canada. "Christina" may have later started a small business of packaging and selling the root at $1.00 a box.[6]

In May 1910, "Farmer's Wife," an English immigrant who served as midwife to her neighbours, sent Lillian Laurie an article entitled "Maternity Complete Without a Washing Day," in which she told women how to prepare for and

attend a birth. She asked Laurie to send copies to women who requested it. Laurie could not keep abreast of women's demands, so she requested readers to write out by hand copies for those who requested copies. She had the article typewritten but she still could not meet the demand. In 1912, a paper entitled "Preparation for Maternity," written by physician Mary E. Crawford, was available free from the *Free Press Prairie Farmer.* The need for this article declined only with the decrease in home births.[7]

When their infants died, mothers mourned and editors and readers sympathized. In 1903, a grieving nineteen-year-old mother, "Maid O'the Mist," wrote that her two babies, one just over a year and the other an infant, had recently died in spite of her efforts. She was emotionally and physically drained. Editor Lilly Emily F. Barry responded with compassion and encouragement. Her story was repeated many times in many families. "Siawash 2" reported she had lost three children, but that she had since found a "dear little man" two years old with no parents. She noted "such a comfort he has been to us." Adopting or fostering children was not a rare event. "Flynn Valley," a recent migrant from Alberta, offered her daughter and son, age three and six, to some kind lonely couple to care for because she could not cope. Such an appeal would probably be met with offers from a number of families willing to take children into their homes.[8]

Bacterial infections were a common cause of infant illnesses and deaths, particularly during the summer months when, without refrigeration, keeping cow's milk sweet and water pure was a problem. In articles and columns on child and infant care, printed on or near the women's pages, health professionals advised mothers to breast-feed, or at least use proper precautions in the preparation and storage of cow's milk, thereby preventing dysentery (cholera infantum or summer complaint). Women shared medical recipes they had tried or that they thought would prevent or control dysentery in infants, such as giving infants sweetened tomato juice, adding pulverized egg shells to milk, beating egg whites into water or giving the infant barley or rice water. One of the most common, and perhaps most dangerous, treatments was to give a sick youngster a dose of castor oil to clean the bowel and thereby eliminate the cause. Other desperate mothers added one or two drops of laudanum to the castor oil. Opium-based laudanum could prove fatal to an already sick child. One worried mother wrote to inquire what she should do when her twenty-seven month old son had another bilious attack. She had given him half of her last morphine pill (also opium-based) when he took ill, and the second half a few hours later. The columnist responded that giving a child morphine could kill him, but such was this mother's desperation that she used what was available.[9]

Considering the difficulties and slowness of communication and travel, it is amazing how rapidly advice could be transmitted from one mother to another and to what lengths women would go to help a "dear sister." On 14 January, 1909, "Anxious Mother" wrote the *FA* asking readers how to prepare modified cow's milk, as her infant was not gaining weight. Two weeks later the women's page carried instructions from two readers for making modified milk as described in *The Care and Feeding of Infants* by Luther Emmett Holt, a well-known and respected New York physician and child care specialist. One woman offered to loan "Anxious Mother" her own copy of Holt's book. On 18 April, "Anxious Mother" wrote to thank readers and to say her infant was gaining on modified milk. On 22 April, the editor advised women that arrangements had been made whereby mothers could purchase their own copies of Holt's book through *The Farmers' Advocate.* The willingness of women to share advice, encouragement, or material goods through the women's pages was repeated time and time again.[10]

For lonely women the women's pages provided an opportunity for contact among "dear editors" and "dear sisters." Under the anonymity of pseudonyms, those who wrote were spokeswomen for thousands of women who only read letters written by others. Editors and writers offered compassion that was sincere, advice that was pragmatic, and generosity that encouraged women to share with those less fortunate than they. Could lonely women have survived without the support they received through the women's pages? Obviously, yes. They drew on their own strengths and limitations and they took justifiable pride in their ability to adapt and cope. But women appreciated the practical advice and suggestions of editors and letter writers, and for some the women's pages were akin to letters from friends, a house full of visitors, and a source of practical help.

"On the West Coast of Vancouver Island"

A Little-Known Account of "Charles Haicks's" Missionary

by Jim Manly

United Church British Columbia Archives BCCA 1-174.

Left: *Melvin Swartout and his boat.*

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IN THE latter part of the nineteenth century, two ministers wrote fictional accounts of their work in the frontier areas of western Canada. The better known of the two is the Rev. Charles Gordon, using the pseudonym "Ralph Connor," whose novels *Black Rock* in 1898 and *The Sky Pilot* in 1899 became best sellers and made him Canada's best-known author. With an uncomplicated morality and a spiritual outlook concerned with active service rather than introspection or dogma, Gordon's books spun a good yarn that romanticized the church's place among settlers and miners of Alberta and British Columbia.

Like Ralph Connor, the pseudonym "Charles Haicks" was the creation of a Presbyterian missionary. Melvin Swartout worked among the Nuu-Chah-Nulth peoples on the West Coast of Vancouver Island from 1894 until he drowned in 1904.[1] Under the pseudonym "Charles Haicks," he fictionalized his experiences in a text called "On the West Coast of Vancouver Island" that he hoped would win support for his work. The manuscript was never published: however, in the BC Archives is a typescript made from Swartout's manuscript.[2]

"On the West Coast of Vancouver Island" cannot be considered an objective account of mission activity but it does picture the way Melvin Swartout understood himself and his work. Like Ralph Connor, Charles Haicks writes from the perspective of a sympathetic but somewhat more worldly friend of the missionary. In reality there is little difference and no tension between the voice of Charles Haicks and that of the missionary, here named "Harry Winston," an idealized version of Swartout himself. Comparing this account with a fragmentary journal, which Swartout kept till 1896,[3] and with the extensive file of letters he wrote to the Rev. Peter MacKay, secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee in Toronto, we see that most of the events described in "On the West Coast of Vancouver Island" took place before 1898.[4] There is no evidence indicating when Swartout began to write his fictional account but I suspect that it was some time after Ralph Connor's work first began to appear in 1899.

Swartout's letters to the Toronto office deal largely with administration and personnel issues, but the fictional account and his journal are an

[1] If at all, people today remember Swartout, because his name was given to a United Church mission boat in the middle years of the twentieth century.

[2] Melvin Swartout (Charles Haicks), "On the West Coast of Vancouver Island," copied from a transcript loaned by Alfred W. Carmichael, by C. E. Browne, March, 1954, BC Archives, Victoria. Swartout's grandson, Charles Thomson of Sechelt, BC, has a copy of the typescript that he graciously loaned to me. Alfred Carmichael, a close friend of Swartout's, has provided a helpful introduction to the typescript in which he says that his life provided the pattern for Charles

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Haicks and he details a number of episodes which he had shared with Swartout. But perhaps he took the identification a bit too literally. On page 64 of the BC Archives' copy, where Haicks speaks of himself as a remittance man, Carmichael has penciled a comment in the margin, "Up to this point I might have been Charles Haicks as I visited and made several of the trips described. I was never a 'remittance man.' I do not know who was the man described by Melvin Swartout in this chapter."

[3] Swartout's journal is in the possession of Swartout's great-granddaughter, Lynn Martens of Burnaby, BC.

[4] United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto.

[5] "On the West Coast of Vancouver Island," 226.

[6] *Ibid.*, 82.

[7] *Ibid.*, 35.

[8] *Ibid.*, 36.

[9] Thomas Crosby, *Among the An-ko-me-nums Or Flathead Tribes of Indians of the Pacific Coast,* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1907), 105

[10] "On the Westcoast of Vancouver Island," 117.

invaluable resource, giving background material as well as some records of day to day events. It helps the reader to understand some of the difficulties and dangers Swartout faced as he travelled around Barkley Sound by canoe and rowboat. The book recounts some of the West Coast legends and mythology although we need to remember that Swartout was not an anthropologist and heard all such stories through a missionary filter.

Haicks's account of Harry Winston's missionary work reflects Melvin Swartout's lifelong opposition to liquor. His older brother Lou, a young man of great promise, had died of alcohol abuse and Swartout saw liquor and gambling as a most destructive force in the villages where he worked. Winston faced particularly difficult challenges when sealing schooners brought liquor to induce hunters to sign on as crew members. In one scene of drunken debauchery, with the implicit caption "Heroic missionary disarms drunken Indian," Winston's colleague Rutherford steps in front of a man who is about to kill another with his knife.

More attractive than this muscular Christian approach was Winston's attempt to enlist the help of those community leaders who recognized the problem. At an assembly Winston spoke:

> I am going to trust you. If you get drunk, I will not inform against you or in any way seek to get you in trouble. Nor do I want to bring a white policeman here. We are men, and we ought to know what is good and what is evil....I want you all to stop drinking and also aid me in keeping the stuff away from this place. While I want no one to get into trouble, if a man, either a white man or an Indian, brings liquor here to sell, he must be prosecuted. Is this not right?

The Natives agreed to this. "They liked also the idea of being trusted. It was a new one to them, and they all promised to try and reform."[5]

Haicks acknowledges the settler society's prejudice that called the Natives "irredeemably lazy" because they lived and worked to a different rhythm. "Yet," he says, "I noticed that in all matters pertaining to their own subsistence they were industrious enough."[6] He describes their commitment to fishing, "...arising at the first sign of light, they at once proceed to work, leaving the question of breakfast to be settled sometime during the day."

As seen by Haicks, Winston takes a "live and let live" attitude to the potlatch. In one memorable scene the chief of the She-shahts speaks to the missionary; at a deep level the chief recognized that Christianity as practised took people away from community values toward those of individualism.

> You want my people to become Christians. Yes, Missionary, I do know what a Christian is. The Haidahs are Christians, and the Tsimsheans, and some other tribes. A Christian is a man who never eats with his friends, but always sits alone with his wife to eat. He never invites the other Indians to eat with him. He never gives a *potlatch*. That is a Christian, and, Missionary, I do not want you to try to make Christians of my people....You know this is our law, and we do not want to give it up. Our fathers before us have potlatched, and we want to do as they did. It is good to call our friends together and give them presents.[7]

Harry Winston replied:

> I do not understand your potlatches. I do not know whether they are idolatrous or not. Until I know I cannot speak.... If, however, your custom is simply social, and is not meant as worship, I see no harm in it. Certainly I do not object to your inviting your friends to eat with you. Christians also do the same. Nor do I see any harm in giving away money, or other presents at a potlatch."[8]

We see a great difference when we compare Winston's open attitude with that of Thomas Crosby, the Methodist missionary. At Nanaimo, some of the leading chiefs promised support if only they could continue to dance. Crosby replied "No, I cannot have anything to do with the old way, the dance, the potlatch, etc., it is all bad."[9]

Haicks discusses the origin of the Chinook word *potlatch* and relates a legend of its origin; he points out how potlatches involving feasting and gift-giving are held to mark the important milestones of life both for the individual and for the community. Summarizing the importance of the potlatch, he says, "Take from the Indian this much loved institution and he is no more an Indian."[10] He depicts a wedding potlatch in positive terms describing the elaborate preparations and the formal invitation. The English words into which Haicks translates the final invitation, "Come for all things are now ready," is a direct quotation from Luke14:17—one of Jesus' parables of the messianic banquet. Women dance "with a graceful, springing motion;" a male dancer "skipped back and forth across the room with such ease and grace that his feet scarcely seemed to touch the ground." During another dance the "acting...was perfect." In concluding this section, Haicks leaves open the

possibility that even the missionary may have joined in the final dance on the last day:

> Again and again the dancers slowly circled around the room, some in standing posture, others bending or going on all fours, but all moving gracefully and in perfect harmony to the accompanying music, in which all, actors and audience joined. It was an inspiriting sight and a fitting close to the great potlatch.[11]

BC Archives HP 036664

Above: *Melvin Swartout and the Ucluelet Indian School.*

Although Swartout himself didn't always take such a positive view, this passage shows that at his best he could appreciate potlatches at their best. Whatever his views of the potlatch, however, Swartout had nothing good to say of the *Klo-kwan-na,* or wolf-dance. Haicks says that all missionaries seemed to regard the *Klo-kwan-na* as "utterly bad and demoralizing, if not definitely idolatrous." However, because of missionary pressure "its more objectionable features are being gradually eliminated."[12]

"On the West Coast of Vancouver Island" also shows how Protestant missionaries relied on schools as an entry to First Nations communities. But school, with its accompanying discipline, involved a radical change for First Nations children as compared to the freedom they used to enjoy. In traditional culture they were never punished except by an appeal to fear. Haicks says in contrast to the Victorian dictum that children should be seen but not heard, "In all things pertaining to his welfare he is consulted as gravely as though he were a senior member of the family, and his expressed preferences often carry weight farther than in matters concerning himself."[13]

While many people welcomed the schools, others were opposed. Haicks records a traditional Native doctor, Yalh-kay, who warned the people that in the future their children,

> ...would be forcibly taken from their parents and placed in prison-like schools where they would be taught to despise the institutions of their fathers.... Do you think the white man loves you? Is his kindness disinterested? He is wheedling you with soft words and kind deeds, but he is laying a trap by which your children will be separated from you and your potlatches and dances will cease.[14]

Read in the light of today's court cases concerning Residential School abuse, these words, whether based on an actual warning at the time or a product of Melvin Swartout's imagination, take on an eerie and prophetic significance.

As a good Presbyterian, Winston set himself steadfastly against everything he considered superstitious or idolatrous. He opposed belief in the power of Native doctors, or medicine men, who "are able to cause a stick, or a stone, or a nail, or any small object to become a *chee-ha*h and fly into the body of a victim, where it rushes about, inducing severe pain, internal rupture, and, finally death. The object thus cast into the body of a person is called a '*min-nook-eck*'"[15]

Native doctors could remove as well as cast *min-nook-ecks* and sometimes the same doctor who had cast the *min-nook-eck* was called on to remove it—for a sum. Thus the doctor could hold entire tribes in fear. In the old days, says Haicks, when someone was suspected of casting *min-nook-ecks,* a group of men would be deputized to do away with him. The white man's law of course regards this as murder and so the doctors were able to "terrorize the neighborhood with impunity."[16] Later in a contradictory comment, Haicks says, "in a white community, if the law could not be invoked to rid the community of such a pest, Judge Lynch would have found for him a strong rope and a tree."[17] Although Haicks admits that some Native doc-

[11] *Ibid.*, 118-126.
[12] *Ibid.*, 129. This comment argues for a late date in writing since Swartout was strongly opposed to the *Klo-kwan-na* when he first arrived.
[13] *Ibid.*, 72.
[14] *Ibid.*, 181.
[15] *Ibid.*, 99.
[16] *Ibid.*, 103.

tors may not have been malicious, he maintains that they are likely frauds.

As the narrative develops, Charlie, a well-travelled Native who spoke English, talked to Haicks about the return of Yalh-kay, the diabolical doctor who, with his supernatural powers, had plans for killing four people, including James, the one Christian convert, and Charles Haicks himself.

When Andrew, a promising schoolboy, fell sick his father removed him from Yalh-kay's care and placed him with Winston where he soon regained health. But, after another brief contact with Yalh-kay, Andrew came in from play, went straight to bed and fell into a deep sleep from which he could not be aroused. He then "began to shudder and gasp for breath" and had a series of spasms. Within a few hours he was dead. The Natives believed that Yalh-kay had killed the boy with witchcraft.[18]

The missionary felt a particular need to oppose taboos around death, such as the obligation to remove and cover a dead person as soon as possible, to carry the body out feet first, so it cannot look at the living and try to "induce their spirits to join him." The corpse had to be taken out not through a door but through a window, "which must then be immediately closed, preventing the spirit from finding its way back to the abode of the living."[19] Mentioning the name of a recently dead person was taboo. A dead person's most valuable belongings had to be sacrificed or the "spirit of the departed might, at any moment lay claim to its former possessions, and woe to the man who had the temerity to brave its displeasure."[20]

This became the focus of a major struggle between Winston and traditional culture, particularly as represented by Yalh-kay. Following tradition, people wanted to destroy a recently built house after the owner had died; Winston, however, successfully argued against this. Some time later a little girl took sick and died. It was reported that one evening at dusk, running past this house, she had seen the ghost of the dead owner looking out the window. People believed this to be the cause of the girl's death and there was renewed agitation to have the house destroyed.

In order to discredit the taboo, Winston persuaded James, who happened to be a relative of the dead man, to move into the house. At a meeting with those who wanted to destroy the house, Winston said, "Let the Christian live in the house. It is a contest between Christ and Satan. If Satan wins, you may have the house."[21]

Following this a rumour spread that James had seen a ghost which, according to Yalh-kay, meant that he would soon die. Soon James, who had never been in good health, did take sick. Mild at first, the illness progressed and James died. After the simple Christian burial of his one convert, Winston had no argument left. "It was a contest between Christ and Satan. Whose was the victory will only be revealed at the end. But, in the meantime, the house was destroyed."[22]

Apart from a few general comments about material progress, education and a slight curtailment in the use of alcohol, this is the end of Haicks's account. Some sentence fragments are followed by a note that the "last page of the manuscript appears to be missing."[23] To say the least it is an odd ending; missionary stories usually ended on a triumphant note celebrating Christian victory.

The fictional story of James and his death closely follows that of Septice, the real-life convert whose brief career Swartout detailed in his letters. Septice had been an active, committed convert, helping with church services, prayer meetings, and evangelistic work; his death was a severe blow to Swartout and his fellow workers.

There is no clear evidence to indicate when Swartout started writing his pseudonymous account of missionary work but the death of Septice (James) seems to have created a log-jam beyond which he could not pass in his writing. Presumably, if Swartout had lived longer, he would have found the time and the emotional energy to resolve this problem and bring his book to publication.

In retrospect, perhaps it is to Swartout's credit that he could not overcome the emotional barrier of Septice's death because to do so would have required a certain smoothing over of uncomfortable facts and a falsification of his own feelings. There was no triumphant ending and Swartout was honest enough to let the facts stand.

Through Charles Haicks, Melvin Swartout presents an idealized picture of his missionary work and an idealized picture of what he thought missionary attitudes should be towards First Nations culture. A more objective account of Swartout's work remains to be done.

[17] *Ibid.*, 109.

[18] An interesting sidelight to this story is the statement by Haicks—although the typescript indicates that this was crossed out in the manuscript—that a coroner wouldn't be interested in an inquest unless a large fine could be collected. "The policy was not so much the prevention of crime as the making of a revenue out of it." (p 114) This, of course, is exactly the charge that Haicks makes against the Native doctors: they would only provide a cure in return for money.

[19] "On the West Coast of Vancouver Island," 97-98.

[20] *Ibid.*, 236.

[21] *Ibid.*, 248.

[22] *Ibid.*, 282.

[23] *Ibid.*, 284.

The Station Agent's Rifle

by Edward Villiers

In the spring of 1948, British Columbia was suffering its greatest flooding since 1894. Dikes were bursting in the Fraser Valley and rivers were overflowing their banks everywhere in the interior.

On Sunday night, 30 May 1948, the engineer of Canadian National Railways' westbound passenger train felt a distinct bump as his steam locomotive passed over the Thompson River Bridge west of Deadman's Creek. When he arrived half an hour later at Ashcroft he reported the bump to the night operator who passed the report along to the engineer of an eastbound freight train waiting at the Ashcroft siding.

The engineer of the eastbound freight stopped his train when he reached the bridge and climbed down out of the cab. In the beam of his locomotive's headlight he walked part way across the deck of the steel span and saw a distinct dip in the track over an undermined concrete pier.

The swollen Thompson River had begun to erode the river bed around a huge cement pier near the eastern end of the bridge. The engineer returned to his train, asked the other four crew members to get out and walk across the bridge, then climbed back into the engine's cab and slowly took his train across alone. His was the last train to cross that bridge for a year.

During the night the pier continued to lean further over and it became apparent that the bridge was soon going to topple into the river. Section man John McLeod vividly remembers what happened the following morning, 31 May 1948, when his four-man section crew arrived by a motorized track car from Savona:

> By this time the pier was leaning over so bad that the tracks were almost on edge. We disconnected the rails at the east end and when the last bolt was driven out of the fish plate the track jumped two feet toward the bridge. Now the rails had to be undone at the west end.
>
> I took a track wrench and a spiking maul, and a tool to drive out the last bolt, and started across. The bridge was now on a 60 degree angle. I walked hanging on to one rail, with my feet down on the bottom rail.
>
> When I drove the last bolt out on the west end the track jumped three feet. Contrary to my foreman's warning I decided to walk back across the bridge. When I got over to the other side I rolled a smoke and took only two puffs on my cigarette when out she went.
>
> The pier tipped over and steel rails—screaming like banshees—whipped from each end! Spikes rained down! And two ninety foot steel spans crashed into the river! One was carried two hundred yards downstream.

In addition to the rails the bridge also carried down valuable telegraph and telephone wires that connected Vancouver with eastern Canada. The taut wires had been dragged down to the surface of the river and were in danger of being snapped by logs and other debris swirling downstream.

Each wire had been connected to a glass insulator mounted on a small round wooden bracket attached to a cross arm that had been bolted to the bridge.

All of the wires had broken free except one. But that one wire, still attached to its insulator connected to the cross arm, was holding the rest down. If this one wire could be freed then all of the wires would spring up well above the surface of the water and communications across the country could be saved.

However there was no way anyone could get out to the middle of the river to free it. John had an idea. He suggested someone take the motor car back to Savona and borrow a rifle and a box of bullets from the station agent. He would try and shoot the thin wooden peg in two that held the insulator.

Within half an hour the foreman returned with a rifle and John lay down on the embankment and carefully took aim. The target was about an inch and a half in diameter. As each bullet hit the small round peg the wood splintered and weakened. Suddenly it broke in two releasing all the wires into the air. The communication lines had been saved.

The rifle John used was a .22 calibre Winchester semi-automatic, an expensive gun for its calibre, and rather uncommon since it was fitted with a brass tube in the stock that could be pulled from the butt for reloading. At the end of the day

No one knows the history of Savona better than Ed Villiers, the author of about forty of little known, well-researched, informative, and entertaining booklets on Savona, available through Esther French, PO Box 154, Savona BC V0K 2J0.

the gun was delivered back to Savona's CNR station agent, Robert Dillabough.

Fourteen years later, on 16 October 1962, at 6:45 P.M., a pretty nineteen-year-old girl named Diane Phipps walked out the front door of her parents' house in Nanaimo and waved good-bye to her mother. "Don't be late," her mother called out as Diane walked toward the front gate. "Have a good time," shouted her father who was working in his garden at the side of the house.

Diane had a date with Leslie Dixon, a young man she had been going steady with for about six months. She had recently started a new job as a practical nurse at St. Paul's Hospital over in Vancouver, working three days straight and two days off, and this was her third trip back home to Nanaimo.

Wearing a new black sweater and skirt, Diane walked to a girlfriend's house where she spent the next couple of hours visiting before her boyfriend called around and picked her up. Dixon was tall and good looking and like Diane was also 19 years old. He had quit school in grade ten and was working as a service-station attendant in Nanaimo. His big interests were bowling and cars.

The couple drove to a gas station where Dixon bought two dollars worth of gas then drove through Nanaimo, tooting the horn to various friends. They stopped briefly to talk with a mechanic at the garage where Dixon worked. A little after ten o'clock they were seen by two of Dixon's friends heading down Departure Bay Road towards Piper's Lagoon, five miles north of Nanaimo. Piper's Lagoon was a favourite parking spot for young people—a lovers' lane.

They hadn't seen each other for a week and as they sat in the car laughing and talking they were unaware that a man was standing nearby in the shadows watching them. He observed them for a while and listened to Diane laugh. Then quietly he slipped away and returned with a gun.

The following morning, when Leslie Dixon didn't return home, his mother sent his two brothers, Vic and Ron, to search for him. At ten A.M. they found Leslie sitting in his car at Piper's Lagoon. His head was lying back and they thought he was asleep. When Vic shook him he fell over. He had been shot twice in the back of the head at close range.

There was no sign of Diane although her purse and coat were in the car beside her boyfriend's body. Dixon's wallet was still in his pocket, its contents untouched. The contents of Diane's purse were also intact. Robbery, obviously, was not a motive for the crime. The police brought in tracking dogs and called in investigators from Victoria but they were unable to locate a murder weapon or determine the whereabouts of Diane Phipps.

At two o'clock that afternoon Darrell Morgan, a Nanaimo resident, was in a rubbish dump four miles south of Nanaimo retrieving a hacksaw he had left there on the weekend while searching for scrap metal. As he walked by a stack of old car parts he saw two feet sticking out from under a pile of rusty fenders. He lifted a fender and saw a body. It was Diane Phipps. He fled the scene and called police.

Police believe the girl had been forced from Dixon's car, driven seven miles south by the killer, then murdered on a lonely bush road. She had been shot once between the eyes, and then beaten to death with a boulder. She had not been sexually molested. Police ruled out the theory that the killer could have been a jealous lover since the couple had been going together for about a year.

The killings would become known as the Lovers' Lane Murders and created headlines in the Vancouver newspapers for the next week. The RCMP had little to go on—no motive, no weapon, no suspects. They believed they were looking for a criminal psychopath. They received a call from a young woman living on Harewood Road, not far from where Diane's body was found.

She told police that she had been watching a late night television show when a man knocked at her door about one A.M. on the night of the murder. He told her that his car was stuck in the ditch just up the road and asked for the use of her truck to pull him out.

The man climbed into the box of the truck as she drove a couple hundred yards down the road where the man hooked a chain from her truck to his car. She pulled it out of the ditch and as the stranger unhooked the chain he told her to go home. The next day she heard about the double murder and called the police.

Officers examined the piece of gravel road and noted that tire tracks had swerved suddenly off the road and hit a rock. They theorized that the driver of the car was the murderer and that Diane Phipps was still alive at that time and had yanked at the steering wheel. With a description of the stranger and of his car they felt certain it wouldn't be long before they made an arrest.

The Nanaimo City Council offered a reward of $3,500—later increasing it to $5,000—for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person or persons responsible for the murders of Diane Phipps and Leslie Dixon. The reward was equivalent to a year's wages. But despite the most intensive murder investigation in the history of British Columbia, the reward went unclaimed and the police were completely baffled.

Three months following the murders the weather turned bitterly cold. For the first two weeks of 1963 the temperature on Vancouver Island seldom rose above the freezing mark. It was so cold that up in the Cariboo a woman and her little girl froze to death on the Alexis Creek road. Lakes everywhere were frozen over. On January 29 a young boy was playing on the ice on Long Lake, five miles north of Nanaimo, when he saw a gun lying in the mud beneath the clear ice not far from shore. He loosened a rock from the beach, smashed a hole in the ice, and pulled out a .22 calibre rifle. Excitedly, he ran

home with the gun and asked his father to clean it up and let him keep it.

As he wiped the mud and water off the gun the father noted that it was a Winchester semi-automatic rifle in excellent condition. Why would anybody throw away such an expensive gun? He was suspicious. He took it down to the Nanaimo detachment of the RCMP who immediately sent it to Regina for ballistic tests. A short time later a report came back that this was the gun that killed Leslie Dixon and Diane Phipps.

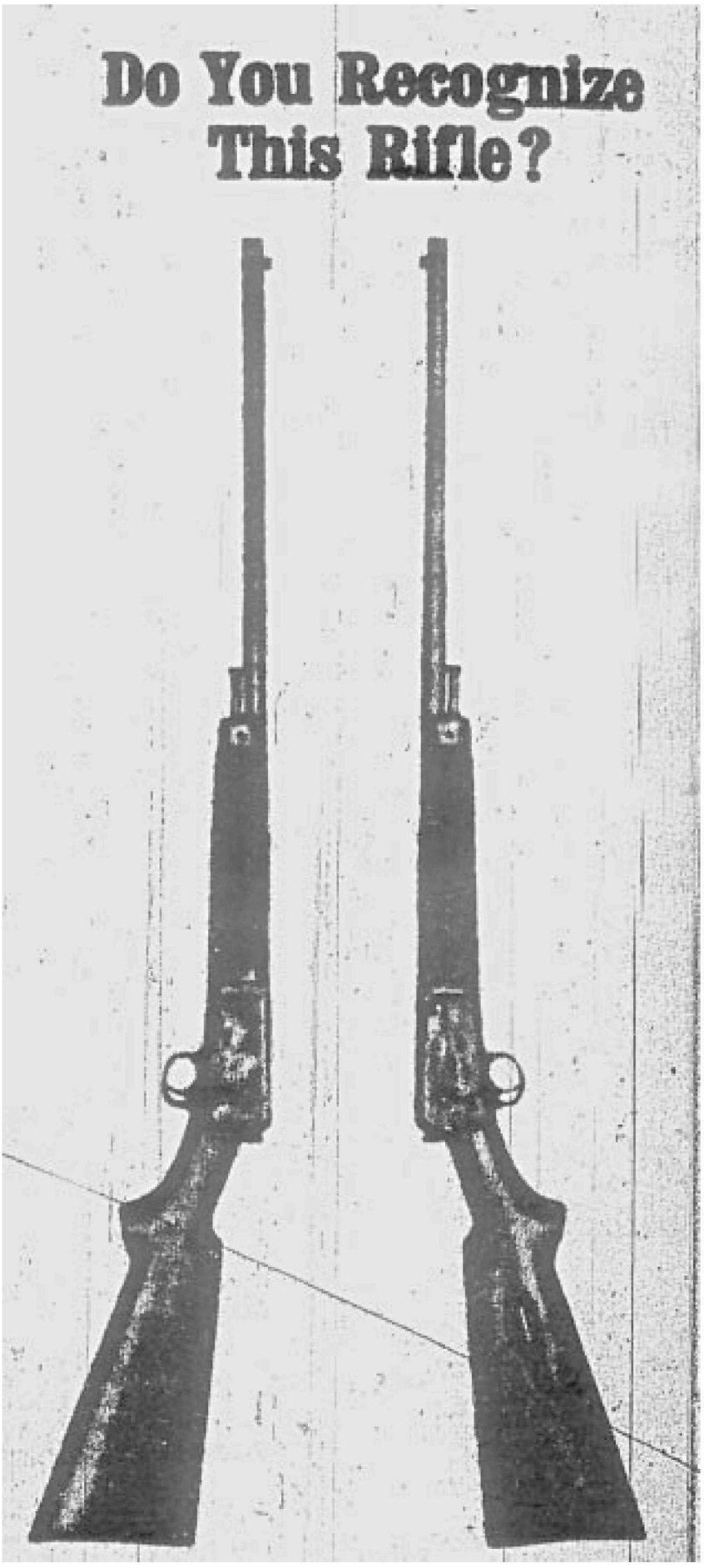
The police were sure now that the case could be solved quickly. They had a description of the murder suspect, a description of his car, and now the murder weapon. But a year passed and the gun's owner could not be traced. The police remained baffled.

On Saturday 18 April 1964—almost a year and a half after the gun was found—the *Vancouver Sun* published an article in its "Weekend Magazine" describing the murders and appealing to people across Canada for information on the rifle used in the two slayings.

The newspaper included with its story three photographs of the gun, including a close-up picture of the butt end of the stock showing where a brass tube could be pulled for loading. The gun was described as a Winchester .22 calibre semi-automatic rifle, model 63, serial number 41649A, manufactured on 5 October 1940, and sold in 1942—but the purchaser's name was unknown. The article added:

The rifle is expensive for a weapon of this caliber, and is consequently rather uncommon. Anyone having knowledge of persons who have possessed rifles of this description is requested to inform the nearest police department or R.C.M.P. detachment immediately. Any information offered will be held in the strictest confidence.

The newspaper story resulted in a flood of tips. One of those tips led police to the original owner of the gun—Robert Ralph Dillbough, a former Canadian National Railways station agent at Savona. When police arrived at Savona they learned that Mr. Dillbough, the gun's original owner, had died ten years earlier on 15 March 1954. The disposition of his estate, including the rifle, had been handled by D.T. Rogers of a



Right: This is the .22 rifle that was used, to murder a young Nanaimo couple in 1962. Fourteen years earlier, it was used to save communication lines west of Savona during the flood of 1948.

Kamloops law firm. Some assets of the estate were sold privately while other assets, including this rifle, were sold at a public auction. The auction had taken place in Kamloops on 19 February 1955.

The auctioneer was George Shelline, but when police went to interview him they learned he had been killed in an accident a year after the auction took place. The police searched his records but were unsuccessful in finding the name of the gun's buyer. Once again they had come to a dead end.

The police checked 60,000 vehicle registrations seeking a car described by the witness. They screened every rental car in British Columbia. They interviewed thousands of people, took 200 written statements, examined 2,000 gun invoices, and sought the help of the FBI in the United States and Interpol in Europe. They toted up more detective man hours on this murder investigation than any murder probe in British Columbia history. But they still did not have a suspect.

So the *Vancouver Sun* ran another story about the case. This time the newspaper asked for persons who had attended the Kamloops auction to come forward. The story was carried across Canada by the Canadian Press news service. Again police received a flood of tips. This time one of them led to the arrest of a suspect, a 35-year-old North Vancouver baker named Ronald Eugene Ingram. Ingram had formerly lived in Nanaimo and together with his brother, Wallace, owned Parklane Bakery on Harewood Street. In early 1965, he and his wife and three children left Nanaimo and moved to North Vancouver.

Ingram had never been a suspect in the case nor had he ever been interviewed by police. Equipped with a chain saw, police went to the Parklane Bakery and cut out a section of a retaining wall at the rear of the building where Ingram used to shoot at rats. Slugs retrieved from the wall matched those in the murder weapon. Ingram's car was also examined, and although two years had elapsed since the murders, human blood stains were found in the vehicle.

Ingram was taken into custody on 7 August 1965 and brought to Oakalla Prison in Burnaby. A few hours later he attempted to commit suicide by plunging his head into a plugged water-filled toilet bowl. When found by a guard he had no apparent pulse but responded to inhalator treatment. Six weeks later, on 20 September 1965, Ingram, through his lawyer, confessed that he had shot Diane Phipps between the eyes and then beaten her head in with a rock. The admission was made to an all-male Assize Court jury minutes after a previous jury had found him fit to stand trial for capital murder. He was charged only with the girl's murder.

Following his admission of guilt three psychiatrists told the Court that in 1962 Ingram would have been suffering from a disease of the mind. The prosecutor suggested to the jury that they had no alternative but to find Ingram not guilty by reason of insanity, stating that "Ingram was in such a deranged state of mind at the time of the killings he was not able to appreciate the nature and quality of his acts and could not have formed an intent."

The following day a judge ordered Ingram to be held in close custody indefinitely, or as Section 545 of the Criminal Code put it, "until the pleasure of the Lieutenant-Governor is known." He was transferred to maximum security confinement at the Forensic Psychiatric Institute of Riverview mental hospital—then known as Essondale—at Coquitlam, and remained in close confinement for the next six years.

In 1971 doctors considered his mental condition had improved so dramatically that he was granted unsupervised ground privileges. In May 1974 he escaped from the hospital but returned voluntarily after being free for four days. He escaped again in August 1975. But this time he was not recaptured for eight months.

In November 1976, the *Vancouver Sun* reported that the doctors at Riverview hospital ruled him sane and that a provincial review board recommended he be released. Despite pleadings from his lawyer, the provincial cabinet still refused to grant him his freedom.

I have searched through subsequent newspaper archives without being able to learn whether Ingram was finally released and allowed to rejoin his wife and family, who were now living in Edmonton. Nor did I learn who, if anyone, received the reward for his arrest.

I do know, however, that the clue that solved this case was a rifle—the same rifle once owned by a station agent in Savona, the same rifle that saved the trans-Canada communication wires from being broken following the collapse of the Thompson River Bridge in the flood of 1948.

Early Prince George
Through the Eyes of a Young Boy

by Eldon E. Lee

Courtesy Eldon E. Lee

Eldon E. Lee, a retired obstetrician and gynecologist, lives in Prince George. He is the author of a number of books including *They Were Giants in Those Days: Stories from the Heart of the Cariboo.*

Left: *George Street looking south, 1920s.*

In 1929 at age six I was introduced to the vibrant energetic town of Prince George which was bursting with optimism and enthusiasm over the imminent construction of pulp mills and the completion of the PG Railway from the south. At that time Prince George was hardly more than a village but to a young lad coming from California by way of an isolated ranch near Williams Lake it seemed like a gigantic city

Family roots existed in Prince George where my great-uncle James McLane had established a business on Central Street in 1912. A second great-uncle, Charles McLane, arrived from California in 1916. Their mother followed in 1918 to look after her boys. My own mother was invited to come up to Prince George in 1919 for company to her grandmother. A teenager, she went to Miller Addition High School from 1919 to 1921 before returning to California.

At the beginning of the school year, September 1929, my mother brought me to Prince George since there was no school near the ranch. We lived for a time at McLane's Auto Court on the Fraser River just downstream from the northern end of the railway bridge. Johnson's or Goat Island at that time stretched right up to the bridge and we boys could climb down the bridge and jump onto the island, which would not be possible any longer, since meanwhile the island has eroded away and the tip lies 200 feet below the bridge.

From the Auto Court we moved to an upstairs apartment on Third Avenue just one block off George Street over the office of a taxi firm owned by the McLanes. Next door was a clothing store owned by Sam Salvo, an Italian, who soon returned to his homeland. And next to him was the Embassy Cafe. The Assmans had a general store also on this block. Around the corner on George Street was Mayor Patterson's Clothing Store where I bought my first ever pair of winter boots. (In California we did not need winter boots). Nearby was the Astoria Hotel owned by Bill Bellos. Bellos was an enterprising Greek who brought in a huge bulldozer with a brushcutting blade. He claimed to be able to clear

land for farming for 28 dollars an acre and went broke doing this.

The town essentially centered on two-storey commercial buildings along George Street and Third Avenue with scattered houses radiating outward. There were also some commercial buildings along Central Street, mainly towards the water tower on the rise of land above the Nechako River. West of Central was a pine forest where blueberries grew in profusion each summer.

South Fort George existed as a separate small community with the BX paddle wheel boat beached and decaying on the Fraser River bank of what is today Paddle Wheel Park. I still have a scar on my left knee resulting from a cut sustained in climbing over the old BX.

My introduction to Prince George was a happy one when my mother took me to the store of her old friend from 1921, Ina Allen, later Ina Johnson. She plied me with chocolate bars and made me feel welcome. When Ina's supply was depleted I found that by taking a burlap sack to Assman's store I could exchange it for a candy bar. There was a supply of these sacks as coal was delivered in them.

I came to Prince George for schooling and to Miller Addition School I went. The school was situated just west of Connaught Hill and here my academic path was shaped in the formidable presence of Miss Eliza Milligan. She firmly believed that sparing the rod spoiled the child, particularly boys, and soon discerned that my education needed attention particularly when I said "zee" instead of "zed".

I must admit that I was no angel and received timely correction with firm applications of her 16-inch leather strap applied to the open palm of the hand. Apart from the schoolroom I received a good deal of learning in the schoolyard. Of course there was a school bully, Nat Cheer, and a code for a new boy, which I learned through experience. I once stood up to Nat's harassment and hit him as hard as I could. I took a thrashing in return but it was worth it. He later became a friend. Through such experiences one learns to adjust in life. This is important as bullies exist in every sphere of life. Later my Air Force flying instructor turned off the motor in the air so that he could better berate me for my inadequacies. My school experience helped maintain my balance.

On weekends I rode my small bicycle along the wooden sidewalks outside the Europe Hotel and Columbus Hotel with friends Jimmy Zimarro and Steve Prudente. In poor weather we rode around the hotel lobbies until Mr. Zimarro booted us out. All the city sidewalks were constructed of rough boards and there was a raised sidewalk from the end of George Street to Patricia Boulevard in downtown Prince George.

Silent pictures were shown twice a week at the Strand Theatre, which was across Third Avenue from where we lived. Several of us urchins pooled our money to buy one ticket and the boy on admission scooted down and loosened the exit door so the others entered free.

Oh yes, I became an entrepreneur selling newspapers on the street for five cents apiece, crying out "Prince George Citizen" and "Edmonton Journal." I was supposed to give the money to my mother but would succumb to temptation occasionally and spend it on treats at Candy Allen's Confection store on George Street.

I remember saving 75 cents to purchase a pair of roller skates from Jake Leith, who had a hardware store on Third Avenue and subsequently making a nuisance by skating up and down the wooden sidewalks.

The winters were fearfully cold and all heat came from wood- and coal-burning stoves. A stack of wood 150 metres long was piled along the upper reaches of Third Avenue where the present Auto Wash is located. During weeks of cold weather smoke rose straight up from every chimney and frost crystals hung in the air. Of course we urchins walked to school, all bundled up and wearing winter boots. When we arrived at school we were half frozen with frosted cheeks and feet feeling like chunks of ice. With warmth we experienced the misery of chilblains.

Springtime was a glorious happening. The flat area below George Street flooded each year and we built rafts and sailed along amid deserted buildings and outhouses invariably getting thoroughly soaked. Then it was marble playing time with aggies, blue babes, and dough babes. The marble playing experts soon won all the marbles in the game of "keeps" and at that point the sport languished.

We boys also had a game of "chicken". Standing a hundred feet apart on First Avenue we slung cobble stones, the size of walnuts at each other. The object was to duck and avoid the stones but on one occasion a new boy was struck and went home crying to his mother. She descended on us

with great wrath as we scattered.

There were some real characters in Prince George in those days. One was Dick Corless who did construction and ran a funeral parlour, back of which we boys congregated and dabbled with flying an airplane. There was Jack Dolly, a tall spastic individual who lurched along the sidewalk selling newspapers. We learned to keep out of his way. He also had a queer little mother, plump and doll-like, who kept a sharp eye out for Jack's welfare. Then there was Pete Poulson, the town's drunk living in a shack close to First Avenue on Quebec Street. The boys used to throw stones at his outdoor privy and Dick Corless, finding him drunk one night, placed him in a coffin in the funeral parlour to the consternation of those coming to pay last respects.

A stir was created one summer evening when the wives of two prominent citizens raced from Third Avenue to the Prince George Hotel in scant attire. They were known to take a drop. Dr. Lyon, a respected physician, always drove the biggest car imaginable about town. He was not very knowledgeable about cars and routinely demolished the traffic signal in the centre of George Street. In wet weather puddles lay in the main streets and his car splashed the common folk with mud from spinning tires.

There was scandal: Billy Bexon, a town councillor absconded with Dr. Trefry's wife and Jimmy McLane appropriated someone else's mate and moved her and son into his Auto Court. There were various other notorious happenings. Policeman Gray was shaking down the Chinese businesses until they complained to council that it was costing them too much for protection. The startled city council terminated the luckless constable and charged him with extortion.

I learned about life. The wife of Jake Leith died of unchecked diabetes before insulin was generally available, leaving Nathan and Bessie without a mother. Pappas's business folded but he subsequently established a large fur outlet in Vancouver. Bill Bellos's land clearing scheme went under and the longed-for pulp mills and railroads did not materialize. Soon came the Great Depression and with it the impoverishment of Charles McLane and indirectly our ranch in the Cariboo. Personally I had some scary situations. I was approached by a tramp on the way home from school and had to run to escape, I got hit by a car, and bitten by lawyer Wilson's large dog. I also had a tooth pulled by dentist Dr. Hocking for one dollar.

Courtesy Eldon E Lee

Above: *Eldon Lee (age 6) and his brother Todd, 1930.*

There were difficult things but there were good things also. Mr. Mallis at the Sunday School of Knox Church gave a feeling of reverence for holy things and I experienced a lot of love and encouragement from home. Also, I did well in school, either because of Miss Milligan or in spite of her. I learned civic responsibility when on an impulse I lined up a dozen empty whiskey bottles on a pile of lumber behind the Prince George Hotel and shattered them with stones. A prominent citizen made me pick up every fragment and gave me a stern lecture on public conduct as well.

They say it takes a whole village to raise a child and my own experiences seem to confirm this, for I received a lot of love, encouragement, and direction from the experiences encountered in Prince George. I trust that this atmosphere continues to this day.

Book Reviews

Books for review and book reviews should be sent to:
Anne Yandle, Book Review Editor BC Historical News, 3450 West 20th Avenue, Vancouver BC V6S 1E4

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Ghost on the Grade: Hiking and Biking Abandoned Railways on Southern Vancouver Isand,
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Flying Under Fire: Canadian Fliers Recall the Second World War,
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Captain McNeil and his Wife the Nishga Chief,
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Naomi Miller
Fort Steele: Gold Rush to Boom Town,
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Derek Hayes
First Crossing: Alexander Mackenzie, His Expedition Accross North America, and the Opening of the Continent,
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Bruce Braun
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reviewed by Cara Prior.

Howard Overend
Book Guy: A Librarian in the Peace,
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Shirley Hewett
The People's Boat: HMCS Oriole: Ship of a Thousand Dreams,
reviewed by Philip Teece.

Abandoned: The Story of the Greely Arctic Expedition, 1881–1884

Alden L. Todd. Fairbanks, Alaska: University of Alaska Press, 2001 . 323 pp. Illus., maps. $ 22.95 paperback.

Reviewed by Carol Lowes

This recent reprinting of author Alden Todd's harrowing 1961 account of the sufferings imposed upon an American expedition sent into the Canadian High Arctic during the First International Polar Year of 1881 will interest a wide audience.

The publishers have brought back into circulation an important annal of arctic exploration. Much more than a story of geographical discovery and scientific achievement, this is also a poignant and pathetic, yet often heart-warming tale of man's capacity to endure against all odds. Compelling in its integrity, the author's research is exhaustive in pursuit of the truth regarding a glorious venture that went horribly wrong.

Under the command of Lt. Adolphus Washington Greely, the twenty-five men of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition worked diligently together that first winter of 1881. Greely proved a stern but kindly commander, whose concern for his men's morale provides some of the book's lighter moments (the various sporting contests, the impudent camp "newspaper ," and the grand Thanksgiving dinner make delightful reading). But he was plagued from the start by discontent and jealousy amongst his commanding officers. When the pre-arranged supply ship failed to reach the expedition in the summer of 1882—and again the following summer—discontent festered into insubordination and, eventually, into mutiny as the men were forced to endure a third winter marooned without hope of survival.

Todd skilfully weaves the story from all points of view. Official expedition journals and private diaries of the doomed men allow us to witness every part of their ordeal: the horrors of frostbite and slow death by starvation, the individual heroism and bravery, the descent into criminal behaviour in the effort to survive. At the same time, government and naval documents, augmented by unpublished letters, reveal the larger picture of bureaucratic lethargy and bungling that delayed the final rescue attempt.

When a rescue party at last reached the expedition in 1884, eighteen men lay dead and another died on the way home.

For Greely and his five fellow survivors, the ordeal was far from over. Their triumphant homecoming, to national and international acclaim, was soon to be devastated by malicious accusations of murder and cannibalism when six of the exhumed dead were found to be mutilated.

To the author's credit, he neither accuses nor excuses any one member of the expedition but, rather, lets the record speak for itself. He provides material enough for the reader to draw certain conclusions regarding these gruesome revelations, but those requiring more should refer to the introduction by the famous explorer and anthropologist Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who offers a grim yet logical explanation of what likely happened.

This finely written and moving work is supplemented by helpful maps and stunning engravings of key episodes during the Greely Expedition.

Reviewer Carol Lowes is a member of the Map Society of BC. Her great-great-uncle, James Murray, lost his life in the High Arctic as oceanographer aboard Vilhjalmur Stefansson's ill-fated HMCS Karluk *voyage of 1913.*

Magnificently Unrepentant: The Story of Merve Wilkinson and Wildwood

Goody Niosi. Surrey: Heritage House, 2001. 236 pp. Illlus. $18.95 paperback.

Reviewed by Arnold Ranneris

Residents of Vancouver Island have become aware of a local hero in our midst. He is Merve Wilkinson, owner and operator of a forestry operation near Ladysmsith called Wildwood. His name has become synonymous with enlightened forestry. Merve Wilkinson was born in 1913 to English immigrants who came to Nanaimo, but soon

moved to a better life away from the coal mining operations of nearby Wellington. Merve was raised in the spacious fields and forested areas around Quennell Lake. This would become his lifetime home.

From the beginning Merve had a natural affinity with the environment; this concern was focused by attendance at a Youth Training Course at UBC in the 1930s, but his real introduction to sustainable forestry was through a Swedish correspondence course. "The Swedish course in forestry was a godsend," he said, and he embraced to the full its central principle: "what you leave in the forest is more important than what you take out." He set about applying this to Wildwood and demonstrated that good forest practices could be applied here. This happened at a time when clear-cutting and slash-and-burn methods were all too common.

While Wilkinson's ecological approach gradually gained recognition locally, it was not until 1986 when a CBC radio program "Pacific Report" interview expanded awareness of Wildwood in British Columbia and beyond. There are many other stories in the book: friendships and marriage and family, gains and losses in relationships, participation in the 1990s Clayoquot disobedience, finding a soul mate in late life, receiving the Order of Canada and the Order of British Columbia.

The book is delightful reading. The biographer lets Wilkinson's life speak for itself from many excerpts from his journals. Photographs are interspersed throughout. It will please conservation enthusiasts, but also people who like biography. It should have a place in all British Columbia libraries.

Reviewer Arnold Ranneris is president of the Victoria Historical Society.

Ghosts on the Grade: Hiking and Biking Abandoned Railways on Southern Vancouver Island.

Ian Baird and Peter Smith. Victoria: Heritage Architectural Guides. 2001. Distributed by Empire Books, 630 Oliver Street, Victoria, BC V8S 4W3.

REVIEWED BY KEN WUSCHKI.

In the silky fashion of a spider web the derelict railways of Southern Vancouver Island weave a story of the rise and fall of communities and industries in the forests. And authors Ian Baird and Peter Smith have captured this web in a very accessible book for those who enjoy experiencing history through hiking and biking.

Covering eleven railway operations from Nanaimo south to William Head, the authors provide a brief historical background for each one and then quickly turn the focus toward accessing each route in person. They have achieved something that is unique for making history appealing to a broader range of people—having them experience what took place.

Through walking and cycling these tenuous networks people can start to begin to understand that British Columbia's history is more than dusty books and stuffy museums. Rather, it is a part of our everyday lives in terms of railways, roads, buildings, cemeteries, and parks—a subtle perspective of history through cultural artifacts of the everyday experience.

Baird and Smith make a good effort for an interactive experience with history: mentioning some prominent milestones in a railway's history, such as Premier John Oliver's driving the first spike on the Canadian National line from Victoria to Duncan in 1918. This enables the adventurous reader to reflect on today's Galloping Goose Trail past when the bicycle tires are rolling along the route in the Luxton area.

As the final spike is being driving into Vancouver Island's railway history with the potential closure of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway this year, Baird and Smith have succeeded in keeping the Island's rail history alive for people who want a casual understanding of this period.

Reviewer Ken Wuschki, a student at Kwantlen College in Richmond, is majoring in history.

Flying Under Fire: Canadian Fliers Recall the Second World War

Selected and edited by William J. Wheeler. Calgary: Fifth House, 2001. 256 pp. Illus. $21.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY MIKE HIGGS.

This admirable book, which is an anthology of the reminiscences and recollections of twelve brave Canadians who served in the RCAF during the Second World War, requires careful reading. Each memoir—the average length is sixteen pages—gives a refreshingly direct, personal and up-close picture of what it was like to be young, patriotic, and strongly motivated in those distant days. There are many other benefits for the reader, not least the exposition of an open-hearted and almost simplistic notion of duty, duty to King and Country, which pervades the words and actions of the writers. From our viewpoint at the start of the twenty-first century, we feel, on reading these accounts, a blend of nostalgia and surprise at a mentality long obsolete today, but still only sixty years in the past.

Each of the twelve accounts has been previously published in the *Journal of the Canadian Aviation Historical Society.* One of them, and surely the most interesting, is by a woman who flew as a pilot with the ATA, or Air Transport Auxiliary, in England. In her account, she artlessly uses the word "girl" to describe herself and her fellow-pilots, in a way that would be "inappropriate" today, but it is perfectly in period. As a delivery pilot, she was only required to take aircraft from one place to another, but the variety of them is astounding.

Other stories in this anthology are absorbing in a variety of ways. They include accounts of artillery-spotting in tiny Austers, slow little machines whose duty was to report the fall of shells around a target. The optimum position for the spotter was on the line joining the gun and its target, which meant that the Auster and the shell shared the same airspace. We also read of the appalling Avro Manchester, a bomber that at one stage had bombdoors that closed (after the bombs had been released) by the action of rubber bungee-cords, and of exploits flying the Typhoon and Whirlwind, of torpedo operations in the Mediterranean, of attacks on the *Tirpitz*, and of the peculiar trade of being a winch operator in a target-tug aircraft. The tugs towed a target (in the form of a drogue) on a long wire cable, for fighters to shoot at using live ammunition. Exuberant gun-play was of course discouraged, but nothing can inhibit the exuberance of the writing in this book, the triumph of fact over fiction.

Flying Under Fire is well illustrated, with many contemporary photographs of aircraft and crews. It has an excellent glossary. It is printed to a high standard, with a durable glossy cover, and will be an invaluable source-book when all of the contributors have made their last landing. And the part of it that can be perceived but not actually seen, the spirit of adventure and sacrifice, is eternal.

Reviewer Mike Higgs is a retired CP Air pilot.

Captain McNeill and his Wife the Nishga Chief

Robin Percival Smith. Surrey: Hancock House, 2001. 256 pp. Illus. $18.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY PAMELA MAR.

The name of American-born Captain William John McNeill is a familiar one to those who live on Vancouver Island. During his tenure at Fort Rupert as Chief Trader for the Hudson's Bay Company, he had innumerable problems. His relations with the men employed there and with the native population are recognized as stormy. In setting out the extent of McNeill's work with the HBC as seen through his letters to various officials, the ships' logs, and his journals, Robin P. Smith has shown just how difficult and fractious this could be. While McNeill has generally been recognized as a stern and authoritarian figure who brooked no nonsense, the Company on the whole thought highly of him, as can be seen in their correspondence. He was a loyal servant, putting the Company's needs before his own and sometimes being treated shabbily despite his tenacity. As a mariner he was often away from his family for long periods.

The words "...and His Wife the Nishga Chief" in the title of the book are a little misleading, as there is not a great deal about Matilda, and some of what Robin Smith writes is drawn from his interpretation, as he acknowledges. We know so little about the history of Native women that it would have been wonderful had there been more facts to draw on. Smith's use of imagination in dealing with conversations between various characters is backed by the written record, makes for pleasant reading, and moves the story along.

The juxtaposition of Captain Vancouver's charts made in the 1790s with contemporary Canadian and United States' ones is very interesting and provides focal points for the story. The collection of photographs brings together many of the main characters and there are photographs and sketches of the various HBC forts that McNeill knew. The photos give a glimpse of his large family, though sadly there is none of Matilda. Her death in the early 1850s must have preceded the general use of the camera. His second wife, Martha, also a Nishga Chief, whom he married in 1852, sits stately with four of the McNeill daughters, and Smith remarks that she was every bit as colourful as Matilda, but that that is another story. It is to be hoped that he will follow this up. There is the odd proofreading slip, and the oft-mistaken spelling of the name "Norman Morison" with "rr" instead of the correct single "r". But Robin Smith has drawn out much more of McNeill's life than has been seen before. There is a lot of research in this interesting book, but it would have been much improved with a lot of critical editing and an essay on the sources consulted.

Reviewer Pamela Mar lives in Nanaimo.

Fort Steele: Gold Rush to Boom Town

Naomi Miller. Surrey: Heritage House Publishing, 2002. 240 pp. Ilus., maps $18.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY RON WELWOOD

If you are at all intrigued by the history and character of Fort Steele, this book will help to satisfy that curiosity. Anecdotes, facts and figures are sequentially outlined chapter by chapter.

The East Kootenay region in the Rocky Mountain Trench of southeast British Columbia was first occupied by Kootenay (Ktunaxa) and Shuswap (Kinbasket) peoples prior to the discovery of gold. The gold rush on Wildhorse Creek in 1864 changed this landscape in more ways than one. A settled community slowly grew on the banks of the Kootenay River in the vicinity of John Galbraith's cable ferry. Although named Fort Steele, the town was actually a North West Mounted Police post occupied for one year by Major Samuel Benfield Steele and his men who came to maintain law and order between the Natives and the newcomers.

Fort Steele: Gold Rush to Boom Town outlines events between 1864 and 1906. Archival records and weekly newspaper reports from *The Prospector* of Fort Steele (1895-1904) and Cranbrook (1905-06) provided the author with an ample supply of anecdotal and factual information ("including building, mining, politics, businesses, social events, births, marriages, and deaths").

The reader could be distracted by some awkward sentences, grammatical or typographical errors that should have been spotted and corrected by a vigilant editor. More detailed maps would have been useful to readers unfamiliar with regional locations cited (e.g. Bummer's Flats, Westport, etc.). However, historic photographs, illustrations, a short bibliography, and an extensive, seven-page index provide good directional points. Also, biographical squibs not only provide a glimpse into the lives of some "Steelites" but also add character to the book.

Naomi Miller has well served the British Columbia Historical Federation both as President and as editor of *British Columbia Historical News*. Now as an interpreter at Fort Steele Heritage Town (declared a provincial park in 1961), she relates with enthusiasm and knowledge, many historical vignettes to visitors. This inexpensive publication is just an expansion of those tales and thus it adds to the material used in Fort Steele's historical reconstruction.

Reviewer Ron Welwood is past president of the British Columbia Historical Federation and an avid student of Kootenay history.

First Crossing: Alexander Mackenzie, His Expedition Across North America, and the Opening of the Continent

Derek Hayes. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001. Illus. 320 pp. $50.00 hardcover.

REVIEWED BY BRIAN GOBBETT

In her monumental *British Columbia: a History* (1958) Margaret Ormsby gave voice to the frontier character of the Pacific Northwest, entitling the first two chapters "Approach from the Sea" and "Approach from the Mountains." Separated from more well-travelled routes by distance and geography, British Columbia, in her words, "stood apart from the civilized world until late in the eighteenth century." Subsequent surveys of the history of British Columbia (perhaps because they have been long in coming) have reflected much different historiographic trends, and have emphasized the role of the "first British Columbians"[1] while downplaying the "heroic" achievement of explorers such as Alexander Mackenzie. Derek Hayes, author of the award-winning *Historical Atlas of British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest* (1999), objects to this trend in *First Crossing*, claiming that it "is all too common for Canadians to complain that their history is unexciting and that there are no real Canadian heroes" (p. 11). Alexander Mackenzie, in his mind, was one such individual.

In retracing the steps of the "heroic" Mackenzie, Hayes emphasizes the explorer's two most famous journeys while in the employ-

ment of the North West Company: the canoe trip to the Arctic Ocean in 1789 and his 1793 venture down the Fraser river to present-day Alexandria and then overland to the Pacific, ultimately ending his westward journey not far from present-day Bella Coola. Relying heavily (although uncritically) upon Mackenzie's journals (although we only have a single hand-written copy of the first expedition and published versions of the second), Hayes emphasizes the Herculean mental and physical strength that were prerequisites for such journeys. The second journey covered more than 2,300 miles in total, with the return trip from Bella Coola to Fort Fork (which even Mackenzie noted "proceeded at a considerable rate") taking only thirty-three days. The text is necessarily brief, however. Instead, much of *First Crossing* is dedicated to the beautiful reproduction of maps, historical and contemporary photographs, and various illustrations and paintings apparently depicting the life of the explorer or miscellaneous facets of Native culture. Although these images are not always accompanied by a critical commentary and sometimes lack correlation with the main text, they constitute an important collection of relevant visual material.

This is an aesthetically pleasing volume and Hayes has compiled a compelling collection of historical and contemporary images. The text is perhaps more problematic. Mackenzie is presented as one of "our country's major historical figures" (p. 11), a forerunner of Canadian Confederation (p. 11), who grew up bilingual "in true Canadian style" (he spoke Gaelic and English as a child) (p. 40). If Hayes wishes to resurrect Harold Innis's argument from the 1920s that the North West Company and the opening of the west was a principal vehicle of the drive toward Confederation, a more critical and substantial discussion is necessary. As Barry Gough notes in *First Across the Continent: Sir Alexander Mackenzie* (1996), Mackenzie was concerned with imperial power and commercial expansion and never imagined himself as a nation builder (pp. 205-206). Moreover, little attention is devoted to a critical discussion of the interaction between Mackenzie and the indigenous peoples he encountered. Perhaps because Hayes relies heavily upon Mackenzie's own writings, too often aboriginal peoples are presented as mere obstacles to the explorer's greater mission and achievement. Recently, anthropologist Anthony F.C. Wallace, in *Jefferson and the Indians* (1999), notes that Mackenzie visited Philadelphia in 1798 and donated a sea-otter skin blanket to the American Philosophical Society, an organization that aggressively pursued knowledge of indigenous societies and of which Thomas Jefferson was a prominent member. Although there is no indication that the British explorer and Jefferson ever met, Wallace notes that Mackenzie's presence in Philadelphia is significant, particularly in light of the trans-continental rush for spoils upon which nineteenth-century America was about to embark and its attendant consequences for aboriginal peoples. In contrast, while Hayes surmises that Jefferson read sections of Mackenzie's published travel accounts carefully in ascertaining the difficulties in crossing the Rocky Mountains (p. 268), there is little appreciation that in doing so, the American president was participating in the construction of an imperial knowledge that would ultimately refashion the western half of North America.

Too little attention has been given to the study of colonial explorers. In spite of its purposeful attempt to entrench Mackenzie into a Canadian mythology (which I see as a fault but Hayes would obviously endorse), this is an entertaining and valuable resource for those interested in the life and travels of Alexander Mackenzie.

[1] R.L. Carlson uses the term "first British Columbians" in broadly describing the indigenous population of British Columbia in the opening chapter of Hugh J.M. Johnston, ed., *The Pacific Province: A History of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1996).

Reviewer Brian Gobbett once spent a summer tree planting near Mackenzie, British Columbia, an "instant town" created in 1968 and named after the famous explorer.

On the Street Where You Live, Vol. III; Sailors, Solicitors and Stargazers of Early Victoria

Danda Humphreys. Surrey: Heritage House, 2001. 186 pp., Illus., maps. $34.95 hardcover.

REVIEWED BY GEORGE NEWELL.

This volume continues in the format of its preceding two volumes—in this instance bringing together forty-two articles written for newspaper publication. Two or more photographs accompany each article, and there are ten maps of the Greater Victoria area (four applicable to Volume I, three each for volumes II and III) indicating the locations of the streets that form the basis for each chapter. There are some comments on source materials, a bibliography, and an index.

As in the previous volumes, the subtitle is but a teaser. The cast is more extensive. In her introduction, the author elaborates: "The people who populate these pages include sailors and saloon-keepers, lawyers, bankers and businessmen, architects and astronomers, doctors, politicians, postmasters, even a poet or two." One chapter, "Fan Tan Alley; If These Old Walls Could Only Talk" is about the Chinese community. The book, in the publisher's words, "introduces us to more of the colourful characters who were drawn to the city during the second half of the nineteenth century."

Again the publishers and the author have produced a handsome and valuable book. There is a feeling for the history of the city, especially the social and business aspects. Between the lines a community is developing, and the subjects of the articles are the people responsible in large part for the form that that development takes. Once more the photographs are an integral part.

Reviewer George Newell lives in Victoria.

The Judge's Wife: Memoirs of a British Columbia Pioneer

Eunice M.L. Harrison. Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2001. 295 pp. Illus. $19.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY DONNA JEAN MCKINNON

The Judge's Wife is a book of the writings of an observant, interested, and interesting woman of privilege, Eunice Harrison, who came to the interior of BC in 1860 with her family.

Except for some early girlhood adventures in the Cariboo, most of the stories in this book tell of the years following her marriage to Victoria lawyer Eli Harrison. After marrying, Eunice Harrison assumed her station in society and took responsibility for her family and its social standing in Victoria while Eli travelled extensively in Lillooet, the Cariboo, and later Nanaimo where he was county court judge.

Her stories not only include the kind one expects from a woman of her time and her position, but also include others that reveal her curiosity and spirit of adventure. In one episode, she tells of her decision to join her husband in the Cariboo.

"Several years of close attention to domestic life without a real change made me on second thought welcome adventure even of the most robust sort", (p. 109).

Other stories are rich in the detail of social life in Victoria from balls to at-homes, weddings, and regattas on the Gorge; others give readers a fascinating insight into the layout of houses, and the heating, bathtubs, laundry, and other housekeeping routines of the time. However, Harrison's interests never lingers solely on the domestic sphere as her commentaries on social and political trends of the day reveal. She writes of architectural developments in Victoria, including the new parliament buildings and courthouse, the building of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, and early water rights in the BC interior (from her husband's memoirs). Other stories tell of the acquaintances she made with people of Native, Chinese, Japanese, and Sikh heritage.

Even though she lived for another 46 years, Harrison's memoirs end in 1906 with a tale of escape from San Francisco during the great earthquake. Some details of her later life are provided in the book's introduction by the equally engaging writing of Dr. Jean Barman, who had earlier included some of Harrison's excerpts in her book, *The West Beyond the West*. Barman's introduction places Harrison and her experiences in context not only with respect to the period in which she lived, but also respecting the period following the Second World War in which she compiled her writings, and it gives shape to the personal stories that follow.

Reviewer Donna Jean McKinnon is Past President of the Vancouver Historical Society.

Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture, & Power on Canada's West Coast

Bruce Braun. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002. 347 pp. Illus. US$ 68.95 hardcover.

REVIEWED BY CARA PRYOR.

The Intemperate Rainforest examines representations of British Columbia's famous Clayoquot Sound. Environmentalists from all over the world flocked there in 1993 in order to lay themselves in front of logging equipment and bring attention to a part of the world that for them represented one of the last remnants of pristine wilderness. They left powerful David and Goliath images with those who had watched them on TV and seen their pictures in magazines and newspapers. However, Bruce Braun argues that these were not objective reflections of the truth of Vancouver Island's west coast. Rather, he argues that "precisely because nature is something that must be represented (it cannot simply speak for itself), the act of representation becomes that much more important, for it necessarily constructs that which it speaks for." These representations of the rainforest established and supported unequal power relationships among governments, forest industrialists, environmentalists, and First Nations peoples.

Braun is a political geographer, and in the book he draws on post-colonial theory and the rich literature on the politics of nature in his deconstruction of artifacts such as maps, paintings, and brochures that portray Clayoquot Sound. *The Intemperate Rainforest* is divided into six sections. In the first chapter he explains that Braun is most concerned with revealing British Columbia's colonial present, that is, the ways in which the colonial practices of marginalization and displacement of First Nations concerns have continued to operate. In so doing, he attempts to provide opportunities for a fairer and more effective environmentalism.

The second chapter argues that First Nations people had been conceptually marginalized in the early process of colonization. He uses as an example the writings of George Dawson of the Geological Survey of Canada which separated Aboriginal peoples from their forest contexts. This enabled forestry giant MacMillan Bloedel to establish itself as the proper steward of the rainforest. This position was reinforced through the scientific rhetoric they employed in their displays and exhibits.

But Braun does not stop with the usual suspects of government and industry. He argues that those who are usually considered the allies of First Nations people in their fight for recognition of land claims also participate in their marginalization. By including aboriginal peoples in a way that relegates them to a pre-modern past and ignores modern activities, present concerns of aboriginal peoples can be ignored. In the third chapter, Braun finds examples of this in a coffee table book, *On the Wild Side*, produced by the Western Canada Wilderness Committee; chapter four gives the example of the adventure tours that have become so popular on Canada's west coast and elsewhere. Braun goes even further in his search for the unusual and in chapter five treads rather effectively on some sacred British Columbian ground in his critical analysis of the work of Emily Carr. Chapter six examines the problems associated with creating clear distinctions between untouched ancient rainforest and modified landscapes.

Residents of BC are rather proud of their "Beautiful British Columbia," and therefore nature in the province is very political territory. But Braun resists the idea that cooler heads will be able to find a more "accurate" representation of Clayoquot Sound. Instead, he identifies the politics of nature and exposes hidden assumptions. He also highlights representations that offer a different politics of nature: the paintings of First Nations artist, Yuxweluptun; the First Nations operated Ahousaht Wild Side Heritage trail; the Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound. As a result, *The Intemperate Rainforest* is an important contribution to a better environmentalism. Because this book offers so much, it is disappointing that very few people besides scholars will be able to slog through the rather dense prose.

There are other problems. Braun uses Donna Haraway's concept of the modest witness, the invisible and apparently objective recorder, to criticize George Dawson, Emily Carr, and the producers of *On the Wild Side*. However, Braun himself is conspicuously absent from *The Intemperate Rainforest*. We never get a clear understanding of what (besides academic work) shapes his politics and perceptions. I was also sometimes concerned by Braun's treatment of aboriginal peoples. The concerns of the Nuu-chah-nulth are sometimes automatically given more legitimacy than those of non-aboriginal peoples. I was most concerned by one particular instance. Braun uses the example of a white protester who claimed to speak for nature. He very carefully explains the inherent dangers in this practice. A few pages later, he writes, "...Native people do not lose their claim to speak for nature as soon as they begin to modify their environments...." The contradiction here is troubling.

These problems aside, *The Intemperate Rainforest* is a rich and worthwhile read. I heartily recommend it.

Reviewer Cara Pryor is a PhD student in the Department of History, UBC.

Book Guy: A Librarian in the Peace

Howard Overend. Victoria: TouchWood Editions, 2001. Illus. 284 pp $18.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY ARNOLD RANNERIS

This is a delightful adventure narrative by a librarian who loved his profession, the people he worked with and served, and the landscape in which he worked. Howard Overend was the librarian in charge of the Peace River Branch of the BC Public Library Commission for 13 years (1958–1972). Then it was a land rich in natural resources and genuine people, but scarce at the time in cultural resources such as books to enliven the days and long nights of the northern winters. The author has drawn from his files, records, and I suspect a diary, the accounts and details of what it meant to be a pioneer in his chosen way. He also drew from his love of the vast outdoors of the BC Peace Bloc to put the narrative in this context. Photographs are sprinkled throughout the book and give added interest. Humorous stories and details keep the narrative light and lively.

Chapter titles such as "The Great Peace Country," "Books by a Dam Site," "Packed They Them Their Caravan," "Back of the Northern Beyond," give only a hint of the story. However, the real delight for me (a librarian) is the way in which Overend intertwines people and places and books. I also enjoyed his rich prose descriptions:

September with its cool overnight frosts and warm afternoon sunshine brings a change to the Peace River scene. Combines have shorn the fields of undulating gold and left only a stiff, flaxen stubble to warm the cooling earth. Roadside grasses, tall and fresh and green in midsummer, are now the colour of honey and poplars rattle their yellow leaves and shed them in swirls to the ground.

Another chapter entitled "The Shooting of JFZ" is particularly memorable. It is the account of the "shooting" of an NFB documentary "Journey from Zero", by the author and three other men tracing the long trip of the bookvan from Mile Zero (Dawson Creek) north 900 miles along the Alaska Highway in the autumn of 1960. From the text:

At the Peace River Branch there is an air of expectancy. Cartons of books that have been packed during the brief summer have grown to a veritable mountain…and ready to load on the blue-green library van. For it is time once more to go up the Alaska Highway, a high point in the year…

This is a delightful book—well written, personal, personable, and inspiring. It is the story of a man who made a difference to many people by the sense of purpose and adventure he brought to his vocation. It is warmly recommended to all public libraries and to people who love the northern part of BC, and to readers who enjoy a good narrative adventure story and books themselves.

Four pages of notes at the end of the book give appropriate added references. Photographs add vividness to the text. My only suggestion is for a map to give a sense of relatedness of places.

Reviewer Arnold Ranneris is a librarian and president of the Victoria Historical Society.

The People's Boat: HMCS Oriole*: Ship of a Thousand Dreams*

Shirley Hewett. Surrey: Heritage House, 2002. 174 pp, Illus. $26.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY PHILIP TEECE.

The stunningly elegant sail-training ship *Oriole* has been a feature of the maritime scene around Victoria (and in my own life) since I was a child. Thus, like the many thousands of others who have admired the gracious old ketch on our coast during the past half-century, I'm delighted to see her history in print.

Shirley Hewett has worked hard to recover all the details of the ship's story, and to good effect.

A veritable archive of documentation and no fewer than 130 historic photographs, carry us through the ship's eventful life from her launching in 1921 to her triumphant victory in the Victoria-to-Maui Race in 2000. Characteristic of *Oriole* herself and of Shirley Hewett's reporting is prominent mention of *Oriole's* capture of the "Byrd Award for the Crew having too much Fun."

She was built as a private yacht for Toronto distilling magnate George Horace Gooderham. Her long association with the British Columbia coast began after Gooderham's death; in 1954 her new owners, the Royal Canadian Navy sailed her from Halifax via Panama to Esquimalt Harbour. In the same year the Navy at Esquimalt initiated its junior officer program HMCS *Venture*; *Oriole* assumed her role as the seagoing venue for *Venture's* trainees.

As Shirley Hewett shows us, *Oriole's* training ventures have been varied and imaginative. Typical of the Navy's creative uses of the ship have been her crowd-thrilling participation in BC's annual Swiftsure Race, her goodwill visits to California, Hawaii, and Alaska, and her re-enactment of Captain Cook's 1778 voyage to Nootka Sound.

A major delight in the new book is Hewett's focus on the people—the hundreds of individuals—who have been connected with this ship during her long career on our coast. Shipboard snapshots include a youth who would later become a federal fisheries minister, a Canadian prime minister, and (perhaps) your own brother or sister.

The book also provides an intimately detailed look at the old ship herself, her design, construction, the rigging and handling of her huge sail area, and the structural problems that an ageing vessel must inevitably face. From an archival source in the eastern United States Hewett has found (and here reproduced) the original 80-year-old plans for the *Oriole*. My one very small quibble about this fascinating book is a regret that the selected plan sheets do not include the naval architect's drawings of *Oriole's* actual lines.

Reading *The People's Boat*, however, is a nostalgic adventure. I know that thousands of British Columbia coast watchers will find it highly satisfying.

Reviewer Philip Teece, a retired Victoria librarian, is the author of A Shimmer on the Horizon, *about his own coastal sailing adventures.*

TAPHO FILES

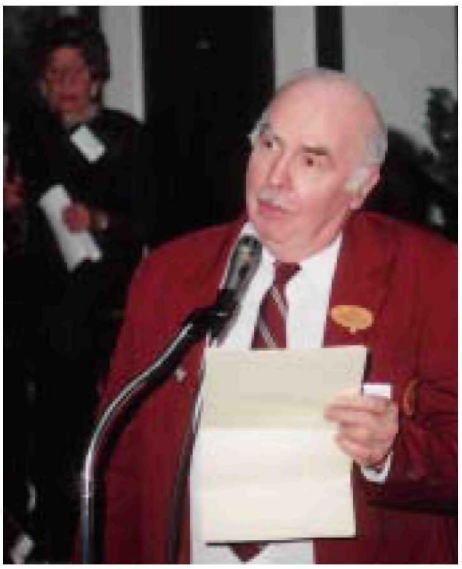
Tapho Files is a quartertly full of articles about cemeteries of all sizes, ages, and importance as well as segments on symbolism, epitaphs, monuments, stories of people and their burial sites. Contact A Sense of History Research Sevices Inc., 1405–69 Jamieson New Westminster, BC V3L 5R3. <Information@Senseofhistory.com>.

ARROW LAKES HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Bugles on Broadway, the last book of Arrow Lakes Historical Societies Centennial Series, can be ordered from the Arrow Lakes Historical Society office in Nakusp, Box 819, Nakusp BC, V0G 1R0. Phone and fax is 250. 265.0110 or home phone 250.265.3323. Price is $45 plus $10 for shipping. It is also available in Kaslo at the *Moyie* and Fern's Flowers, at Olivers Book Store in Nelson, Grizzly Books and Serendipity Shop in Revelstoke, and Meritxell Book Store in Nakusp.

Reports

Edward (Ted) L. Affleck



Courtesy Caroline Affleck

Eulogy presented by Bruce M. Watson on 24 March 2003 at a memorial service in St. Faith's Anglican Church, Vancouver, attended by a large audience with as many differing interests as were personified in Ted Affleck.

THANK you for coming to celebrate Ted Affleck's life. All of us have different memories of Ted and what he meant to all of us.

For me, two memories of the quintessential Ted Affleck come to mind. Both took place in 1992 when we were on a historical research trip along the Columbia, Snake, and Kootenay rivers. We had stopped for the night at the Massacre Rocks campsite in the desert part of Idaho.

Fairly early in the evening, Ted was banished from the tent because of his outrageous snoring, the offending loudness of which he strongly denied.

He settled himself on his mattress at a neighbouring site out of earshot under the open skies. In the morning he enthusiastically described a memorable night of a wonderful scene, after the snakes and lizards had retreated under their rocks, of a crystal clear sky, billions of twinkling stars, and shooting comets. After taking all this in, he said, he had a deep sleep, the best sleep he had had in a long time. He talked about this for days after. That was Ted. He always had a rich sense of everything around him.

The second lasting memory stems from an event that took place on the same trip several days later. For my own research, I had made contact with a few museums and historical organizations along the way. At the destination, with pen in hand ready for the interview, I introduced the other guy—Ted Affleck. I hadn't anticipated Ted's reputation preceding us for, as soon as I mentioned his name, the interview was lost. All wanted to talk to him: the other guy. I couldn't get a word in edgewise. This same scene happened distressingly more than once. Ted was a respected historian. His research was impeccable and his facts were dead on. He was a man of meticulous detail and had a justifiably good reputation.

These two unusual memories, for whatever reason, represent the quintessential Ted and yet there was so much more to him.

So, just who was Ted Affleck? He was a complex man, a man of many talents.

Our Ted emerged as Edward Lloyd Affleck on 5 April 1924 in Nelson in the middle of the roaring twenties and coincidently in the declining years of steamboating in that area. As the country was racing toward and into the Great Depression of the 1930s, Ted was experiencing first-hand the thrill of riding all the Canadian Pacific Railway sternwheelers still in service in the Kootenay and Arrow lakes.

When the rest of the country was economically crippled, Ted was accompanying his father, a civil engineer and land surveyor, on field trips into the rugged backwoods of the area. He was acquiring a sense of land and water and the historical soul of the place.

After attending school in Nelson, he went on to graduate from UBC in Vancouver with honours in chemistry. Nothing short of honours would have suited Ted. He graduated just in time in 1945 to spend a brief period with the Pacific Infantry Battalion.

At the end of the war he entered teacher training at UBC and between 1946 and 1950 taught high school in Alberni, Kelowna, and Mission. For the next two years he studied librarianship in Seattle and worked as a science librarian in Eugene at the University of Oregon. It was here that he was able to connect with the rivers of that area.

Back in Vancouver, Ted entered the accounting profession and, being Ted, did nothing in short measures. While working for the Institute of Chartered Accountants and then as an assistant professor at UBC, he chronicled the history of chartered accountants in British Columbia, not once but twice. As an accountant, he was generous with his time. During his retirement years, he filled out tax forms for free for a host of friends, many of whom are probably sitting here now.

It was in the 1960s that Ted followed his interest in acting in amateur theatre, something he had begun at University. It was at this time he met and married Jean Galbraith, a talented actress, and also my cousin. They had 26½ years of happily married life together before Jean's untimely death in 1989. On 1 November 1965, daughter Carolyn was born and, four years later, in 1969, to complete the domestic picture, an energetic bouncing baby, David, was brought into the family.

Ted recorded some of Jean's excellent quilt making in a book that he published in 1987. Jean's book and many others were published through Ted's own Alexander Nicolls Press, a name derived from Ted's maternal grandparent. The press was the launching pad for Ted's lifelong interest in steamboats and paddlewheelers originally emanating from his beloved Kootenay District of British Columbia. Over time, the net was cast wider and eventually covered an area from Oregon to the Yukon. He was known as "Steamboat Ted" to some in the Kootenay area. I won't go through the numerous publications, but he garnered two awards, one from the British Columbia Historical Federation and another from the British Columbia Underwater Archaeological Society for his writing.

There was also the musical Ted. One day in the 1970s, he bought a viola and taught himself how to play it. The initial sound to young daughter Carolyn's ear was that of a "sick cow" but practice makes perfect and the eventually accomplished player played with the Brock House Music Makers, spending much time entertaining seniors.

Not only did he play the viola, he steeped himself in opera, something upon which he had become hooked from the age of ten from the movies of Jeanette Macdonald and Nelson Eddy. One did not disturb Ted Affleck when he was listening to "Saturday Afternoon at the Opera" on the CBC. Part of it

was that he was listening to see if he won yet another prize on the "Opera Quiz." At the mention of an aria, Ted would spontaneously sing it. No prompting required. And, of course, if Ted was interested in something, he wrote about it, two publications alone for the Greater Vancouver Operatic Society. He spent decades putting together information on the forgotten Golden Oldies of opera from the 1600s. The essence of it was recently published as "Forsaken Phantoms of The Opera" in the prestigious *Opera Quarterly*, something of which Ted was fiercely proud. A much larger version is still waiting to be published. As Ted took his opera very seriously I used to purposefully, and some might say evilly, intentionally elicit a look of utter disdain from him when I would, for example, refer to Madame Butterfly as Madame Butterball. I always felt a certain tone of irreverence was a healthy necessity in the presence of Ted.

Ted also sang in numerous choral groups such as the Brock House Seniors Choir. He also sang with the choir in this very church. In addition, with his sense of drama and theatrical flair, he sang in operettas. Many of you would have seen him bounding around the stage in period costume in many productions ranging from the *Pirates of Penzance* to *Die Fledermaus*, to mention a few. He was most proud, however, of having joined the Japan tour of *Aida* as a member of the chorus in 1986.

He was truly a man of many talents.

I first met Ted in the 1960s around the time he married Jean but it wasn't until the 1980s that I became reacquainted with him at an extended family gathering in New Westminster. At that gathering someone suggested putting together a family tree, maybe something we could have ready for my father's 90th birthday in 1989. Ted launched into it with great enthusiasm and became instrumental in helping to put together three monumental family trees. For two years we searched many archives and interviewed relatives. When I would be stonewalled by some tight-lipped elder, Ted would say, "Bruce, you've got to ask the right questions." And so I learned interview techniques, the Ted Affleck style. Largely through his efforts, these family trees were ready in time for the 1989 gathering. Luckily Ted had tempered my exuberance and sheer glee at unearthing family skeletons with a much more reasoned guarded writing, for which I thank him.

Our mutual passion for history resulted in an instant friendship and we would spend hours on the phone fitting historical minutiae into the larger picture. From our research trips during the summers, I also have fond memories of us sitting on hillsides visually reconstructing fur trade routes, forts, river boat slips, and even battles. He became my historical mentor.

When I think of Ted, however, I still think of him, lying in his sleeping bag staring at the stars at Massacre Rocks revelling in the world around him.

We will miss his character, his sense of fun and irony, his meticulous insistence on accuracy, his love of music and many, many more things. Ted Affleck's legacy will certainly live on in all of us.

—Bruce M. Watson

A. J. Spilsbury

John Spittle

Above: *In 1988 Jim Spilsbury received a Certificate of Merit for Historical Writing for his book* Spilsbury's Coast *at the joint conference of the Historical Society of Alberta and the British Columbia Historical Federation at Banff.*

COASTAL pioneer Ashton James (Jim) Spilsbury died Sunday, 20 April, at the age of 97. Spilsbury earned his spurs as a BC legend in several different arenas, spending his early childhood in Whonnock, then following his parents to Savary Island, where the family squatted on the beach for 10 years.

Although Jim only completed elementary school, he became an expert in the emerging field of radio and established a radio sales and repair business serving coastal communities during the 1920s and 1930s. Later he partnered with Jim Hepburn and began building radio telephones under the name Spilsbury and Hepburn. This later changed to Spilsbury and Tindall and became one of the best known manufacturers of radio telephone equipment in Canada.

During the Second World War Spilsbury acquired a Waco Standard floatplane to service his radio route and "accidentally" founded Queen Charlotte Airlines. By 1952 QCA was surpassed only by Air Canada and Canadian Pacific in terms of scheduled air miles flown. In 1955 Spilsbury sold it to PWA but continued at the helm of his radio firm, renamed Spilsbury Communications, until well into his seventies.

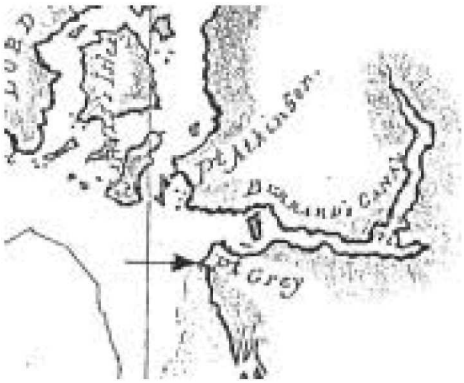
Spilsbury had been painting evocative landscapes of the coast since his twenties and in his retirement became a member of the Canadian Federation of Artists and had several successful exhibitions. In 1987 he began a fourth career as writer, recounting his coastal experiences in *Spilsbury's Coast,* his flying experiences in *The Accidental Airline,* and his pleasure boating experiences in *Spilsbury's Album,* illustrated with his own photography. He received many awards from both the communications and transportation industry as well as the Order of British Columbia and the Queen's Jubilee Medal.

—Howard White

Noon Breakfast Point: What's in a Name

"...we again visited the Shoals, whose edge we traced to a Bluff which for distinctions sake we shall call Noon Breakfast Point; therefore we have now determined their Extent. From the Low Point of yesterday they take an irregular NW Direction for 15 Miles. The edge is much indented, forming Spits, that however extend but a very trifling Distance into the Channel." (Entry in Puget's rough journal for 13 June 1792)

MANY British Columbia place names honour men or events of some historic consequence; others note an obvious scenic splendour, while some remain enigmatic and are either ignored or forgotten. Noon Breakfast Point, in latitude 49° 15.9' North, longitude 123' 15.8' West, and recognized by many boaters as the southwest tip of Point Grey, is one of the latter. The name has more to do with back-breaking toil than the morning diversion of feeding the inner man, though we know that food held a great interest to the sailor who thought it up.



That man was Lieut. Peter Puget, who with his boat's crew had their breakfast meal at Noon on 12 June 1792 (corrected dating), on what is now Point Grey. They had arrived in the *Discovery*'s launch, together with Capt. George Vancouver who was in the ship's yawl, or pinnace, after a six hour row across the Strait of Georgia from one of the Gulf islands, where they had taken a few hours rest in the early morning hours. In his journal, Puget recorded that the "Fourth Boat Expedition–Pinnace and Launch" had left their anchorage in Birch Bay at four o'clock in the morning of 12 June (Vancouver's dating, actually 11 June) on an examination of the coast northward. Their course took them into Semiamoo Bay, where Puget described the point of the bay at the entrance to Drayton Harbor as being *"fine low level land and produces large Quantities of tolerable flavoured Strawberries & an abundance of Wild Onions"*, to which he gave the delightful name of "Strawberry Level." His commander, who took it upon himself to assign names to geographic locations along the coast, did not share Puget's enthusiasm and the name is not mentioned in his journal nor on the charts. We know it today as Tongue Point.

The little flotilla crossed Boundary Bay and enjoyed lunch at the tip of Point Roberts before attempting to move the survey forward northward along the coast. Here the shallows at Roberts and Sturgeon Banks prevented a landing and the boats' crews spent until nearly nine o'clock at night, trying to find a channel through the delta to affect a landing, though Puget did note that "two places held much the Appearance of large Rivers". The tide and current forced the boats almost into the middle of the Gulf where the decision was taken to head for the western shore to seek an anchorage. It was not until one o'clock at night that they were able to come to a grapnel on a tiny beach that provided only space enough to build a fire to prepare the next day's provisions. The men all huddled in the open boats until their departure three hours later.

The trip from Birch Bay to their Point Grey breakfast spot had taken 32 hours, with the men on the oars taking but one short break for lunch at Point Roberts, before falling into an exhausted sleep for three hours on the hard thwarts of the boats and then continuing across the Gulf. Puget's journal records that they, "...visited the Shoals whose edge we traced to a Bluff which for Distinctions Sake we shall call Noon Breakfast Point...." As was the earlier case with "Strawberry Level," Vancouver did not agree and chose to name the spot after his friend, Capt. George Grey of the Navy. In 1981 I prevailed upon the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names to officially designate the location of Noon Breakfast Point in recognition of the arduous day's work undertaken by the crews of Vancouver's boats, to serve as a memorial and a reminder to all who trace their passage under oars or sail. These men truly had hearts of oak and put the "British" in British Columbia.

John E. (Ted) Roberts

Robert Burnaby

Some of Robert Burnaby's letters were published in *BC Historical News* 31:2 and 32:2. Thanks mainly to the efforts of author and historian Pixie McGeachie the collection of surviving letters has now been published under the title *Land of Promise, Robert Burnaby's letters from Colonial British Columbia, 1858–1863.* Unfortunately the book is only available from the publisher, the City of Burnaby and Burnaby Village Museum. Write to City of Burnaby, 4949 Canada Way, Burnaby BC, V5G 1M2, Attention Jim Wolf, Planning Department.

Hart House

The first printing of *Life with the Moores of Hart House,* edited by Harry Pride and published by the Burnaby Community Heritage Commission, sold in less than two weeks—they had to print another run. The book records the environment and lifestyle in the Hart House neighbourhood in Burnaby around 1900. Interested? Write to Harry Pride, 3770 Fir Street, Burnaby BC, V5G 2A5 or phone him at 604.433.4797.

John Spittle

Above: *Vancouver Historical Society's 2003 Incorporation Day lunch, celebrating Vancouver's 117th birthday was a great success. Highlighting the event was the presentation by VHS President Joanne Savory (right), of this year's Certificate of Merit to Dr. Jean Barman (left) "...for her outstanding work in illuminating and preserving British Columbia's and Vancouver's social, educational, aboriginal, and women's history."*

Web Site Forays

by Christopher Garrish

Supernatural British Columbia

YEARS ago I was enrolled in a geography class at my local community college that was conducted by a professor who unabashedly believed in the presence of Sasquatch in British Columbia. While never having seen one himself, he was full of anecdotal evidence of their existence, such as an incident involving a CN Rail crew that struck an infant Sasquatch in the Kootenays. As the story went, the men retrieved the limp body from the side of the tracks, transported it to the next small town where it was confined, only to see the "mother" come a few hours later to free her injured "child" and retreat into the woods.

Where am I going with this story? Well, truth be told, I thought it would act as an effective segue into the topic "Supernatural British Columbia" that I have chosen for this edition of "Web Site Forays." While I have made past claims about being a stickler for content, given the nature of this topic, the historical utility of the sites profiled below should be used at the reader's own discretion.

One of the more noteworthy sites out there is UFO*BC <www.ufobc.ca> based out of Delta. The organization is actually registered as a non-profit society in BC, and serves the role of gathering information about UFO sightings in BC and the Yukon, investigating them as fully as possible, and then attempting to make the public aware of the phenomenon. There are a number of links on the main page to areas covering recent sightings, historical cases, news reports (did you know that Terrace is a hotspot for sightings?), and other related subjects. One of my favourite tales concerns a 1937 incident in Smithers involving two BC Provincial Police officers on the trail of a suspect. Upon coming to a cave the officers entered only to discover what they thought were the skeletons of four dead men. Upon closer inspection, however, the skeletons turned out to be alien.

The second site I would like to introduce you to is the BC Ghosts and Hauntings Research Society Web page <www.ghrs.org/bc>. The Society's site contains a number of interesting sections from a "Photo Gallery," to an "Investigations" site, but, the most interesting I found to be were the pages on "BC Hauntings." Close to my heart is the story of the horse carriage sounds heard around the old Guisachan Farmlands in Kelowna. The land was once the property of Lord and Lady Aberdeen—whose fruit plantings in the area proved pivotal in the early establishment of a fruit industry in the Okanagan. I wonder: Are the Aberdeens on that carriage? It is also possible to read about similar hauntings across the province. The society is promising to have dozens more of these stories posted in the near future as it builds its on-line archive.

Next on my list is the BC Scientific Cryptozoology Club <www. cryptosafari. com/bcscc>, that is committed to the exploration, research, and investigation of cryptozoological animals from all over the globe. While the Club's focus is not geographically confined to British Columbia, they do provide one of the better databases out there on such local phenomena as Ogopogo, Cadborosaurus, and the aforementioned Sasquatch. Particularly interesting for me was the story behind the discovery, in 1937, of a Cadborosaurus body inside the stomach of a recently harvested whale off the Queen Charlotte Islands. The story comes complete with pictures of the odd serpentine shaped creature with a "camel-shaped" head. How such an animal ever came to be named after a small bay on the outskirts of Victoria is beyond me.

Finally, to round things off, I have decided to cover a site for those of you who remain skeptical of the subject matter covered so far. The British Columbia Society for Skeptical Enquiry <seercom.com/bcs/>, also known as BC Skeptics, aims to bring rational, "open-minded" debate to issues concerning the paranormal. To be more precise, I believe their aim is to debunk all talk of UFOs, Crop Circles, and other related fields. Unfortunately, the site is a little crude in terms of navigability, and does not have much to present in the way of content other than some recent .pdf files of their newsletter; *The Rational Enquirer*. Nevertheless, BC Skeptics remains a home-grown outlet for those who refuse to believe in the more Supernatural aspects of British Columbia.

AWARDS 2002

W. KAYE LAMB ESSAY SCHOLARSHIP

Annually the Federation awards a $750 scholarship for an essay written by students at BC colleges and universities on a topic relating to British Columbia's history. MARKI SELLERS, a social activist and history student at Simon Fraser University, was the winner of this year's essay scholarship for her paper "Negotiations for Control and Unlikely Partnership: Fort Rupert, 1849-1851." The paper was recommended for the scholarship by Dr. Paige Raibmon of Simon Fraser University. Bob Griffin reported that "The committee felt that this was a very well written and argued paper. The issues regarding the miners at Fort Rupert and the conflict with the Nahwitti have been discussed in the literature prior, but [Marki Sellers's] approach of combining the conflicts into a connected issue was innovative and considered sufficient reason to justify the committee's selection." Marki Sellers's article appeared in the winter edition (36:1) of *British Columbia Historical News*.

BEST ARTICLE AWARD

Each year a certificate of merit and fifty dollars are awarded to an article published in *BC Historical News* that best enhances knowledge of BC history and provides reading enjoyment. This year the judges decided to grant this year's Best Article certificate to LIBERTY WALTON for her article "How Shall I Frame Myself?," published in the fall issue of 2002 (35:4). Judges commented this "is a delightful walk through time using the style changes of a dress to mark milestones along the way. This is a unique approach to presenting history. The article is well written and comes across as being developed by a writer who takes pleasure in putting her research on paper for readers to enjoy."

BC HISTORY WEB SITE PRIZE

The BC History Web Site Prize is awarded jointly by the Federation and David Mattison to recognize Web sites that contribute to the understanding and appreciation of British Columbia's past. This year's award goes to the *SAMSON V* MARITIME MUSEUM Web site. *Samson V* was a sternwheeler that worked on the Fraser River and is now a museum in New Westminster. The Web site shows information on the museum, the vessel's history, educational papers, and the restoration and maintenance process.

Token History

by Ronald Greene

The Kaiserhof Hotel

The Kaiserhof Hotel in Victoria operated under this name for just two years: from late 1912 to the end of 1914. That tokens issued by it have survived is due to the inventiveness of a group of schoolboys, who in the 1920s, after the hotel's ownership and name had changed, used the then obsolete tokens for a game and saved a number of tokens over the years.

The story of the Kaiserhof Hotel starts with Max Leiser, who had been persuaded by his brother Simon, of Simon Leiser & Company, to come to Victoria in 1887. On his arrival Max bought half the business of Urquhart & Pither, wholesale liquor merchants, which then became Pither & Leiser. The partnership prospered. In March 1912 William Purser Geoghegan, of Blackrock, Ireland, interested in investing in British Columbia, purchased the firm.[1] Mr. Geoghegan was the brew master for the Guinness Brewery, although by this time he was 69 years of age and retired.[2] The partners, Luke Pither and Max Leiser, each retained one share and remained directors for a time, although they retired from the day-to-day operation of the firm. After the partners sold out Luke Pither moved to Gordon Head where he lived quietly and maintained a model farm.[3] But Max Leiser was not interested in retiring and looked elsewhere for business opportunities. He invested heavily in Victoria real estate, and by June 1912 purchased the Klondike Hotel on the southwest corner of Blanshard and Johnson Streets. The Klondike Saloon had operated there since 1891, although it was operated as a "no-name" saloon by John Draut until 1899. It then had several operators until 1906 when Harry Rudge took over.

Leiser had the Klondike rebuilt by Thomas Hooper, a Victoria architect. It now became a four-storey brick hotel, faced in terra cotta, and was named the Max Leiser Building, of which Leiser retained the ownership until he died in 1935. On 11 September 1912, Frederick W. Kostenbader acquired the liquor licence of the Klondike Saloon.[4] It may have been at this time that the name of the hotel was changed into Kaiserhof. I have not been able to determine whether Kostenbader operated the hotel and bar for Max Leiser, or whether he leased the facility and ran it on his own account. Kostenbader had first appeared in the Victoria City Directory for 1912, listed as a steward at the Prince George Hotel, but in January 1912 he was already the president of the *Deutscher Verein*, or German Club, which would indicate that he had been in Victoria for some time.

In the years immediately before the First World War the city was very favourably disposed to Germany and, in general, to things Germanic. Large quantities of German capital were flowing into British Columbia, much of it through the hands of Count Constantin Alvo von Alvensleben, who was said to have connections to the Kaiser. The *Deutscher Verein* was very active and popular. So popular that, when the club celebrated the Kaiser's birthday in January 1912, those that accepted invitations and participated in festivities included the Lieutenant-Governor, the Premier, Mr. Justice Gregory, Commander Hose, Col. Wadmore, and Major W. Ridgeway Wilson—three senior local military people—, and three members of the legislature.[5]

The Kaiserhof operated its German Beer Garden, an open-air café beside the hotel, on Blanshard Street—the Carnegie Library was the only other occupant of the block. An advertisement in 1913 promoted "the ideal 35¢ lunch" which included a stein of beer. June 1914 saw a wholesale licence issued to Mr. Kostenbader for the Germania Importing Company.

However, with the start of war between Great Britain and Germany in August 1914 sympathies changed swiftly and significantly. The wave of anti-German sentiment caused the royal family to adopt the English name, Windsor, and by the end of 1914 the Kaiserhof Hotel had became the Blanshard Hotel.[6] Whether this was an astute political and business move or a patriotic gesture remains unknown. A number of German nationals had left for the still neutral United States after the outbreak of the war, but Mr. Kostenbader

[1] Max's newspaper obituary (*Victoria Daily Colonist*, 6 April 1935, p 1) gave a figure of $1,000,000, but the Registrar of Companies files (BC00733, 1910, microfilm B5124, British Columbia Archives) indicate a figure of $604,000 paid in cash, which was still a tidy sum in 1912. Several others became shareholders at the same time, acquiring various, but minor amounts of stock. Max Leiser resigned as a director 7 May 1915 and sold his remaining share. The date looks suspiciously as if the document was backdated—see the events of 8 May 1915 further down—but it was submitted to the registrar by 13 May 1915.

[2] Information courtesy of Jim Geoghegan, a family genealogist.

[3] His farm was later acquired by Arthur G. Lambrick, see "Token History," *BC Historical News* 34:4.

[4] City of Victoria Retail Liquor Licence Register, 1906 to 1917, Victoria City Archives.

[5] *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 27 January 1912.

[6] The date of the change of name is not given in the Licence Register, but the *Daily Colonist* reported the name Blanshard among the hotels whose licences were renewed at the meeting of 9 December 1914. *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 10 December 1914.

[7] According to Terry Reksten, *The Dunsmuir Saga*, his body was not found.

BC Archives HP62758

Left: *Frederick W. Kostenbader was already president of the* Deutsche Verein *(German Club) in Victoria around 1912.*

was still listed as the proprietor of the Blanshard Hotel in the 1915 *City Directory*, published in April 1915.

By May 1915 the local newspapers were daily running photographs of men killed or wounded in action, local men appearing on page one. Anti-German feeling ("Anti-Hun" feeling as it was called at the time) was running high. On the morning of Saturday, 8 May 1915, the readers of the *Victoria Daily Colonist* were greeted with the following headline in massive type: "Submarine Gets Over 1,400 Victims." Below it was a large photograph of the *Lusitania*. The entire front page was devoted to the sinking of the vessel. There were fifteen Victoria residents on board the *Lusitania*, including Lieutenant J. Dunsmuir, the popular son of the Hon. James Dunsmuir, former Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. Jimmy "Boy" Dunsmuir was one of those lost in the sinking.[7]

That evening, a crowd of initially 150 gathered outside the Blanshard Hotel. Soon the mob swelled to five hundred, followed by a curious crowd of two or three thousand. A riot started at the hotel but at first little damage was done. The cry, "to the German Club," was raised and the mob surged down to the former premises of the *Deutscher Verein,* which were quickly wrecked, a piano being pushed out the second-storey window. The mob then returned to the Blanshard Hotel, sacked it, and inflicted considerably more damage. The total damage was reported at $20,000 in the newspaper. Windows were smashed in other premises of local businesses with German names or associations as well: Messrs Simon Leiser & Co., Moses Lenz[8], and the business formerly managed by Carl Lowenberg, former German consul, all suffered damage. The police and soldiers stood by, watching as spectators, with the fire chief refusing to put fire hoses onto the mob. Eventually a call for troops brought an armed detachment into town just before midnight. Guards were placed at the damaged premises and in front of Pither & Leiser just in time to save that business from loss. The police, backed by the military, then proceeded to end the riot. Attempts to repeat the riot on Sunday were quickly stopped before more than a few windows were broken. The Wednesday papers reported some convictions for possessing goods stolen during the riot.

On 14 June 1916 the licence for the Blanshard Hotel was transferred to Thomas J. Williams[9] and the hotel was renamed the Cecil Hotel. Frederick Kostenbader appears to have left Victoria and British Columbia. I don't know where he went, but Alvo von Alvensleben had moved to Seattle, and Kostenbader may also have moved to the United States.

In 1920 Messrs. Grant and Wilson became the proprietors of the Cecil Hotel. Charles Wilson had a son named Billy and it is to him that we owe the survival of the Kaiserhof tokens. About 1926 Billy, who attended a small private boys school on Rockland Avenue called the Collegiate School, took bags full of the tokens to school and with his classmates devised a game they called "Flipping Kaiserhofs". Several of these "boys" still had a few of the Kaiserhof tokens forty years later when I tracked them down.

[8] Moses Lenz was born in Wisconsin, son of Jacob Lenz. Jacob and Moses Lenz and Gustav Leiser formed a partnership of Lenz & Leiser, dry goods merchants. After Jacob retired and Gustav died Moses continued the business, operating under his own name by 1912. Moses was the brother of Caroline, Mrs. Simon Leiser, and Sophia, Mrs. Max Leiser.

[9] *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 15 June 1916, reports: "Applications for transfers were granted as follows: Cecil, from Mr. A.J. McColl to Mr. T.J. Williams …." The Licence Register mentions the transfer from A.J. McCool, but not to him. This confounds matters as I have no other record of either an A.J. McColl or an A.J. McCool, and neither name appears in either the 1915 or 1917 City Directories.

THE TOKENS: There are four denominations, 5, 10, 25, and 50 cent. The tokens are unusual in that the denomination was formed by a cut-out. The only other British Columbia tokens that have this characteristic are those of the St. Francis Hotel, and S.S. *Yosemite*. Dies for one denomination of the Kaiserhof and the St. Francis Hotel tokens have come out of a Seattle maker's shop.

Around the Bend

by Edward L. Affleck

The Brief Career of the Okanagan Sternwheeler *Fairview*

In September of last year Ted Affleck sent me the text for three columns for the "Steamboat Round the Bend" series and he promised to do at least three more for the series "given sufficient health." The first two of these articles appeared in the winter and spring issues. This is unfortunately the last of the three and the end of this series. Unfortunately he could not add more to the series We have a number of other manuscripts of Ted Affleck on file that will be published in following issues, with kind permission of his daughter Carolyn..

Courtesy Edward L. Affleck and Helga Martens.

FROM the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Hudson's Bay Company brigade trail, a pack trail for horses and mules, served as the link between South and North Okanagan. From Osoyoos the trail climbed up into a high grassy watered trench west of the bluffs that line Vaseux, Skaha, and Okanagan Lakes. Today a pleasant country road takes one north through this trench from the ruins of the Fairview mining camp through Meyers Flat, White Lake, the Marron Valley, and Shingle Creek Valley into Prairies Valley and Garnet Valley west of Summerland on the way to Peachland. Mining activity in South Okanagan around 1890 prompted a demand for water transport down Okanagan Lake as a low-cost means of freighting superior to horseback. This caused Penticton at the foot of Okanagan Lake to become a transfer point for the mining camps to the south. A somewhat backbreaking wagon road was built south and west of Penticton to climb up to the trench where existing trails could be developed to handle wagon traffic.

In 1893 the Canadian Pacific Railway commissioned the stout sternwheeler *Aberdeen* to work on Okanagan Lake between its railhead at Okanagan Landing and Penticton. The ability of the *Aberdeen* to carry heavy loads with speed and ease was noted avidly by the miners and prospectors who were active in camps in South Okanagan and Similkameen. The smaller steam-powered vessels then on the Lake frequently had to resort to pushing a deck barge to carry any significant load, a practice which slowed a vessel down and rendered both vessel and barge somewhat vulnerable during rough weather. The fraternity in the booming mining camp of Fairview, four kilometres up the hill west of present-day Oliver, was particularly quick to express the view that if a shallow-draft sternwheeler with adequate carrying capacity could be worked from Okanagan Landing through to Okanagan Falls at the foot of Skaha Lake, the agonizing 41-kilometre hauling distance over the primitive road from Penticton to the Fairview Camp could be almost cut in half. A wagon road or better still, a railway, from Okanagan Falls south and west to Meyers Flat would be much easier to negotiate than the existing wagon road out of Penticton. The CPR, alas, showed no inclination either to risk their prize *Aberdeen* on the shallow, sinuous channel between Okanagan and Skaha Lake to reach Okanagan Falls or to build a railway south of Okanagan Falls at a time when large-scale mining activity in South Okanagan was still in the speculative stage.

W. J. Snodgrass, a charismatic Yankee with a determination to put Okanagan Falls on the map, had in 1893 badgered M.P. John Mara into securing some Federal Government financing for the clearing of snags in the Okanagan River channel between Penticton and Skaha Lake. Snodgrass then had the pint- sized steam launch *Jessie* shipped up from New Westminster and worked her between Penticton and Okanagan Falls, sometimes pushing a small scow to deal with overloads. Louis Holman built a small screw steam launch, *Miramichi,* and also attempted the channel. How much the success of Snodgrass with his vessel of

limited carrying capacity influenced others is open to question, but a local syndicate, more susceptible than the CPR to the blandishments of the mining promoters, agreed to risk some capital in the building of a small sternwheeler to work down to the nascent mining transportation centre of Okanagan Falls. Foremost among this syndicate was William B. Couson, engineer on the *Aberdeen,* a man Captain Joseph Weeks described as "...a genius at toggling up steamboat machinery. He could make an old engine run where ninety-nine men out of a hundred would fail."[1] The sternwheeler *Fairview* rose on the ways at Okanagan Landing over the spring of 1894 and was ready for service by the first week of August. She made her debut with a moonlight cruise on Okanagan Lake with Captain Thomas Riley, another investor, in command. Riley had sold his interest in the *Penticton,* a small screw-propelled vessel which he had worked previously on the Lake, picking up scraps of business not taken up by the *Aberdeen.* With the *Fairview,* Riley sought to perpetuate this rival freight and passenger service. On 11 August 1894, Riley set out in the *Fairview,* bound for Okanagan Falls. The trip down the channel below Penticton was not a success. Yes, the channel was fairly clear of snags, but alas, the real threat to navigation turned out to be the overhanging branches of trees lining the sinuous banks of the channel. The steamer had limited room to negotiate, and one branch succeeded in impaling the pilothouse of the *Fairview.* Pilothouse askew, the *Fairview* limped back to Okanagan Landing. Please Mr. Mara, another appropriation, this time to clear overhanging branches from the banks of the channel.

Over the 1894-1895 winter, William Couson, assisted by versatile shipwright William McKissock, tinkered with the *Fairview,* lengthening her 55-foot hull to make her a more steady steamer in rough weather. Throughout the 1895 year, the *Fairview* was fairly active in jobbing on Okanagan Lake, awaiting Federal Government money to clear the Okanagan channel before venturing again down to Okanagan Falls. The CPR, not relishing any competition, fenced off access from its Okanagan Landing railway station to the rival wharf used by the *Fairview.* After a so-so summer, the *Fairview* was laid up in the fall and not brought out again until the following June. On 1 July 1896, flags and pennants flying, the *Fairview* worked an excursion to Kelowna sponsored by the Vernon Lacrosse Club. It was 1:00 A.M. on 2 July before a still rowdy crowd of excursionists disembarked back at Okanagan Landing. Messrs. Couson and Riley had barely reached their respective houses at the Landing before flames were spotted shooting out from the upper works of the *Fairview.* Thanks probably to a careless smoker, the tinder-dry vessel burned to the waterline in minutes, her hull and machinery a total loss. Couson pocketed his losses and moved to the Hawaiian Islands, while Riley became a mate on the *Aberdeen.* Later in the year the eagerly awaited Federal Government appropriation for clearing the Okanagan River banks was forthcoming. The short unhappy career of the *Fairview* should have warned off further speculation in building sternwheelers to work all the way from Okanagan Landing to Okanagan Falls, but over the next fifteen years two more sternwheelers, the *Greenwood City* and the *Kaleden,* were to be built for this purpose with equally unhappy results.

1. Weeks, Joseph B. "Steamboating on Okanagan Lake" in Sixth Report (1935) of the Okanagan Historical Society.

WINNERS OF THE 2002 COMPETITION FOR WRITERS OF BC HISTORY

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR'S MEDAL

Francis Mansbridge

Launching History: The Saga of Burrard Dry Dock

Harbour Publishing Co. Ltd.

2ND PRIZE

A. Terry Turner and Susan Hulland

Impressions of the Past: The Early History of the Communities of Crawford Bay, Gray Creek, Kootenay Bay, Pilot Bay and Riondel, on the East Shore of Kootenay Lake, BC

The Riondel & Area Historical Society.

3RD PRIZE

E.G. Perrault

Tong: Tong Louie, Vancouver's Quiet Titan.

Harbour Publishing Co. Ltd.

HONOURABLE MENTION

Kathryn Bridge

Phyllis Munday Mountaineer

XYZ Publishing.

Ian M. Thom

E. J. Hughes

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Archives and Archivists

Editor Frances Gundry

Maps and BC History

Rare Books and Special Collections (RBSC) is one of two map collections in the UBC Library, the other being the Map Library, which recently moved its reference and BC collections to the Walter C. Koerner Library. RBSC has one of the largest collections of pre-1900 maps in Western Canada, and is the home of three major collections of historical maps, including one of the largest collections of Japanese maps of the Edo period (1600-1867) outside Japan. The other two collections are the Howay-Reid and the Rogers-Tucker. In addition, RBSC has a large collection of cartographic archives, that is, maps accompanying private papers and university archives.

Howay-Reid Collection

The map collection began in 1931 when the Valedictory Class of Arts donated a large collection of books, manuscripts, newspapers, photographs and maps relating to Pacific Northwest history. It was greatly enlarged by the bequests of Judge Frederic William Howay in 1944, and his friend Dr. Robie Lewis Reid in 1945. Both men were interested in the voyages of exploration, and had copies of the published journals of Cook, Vancouver, Mackenzie and others.

Howay had a fine copy of Jose Espinosa y Tello's *Relacion del viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana en el ano de 1792* and its accompanying *Atlas para el viage...* (Madrid, 1802). Reid had Duflot de Mofras' *Exploration du territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies et de la Mer Vermeille* (Paris, 1844) with its accompanying atlas in his library.

The publication of Cook's *Voyage* brought the North West Coast to the attention of the world, and his charts were used extensively by later explorers and cartographers. Vancouver's voyage established Britain's claim to the North West Coast, and his charts, which combined the results of surveys by the Spaniards as well as his own, remained the most detailed maps of the coast for many years. Espinosa's *Atlas* was the first Spanish publication of charts of the North West Coast. Duflot de Mofras' *Atlas* includes one of the first maps to depict the geography of the area between the coast and the Rockies.

Judge Howay was a founding member of the Historic Sites Board of Canada, and the British Columbia Historical Association—now British Columbia Historical Federation—and was the first to write on many British Columbia historical topics. His collection is particularly rich in books, manuscripts, maps, and photographs relating to the history of pre-Confederation Canada and the Pacific Northwest, including the voyages of exploration and the fur trade. If a publication was not available for his library, he often acquired a copy. If there was no English translation, he had one made. In this way he acquired a sizeable collection including maps, in original or copy form, of Western Canada and the Pacific Northwest. Howay's friend, Reid, was a lawyer and historian, and a founding member of the British Columbia Historical Association, and was also instrumental in launching the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*.

There is a wide range of maps in Howay's collection, including Delisle's maps showing the mythical geography of de Fonte, British Admiralty charts, Spanish voyages of exploration, blueprints of the site of an Hudson's Bay fort, photocopies of the manuscript maps in the British Columbia Department of Legal Surveys, and promotional maps for new British Columbia "cities."

About the same time as the Howay and Reid bequests, Mrs. A. J. T. Taylor presented the Library with her husband's Arctic collection, much of which had been assembled with the help of his friend, the Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Taylor, a native of Victoria, was a prominent engineer in British Columbia involved in building the Lions' Gate Bridge, the British Properties, and the Capilano Estates. During the Second Word War he was an advisor to the British Ministry of Production in London and New York, and for ten years was responsible for the Guinness interests in British Columbia.

There is also a small collection of maps and plans in the cartographic archives from the Taylor Engineering Co. Ltd. and the Granby Company's Dolly Varden Mine and other mining claims.

Rogers-Tucker Collection

In 1961 funds were donated in memory of a former faculty member, Dr. Gilbert Norman Tucker (1898-1955), to set up a collection of historical maps, with emphasis on French Canada and the Pacific. Dr. Tucker, a native of Vancouver, was a professor of Canadian history at UBC from 1948 until his death. Basil Stuart-Stubbs, then head of Special Collections, with the advice of professors Coolie Verner and A. L. (Bert) Farley, was able to develop a representative collection of the work of many important cartographers prior to 1850, such as Ortelius, Mercator, Jansson, Jaillot, Robert de Vaugondy, Delisle, Bellin, Jefferys, Faden and the Arrowsmiths.

Dr. Farley, a professor of Geography, wrote his doctoral dissertation on the historical cartography of British Columbia, and published two atlases on the province. Basil Stuart-Stubbs was University Librarian from 1964 to 1981 when he became Director of the School of Librarianship. He collaborated with Dr. Verner, a professor of Adult Education whose avocation was the history of cartography, on *The Northpart of America*, a cartographical history of Canada that was published a few days before Verner's death[1] in 1979.

Coolie Verner added a number of interesting items to the Historical Map Collection over the years, culminating with the bequest of his library, map collection and papers in 1979. His map collection, consisting of some 400 maps, including originals and some photocopies, was used extensively in research for the Glenbow-Alberta Institute exhibition[2] on the open-

ing of the Canadian West. In addition, Dr. Verner provided for a trust fund to assist in the development of the collection.

Two significant collections have been donated to Special Collections in the past decade. The L. Stanley Deane Collection of about 300 maps, plus books and atlases, was received in 1994. The maps include works by such notable cartographers as Blaeu, Robert de Vaugondy, Jansson, and Hondius. Two atlases donated by Dr. Deane are composite world atlases by John Senex, published ca. 1708-1711, and Vincenzo Coronelli, published ca. 1650-1718. In 1998 Dr. Miguel P. and Julia G. Tecson donated their collection of maps and prints of the Philippines. The collection contained about 120 maps, including works by Bellin, Bonne, and Robert de Vaugondy.

Cartographic Archives

The Cartographic Archives includes maps from the University Archives, including plans of the campus, and architectural plans by Sharp and Thompson (later Thompson, Berwick, Pratt and Partners), the university architects. Many maps are from *fonds* (i.e. archival collections) in the Manuscript Collections in RBSC, which include several collections relating to the resource industries in British Columbia, such as timber cruises and mining claims, as well as engineering drawings for machinery in the salmon canneries.

A few notable BC maps

Trutch's *Map of British Columbia to the 56th. parallel, north latitude*, compiled in 1870, was updated in January 1871 and published in London in October, provides a picture of British Columbia at the time of confederation, including all the roads, trails, forts, and other settlements. Lt. J. I. Lang, R.E., surveyed the Greater Victoria area in 1887-1888 for the War Office which resulted in *Vancouver Island, British Columbia*, an Ordnance Survey style map in 6 sheets. There are many maps of the gold fields, from the Fraser River in 1858 to the Klondike in 1897-98. The settlement process was very important, as can be seen in the maps of the British Columbia Railway Belt showing lands along the Canadian Pacific Railway, and in the Pre-emptor's Map Series published by the Provincial Government, as well as in the maps produced by various auctioneers and land developers.

RBSC has the largest collection of fire insurance plans of British Columbia municipalities. These plans, which can be one sheet showing a town, mill or cannery to 15 multi-sheet volumes showing the city of Vancouver, provide wonderful detailed "pictures" of places in the past. But this is another story.

Finding Maps in RBSC

Historical maps in RBSC are catalogued, and may be found in the Library's online catalogue at <http://www.library.ubc.ca/home/catalogue / welcome.html>. Cartographic archives have *fonds* or collection level entries in the online catalogue, such as the British Columbia Electric Railway Company (BCER). These entries are for the collection as a whole, and refer users to the inventory of the collection to find the maps in that collection. If there is an online inventory of the maps in a collection, such as the BCER, there is a link from the entry to the inventory, which is available on the RBSC website <http://www.library.ubc.ca/spcoll/ cartog.html.> Rare Books and Special Collections is located in the Main Library of the University of British Columbia.

—Frances Woodward
Reference Librarian / Map Librarian
Rare Books and Special Collections.
University of British Columbia
Vancouver BC

[1] For an obituary, see Edward H. Dahl, "Professor Coolie Verner 1917-1979," *Cartographica*, v.17 (Spring 1980): 118-120; for a bibliography of his work, see Frances Woodward, "Coolie Verner's publications relating to the history of cartography and carto-bibliography," *Cartographica*, v.17 (Spring 1980): 120-122; for a review, see Edward H. Dahl and Conrad E. Heidenreich, "A critical analysis of *The Northpart of America*, a facsimile atlas of early Canadian maps," *Cartographica*, v.17 (Spring 1980): 1-23.

[2] Javorski, Mary. *The Canadian West Discovered: an exhibition of printed maps from the early 16th to early 20th centuries.* Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1983. 75 p., ill.

History Helps

An invitation to visit Gwen Szychter's Web site <ladnerslanding.com> and admire what an enthusiastic researcher, historian, and author does and has done for her community. Gwen's free e-mail newsletter "History Helps" is now in its third year and contains a wealth of interesting information on the history of Delta and beyond. Subscribe and let others know about the site and the newsletter.

Fire in Nelson

On Sunday 4 May at four o'clock in the afternoon, there was a fire at the Nelson Museum. The MV *Amabilis*, a reconstructed and partially refitted 40-foot Forest Service boat, and an entire wooden shed area at the back of the museum went up in flames. Nelson's fire department responded instantly and in large numbers and the cinder block museum, archives, and art gallery building was saved.

There was no water damage, but smoke affected the museum quarters. Within 48 hours, insurance representatives and experienced conservationists were on the scene. The museum collection was moved to a vacant building and has undergone a pressurized ionized air wash decontamination process. The museum building is under repair but may be open to visitors this summer. Plans are underway to retain the museum and art gallery's high profile in the community, so do include Nelson in your cultural itinerary this summer.

Nelson has been in search of a new combined building for the Museum, Archives, and Art Gallery for many years and has undergone two capricious and unsuccessful Recreation and Cultural Centre referendums in recent years. Just prior to the fire, city officials started to contemplate re-locating the museum to the city's fine Victorian city hall, with the city hall moving on to vacated or a down-sized provincial government building. It's definitely moving time in Nelson!

—Frances Welwood

Conference 2003, Prince George

Remarks by The Honourable Iona Campagnolo, pc, cm, obc, Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, at the Awards Banquet at the University of Northern British Columbia, Prince George.

President of BC Historical Federation, Mr. Wayne Desrochers, President of the University of Northern British Columbia, Dr. Charles Jago and Mary Jago, Vice President Dr. Deborah Poff and Dr. Alex Michaloff, distinguished historians, Members of the Historical Federation, Sponsoring Partners, P.G. Oral History Group, UNBC Administrators, faculty, students and staff, fellow Northerners:

I ACKNOWLEDGE with respect the customs and culture of the Carrier-Sekani First Nations and all their Peoples in whose traditional territories we meet this evening.

It is nearly a historical event for me to be able to join you at this conference and awards event, as I have not had the opportunity to visit my favourite university since assuming this post and I look forward to next year's celebration of the 10th anniversary of the University of Northern British Columbia. We will meet then with due ceremony and not a little historic nostalgia. It is always a certain delight for me to be "home" again in "our" North, in the company of so many former University of Northern British Columbia colleagues. Because he is such a magnificent administrator we may occasionally forget that Dr. Jago is also a historian of rank, with his 16th and 17th Spanish history expertise. Perhaps, it is done in the same manner that the Spanish exploratory history of our province is eclipsed if not forgotten in commemorating the British predominance in that field. The Victors, as they say, write history but your federation is proving that history is in balance.

I am very pleased to have this opportunity to speak with you on northern history, being written from a northern perspective, which I observed as both old and new Prince George, passed before me in the parade this morning. Having lived a good part of my life in close proximity, if not always directly in the north, I confess to some opinions on the matter, however as you are all aware, Lieutenant-Governors have no public opinions, so that perhaps explains your instructions that I speak for no more than three minutes and then am invited to reflect on personal history! (A topic on which I might speak for three days!)

When I think of the history of northern British Columbia, I try to envision the time immemorial that was lived here before the arrival of the first explorers. In addition, I recall the sort of history that was a staple of my younger life on the Skeena River and in Prince Rupert, when we could rely on hearing of the exploits and actions of the European-based community, while others were invisible and denied opportunity to participate. Later, working in radio in Prince Rupert in the 1960s, we could expect an occasional media story emanating from our region without our input, from an outside production crew flown in and out as quickly as possible, bringing all their clichéd views to bear on the story of the day. That such records now pass for "historic research" is a matter of concern for us who lived its reality and who were acutely aware of its distortion at the time. In those years the invariable formula of "reporting on the North" followed a familiar pattern: beginning with references to some hopeless economic situation, a few salmon and timber, followed by a nod to the local "town fathers" (there being few "town mothers" in those days), and then by vigorous, us versus them parochial "streeters", mainly from town characters, and a few sidebar salutes to the hard-living, hard-drinking, tough little "frontiersy" men, with a few of the "feisty" women of the region. These reports inevitably concluded with negative references to First Nations, and perhaps a beautiful sunset thrown in to demonstrate a lack of ill will. It was always a wonder to me that those doing such "reports" managed to complete them in record time, most of it social, with little reference to any "on the ground" expertise in a determined effort to not let anything interfere with their stereotypical preconceptions.

As your conference addresses Work and Society: Perspectives on Northern British Columbia History, I am delighted that as important decision makers, you are charged with weighing, measuring, and sifting history's values—accepting that each one of us see the value through the prism of our own perspectives.

Fred Braches

As I said, when I think of Northern history, I try to envision it in terms of "time immemorial," knowing that the length of habitation on this land is a constantly shifting target, starting now at 10 millennia and extending to some twenty-two thousand years. With the explorers, in 2005 Fort St. James will celebrate a 200th anniversary, followed by Fort George in 2007; theirs is the beginning of the recorded human record on this land as seen through European lenses. So while your recorded references are few, as Northerners you have a particular challenge to embrace the oral traditions, reaching back through the mists of time to link it with the subsequent literary voice.

In my opinion we are searching for a new and more inclusive story of the great "coming together of peoples" that is today's British Columbia. Research attests that the more diverse people are, the more creative and innovative they are: here in the most diverse province in the world's most diverse nation we are especially encouraged to find new ways to tell our story. We seek to extend the record, to preserve some of its truths and to include what would have been recovered with what would otherwise be lost by joining non-traditional records into the written record to preserve the reality of British Columbia and its unique human family.

In this, I believe we have been very well served by the presence of inspired leadership of the University of Northern British Columbia. It is appropriate that the historical federation should meet here in this institution that by its presence has so invigorated the writing of the northern history from a northern perspective and has led the way toward a far more inclusive interpretation of our past. For example, the famed Nisga'a agreement has given us a whole new perception on the reality of Aboriginal Rights and Title issues, which when I was a girl was a concept whispered about in so called "radical circles". In cooperation with all the Colleges and University Colleges of the North and particularly in partnership with Wilp Wil Hoesk Nisga'a, UNBC and its associates are blazing a new post secondary trail that I know will ultimately have many branches and profoundly affect the way that our history is recorded.

History is on every hand. I recently visited Powell River, there I was told: embedded in a log pond breakwater, lay the pathetic hull of the once proud Union Steamship *Cardena*. That rusted hulk conjured a flood of memories of our northern coast, in particular of the Canadian Pacific "Princesses" and Canadian National "Princes," now all vanished, and the many voyages I took as a child, aboard our own miniature "cruise ships" in terms of the luxury of white linen, sterling silver, fine food, and beautiful scenery that today summons the world but then was a contrast to our near-colonial lives at a salmon cannery in the summer. The Union vessels also doubled as logging, ore, cannery, freight, mail, and passenger boats, and were blacked out during the Second World War, with families singing war songs around the piano in the lounge and talk fearful of Japanese submarines marauding along the coast, through which we stealthily travelled. We were secure in the knowledge however; that we were in the protective embrace of our fisherman's "Gum Boot" navy, which Canada considered adequate to Pacific Defense at the time, as of course, the Atlantic was given priority.

John Spittle

Tonight the British Columbia Historical Federation makes its annual awards. The Lieutenant-Governor's medal goes to Francis Mansbridge, whose magnificently documented history of the Burrard Drydock is a masterpiece of hard research, fine photographs, and accessible writing. I remember very clearly the day that the Prince Rupert Drydock was towed out of the harbour, taking with it jobs and futures, but leaving behind a record of unparalleled ship building in support of the Second World War. The prize winners this evening bring us into closer contact with who we are as people and where we have come from, and even a glimpse of where we might be going. The West Coast has often been portrayed as an exotic contrasting element to "real" civilization: we, the counterculture, sometimes have been an ethnological treasure trove to be plundered. But it was people such as you gathered here tonight who have worked to rebalance the accounts of the history of this province of this region. I think of the great Margaret Ormsby who first broke the respectability barrier by giving an authoritative voice to authentic and inclusive British Columbians who had been previously ignored or marginalized as "eccentrics". Northerners including myself are often portrayed as eccentrics; I tend to think of myself as simply "Northern!" My sincere congratulations to tonight's winners, Terry Turner, Susan Hulland, and Francis Mansbridge! In terms of your Federation's work: BC remains supremely rich and beautiful and challenging!

As you convene this conference you must be awed by the magnificence of the sources that surround you. As a representative of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, the Queen of Canada, and on behalf of all your fellow citizens of this remarkable province, I thank you for preserving our whole heritage through all the history that surrounds us and for the ever-lengthening tapestry that you are weaving that is the tale of all our people.

Above: *The Honourable Iona Campagnolo, pc, cm, obc, Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, speaking to the attendants of the Awards Banquet at Prince George.*

Opposite page: *Listening to Susan Hulland's acceptance words for the 2nd prize.. Her Honour stands in the centre. On the right are the Honorary Aide-de-Camp, and Terry Turner. Helmi Braches is standing behind Susan Hulland.*

Fred Braches

Yvonne Klan

Fred Braches

Stephanie Desrochers

Fred Braches

Stephanie Desrochers

Conference Impressions

by Rosemarie Parent

PRINCE GEORGE, gateway to the north, was a wonderful site for this year's annual conference, jointly hosted by the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC), the Prince George Library, and the College of New Caledonia. There were also many volunteers not tied to these institutions who helped to make the whole weekend one to remember.

For all travelling from different parts of BC, especially to first-time visitors to Prince George and area, the weather co-operated to make the trip most enjoyable. Eighty delegates and some friends were there to take part in the tours and programs. Thursday, during the day, two workshops were provided with grants from the Canada's National History Society. Melva Dwyer, who arranged the workshops, reported that with 56 registrations, the classes had to be repeated. Linda Willis presented the workshop on the preservation of historic photographs that she also gave so successfully in Revelstoke last year, and Dr. Maija Bismanis spoke on "marketing your museum, gallery and historic site."

Thursday evening at the College of New Caledonia, as people registered for the convention, a delectable display of wonderful *hors d'oeuvres*, desserts, and punch made by Chef Graham and the students of the Culinary Arts Programme were eagerly sampled. Welcoming words were spoken by Dr. David Holm of the Conference Committee, who is a History Instructor of the College, Sonja Pighin of the Lheidli T'enneh Nation, acting Mayor Sherry Sethen, College President Dr. Terry Weninger, and lastly Ramona Rose of UNBC Archives, who headed the Conference Committee.

Friday morning, a bus tour was provided to Lheidli T'enneh cemetery and the church at Shelley outside the town centre. When the town of Prince George was started at the site of the traditional Native village the inhabitants were removed to Shelley, outside town, where the church now stands. Other delegates chose the walking tour after viewing slides of the heritage sites to be seen in Prince George.

In the afternoon, many participated in a bus trip of the East Line with stops to examine the sites of historic sawmill communities. Others visited the Prince George Railway & Forestry Museum that has many interesting and unique artifacts in the process of restoration. All the groups had excellent guides with endless knowledge.

Saturday morning the AGM was held at UNBC. Treasurer Ron Greene reported amongst other things that since we no longer would receive the yearly $4,000 grant from BC Heritage Trust, we have to find other means to cover the cost of producing *BC Historical News* if we want to avoid a general increase in the subscription fees. John Atkin will replace Fred Braches as editor starting with the September issue. John has many talents and we are fortunate that he is willing to take on the task. More volunteers will be involved with the production and distribution of the magazine.

Secretary Ron Hyde reported a continuing growth in membership. We have now more than fifty member societies representing around 4,000 members. Seven societies joined us recently.

Helmi Braches, who heads the Historical Book Writing Competition, told us that 39 books had been accepted for the competition and named this year's winners. The winners of the BC History Web site prize, the W. Kaye Lamb Essay scholarship, and the Best Article Award were also announced

Each member society read their reports and transcripts will be produced for all member societies. Nelson brought the sad news of arson in the wooden addition at the back of their museum. It is thought that if it had not been raining recently, the museum would have also been destroyed.

The election saw Dr. Jacqueline Gresko nominated as president and Dr. Patricia Roy as First Vice President. New members at large are Alice Marwood and Dr. Patrick Dunae, and Second Vice President Roy Pallant. Secretary Ron Hyde, Recording Secretary Gordon Miller, and Treasurer Ron Greene returned to their respective offices. Hard working Melva Dwyer, an active member of the executive for many years, is now our Honorary President.

After a lunch there was a selection of eight different sessions with speakers on several topics regarding history of the area. Talks were given by students or instructors of the UNBC and local archivists and were very interesting and well presented.

The banquet and book awards presentation was held in the Administration Building atrium, which provided a lovely setting for the evening. The Honourable Iona Campagnolo, Lieutenant-Governor of BC, was the honoured guest, piped in by a local piper to the head table. Her Honour, a gracious lady, gave an inspiring speech on Northern BC, her home in her early years. After the Lieutenant-Governor presented the awards to the winners of the book competition a sumptuous buffet meal was offered, prepared in the kitchens of UNBC.

To end the evening Dr. Morrison presented an entertaining and informative talk about the Bullion Pit Mine near Likely. The impressive scar left by mining is some 120 metres deep and it has very steep walls. The site is unknown to most visitors to the area. After the talk, Terry Simpson, representing Nanaimo, the host of the 2004 conference, accepted the traditional yardstick from Ramona Rose. Wayne Desrochers passed on the Federation's gavel to the new president, Jacqueline Gresko. This concluded another great conference.

Thanks go to all the workers on the organizing committee and the many volunteers who did such a fine job.

<<< Photos on opposite page

Top left: *Peter Trower and Yvonne Klan...there is poetry in their lives and work.*

Top right: *Overlooked in the pomp and circumstance of the Federation's awards banquet was another, less formal, ceremony—the repatriation of the Phoenix Hotel spittoon. The spittoon had somehow made its way to Duncan where it came to the attention of Cowichan's Myrtle Haslam. Myrtle felt that it rightly belonged in its original homeland and contacted Boundary's Alice Glanville, left, who was delighted to receive it on behalf of the Boundary Museum.*

Middle left: *Alice Glanville and Uncle Ben.*

Middle right: *Eighteen years of past presidents of the Federation. From left: Wayne Desrochers, Ron Welwood, Myrtle Haslam, Alice Glanville, John Spittle, and Leonard McCann.*

Bottom left: *Our new president Jacqueline Gresko, hardly willing to stand still for a minute.*

Bottom right: *Upper Fraser: a wonderful sky and the railroads that played such an important part in the development of this area.*

Federation News

The World of Sir James Douglas

To celebrate the bi-centenary of the birth of the first Governor of British Columbia, the Canadian Unity Council sponsored a bus tour of Fort St. James from Prince George on the Sunday following the conference. There was no charge for the day tour and admission to the Fort was free. Many of the delegates profited from this generous offer and thoroughly enjoyed the trip. A report about their discoveries is scheduled for the fall issue of *BC Historical News*. A warm thank you to the Canadian Unity Council and their director Gisèle Yasmeen.

New Members

The Federation welcomes new members Bella Coola Valley Museum Society, Hudson's Hope Historical Society, UNBC Northern BC Archives, and Fort Nelson Historical Society.

The New Excutive

Congratulations to Melva Dwyer for her well-deserved nomination as Honorary President of the Federation. A welcome to our new executive members: First Vice President Patricia Roy, Members at Large Alice Marwood and Patrick Dunae, and Editor John Atkin.

Correction

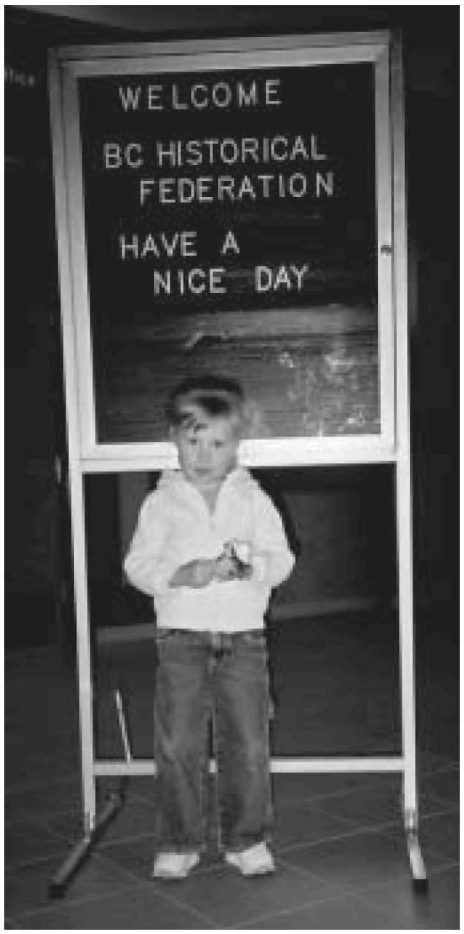
Apologies to readers and to Chuck Davis and Ronald Greene for inadvertently introducing two small but important errors to their articles in the previous issue (36:2).

The British Columbia gold coins described in Ron Greene's "Token History," (36:2) were unknown until 1883 and not 1983.

An incorrectly-placed "em-dash" in the first paragraph of Chuck Davis's "A Palace of Entertainment," (36:2) suggests that "The Jazz Singer" was shown in the Orpheum in 1927. The text should read: "The advent of film...in 1927—the same year the Orpheum opened—with Al Johnson's feature, "The Jazz Singer," pounded another nail...." The "Jazz Singer" was never shown in the Orpheum.

BC Historical News

Aside from John Atkin a number of volunteers will assist in all kinds of work needed to produce and distribute the journal. These volunteers include Anne Yandle (book reviews), Tony Farr (proofreading), Cathy Chapin (maps), Joel Vinge (subscriptions), Ron Hyde (Federation and members matters), and Ron Greene (treasurer) as well as Eileen Mak (distribution), and Diana Breti (copy editing).



Fred Braches

Above: *Now a veteran of six conferences, Emilie Desrochers helped welcome delegates and guests to the University of Northern British Columbia in Prince George.*

MANUSCRIPTS submitted for publication in *BC Historical News* should be sent to the editor John Atkin. Submissions should preferably not exceed 3,500 words. Submission by e-mail of the manuscript and illustrations is welcome. Otherwise please send a hard copy and if possible a digital copy of the manuscript by ordinary mail. All illustrations should have a caption and source information. It is understood that manuscripts published in *BC Historical News* will also appear in any electronic version of the journal.

W. Kaye Lamb Essay Scholarships

Deadline 15 May 2004

The British Columbia Historical Federation awards two scholarships annually for essays written by students at BC colleges or universities on a topic relating to British Columbia history. One scholarship ($500) is for an essay written by a student in a first- or second-year course; the other ($750) is for an essay written by a student in a third- or fourth-year course.

To apply for the scholarship, candidates must submit (1) a letter of application; (2) an essay of 1,500-3,000 words on a topic relating to the history of British Columbia; (3) a letter of recommendation from the professor for whom the essay was written.

Applications should be submitted before 15 May 2003 to: Robert Griffin, Chair BC Historical Federation Scholarship Committee, PO Box 5254, Station B, Victoria, BC V8R 6N4.

The winning essay submitted by a third- or fourth-year student will be published in *BC Historical News*. Other submissions may be published at the editor's discretion.

BC History Web Site Prize

The British Columbia Historical Federation and David Mattison are jointly sponsoring a yearly cash award of $250 to recognize Web sites that contribute to the understanding and appreciation of British Columbia's past. The award honours individual initiative in writing and presentation.

Nominations for the BC History Web Site Prize for 2003 must be made to the British Columbia Historical Federation, Web Site Prize Committee, prior to 31 December 2003. Web site creators and authors may nominate their own sites.

Prize rules and the on-line nomination form can be found on The British Columbia History Web site: <http://www.victoria.tc.ca/resources/bchistory-announcements.htlm>.

Best Article Award

A Certificate of Merit and fifty dollars will be awarded annually to the author of the article, published in *BC Historical News*, that best enhances knowledge of British Columbia's history and provides reading enjoyment. Judging will be based on subject development, writing skill, freshness of material, and appeal to a general readership interested in all aspects of BC history.

British Columbia Historical Federation

Organized 31 October 1922

Affiliated Groups

Archives Association of British Columbia
Women's History Network of British Columbia
Northern B.C. Archives - UNBC

Member Societies

Alberni District Historical Society
PO Box 284, Port Alberni, BC V9Y 7M7
Anderson Lake Historical Society
PO Box 40, D'Arcy BC V0N 1L0
Arrow Lakes Historical Society
PO Box 819, Nakusp BC V0G 1R0
Atlin Historical Society
PO Box 111, Atlin BC V0W 1A0
Bella Coola Valley Museum Society
PO Box 726, Bella Coola BC V0T 1C0
Boundary Historical Society
PO Box 1687, Grand Forks BC V0H 1H0
Bowen Island Historians
PO Box 97. Bowen Island, BC V0N 1G0
Bulkley Valley Historical & Museum Society
Box 2615, Smithers BC V0J 2N0
Burnaby Historical Society
6501 Deer Lake Avenue, Burnaby BC V5G 3T6
Chemainus Valley Historical Society
PO Box 172, Chemainus BC V0R 1K0
Cowichan Historical Society
PO Box 1014, Duncan BC V9L 3Y2
Delta Museum and Archive
4858 Delta Street, Delta BC V4K 2T8
District 69 Historical Society
PO Box 1452, Parksville BC V9P 2H4
East Kootenay Historical Association
PO Box 74, Cranbrook BC V1C 4H6
Finn Slough Heritage & Wetland Society
9480 Dyke Road, Richmond BC V7A 2L5
Fort Nelson Historical Society
PO Box 716, Fort Nelson BC V0C 1R0
Fraser Heritage Society
Box 84, Harrison Mills, BC V0M 1L0
Galiano Museum Society
20625 Porlier Pass Drive
Galiano Island BC V0N 1P0
Gray Creek Historical Society
Box 4, Gray Creek, BC V0B 1S0
Gulf Islands Branch BCHF
c/o A. Loveridge S22, C11, RR # 1
Galiano Island BC V0N 1P0
Hedley Heritage Society
PO Box 218, Hedley BC V0X 1K0
Hudson's Hope Historical Society
PO Box 98, Hudson's Hope BC V0C 1V0
Jewish Historical Society of BC
206-950 West 41st Avenue,
Vancouver BC V5Z 2N7
Kamloops Museum Association
207 Seymour Street, Kamloops BC V2C 2E7
Koksilah School Historical Society
5213 Trans Canada Highway,
Koksilah, BC V0R 2C0
Kootenay Lake Historical Society
PO Box 537, Kaslo BC V0G 1M0
Langley Centennial Museum
PO Box 800, Fort Langley BC V1M 2S2
Lantzville Historical Society
c/o Box 274, Lantzville BC V0R 2H0
Lions Bay Historical Society
Box 571, Lions Bay BC V0N 2E0
London Heritage Farm Society
6511 Dyke Road, Richmond BC V7E 3R3
Maple Ridge Historical Society
22520 116th Ave., Maple Ridge, BC V2X 0S4
Nanaimo & District Museum Society
100 Cameron Road, Nanaimo BC V9R 2X1
Nanaimo Historical Society
PO Box 933, Nanaimo BC V9R 5N2
Nelson Museum
402 Anderson Street, Nelson BC V1L 3Y3
North Shore Historical Society
c/o 1541 Merlynn Crescent,
North Vancouver BC V7J 2X9
North Shuswap Historical Society
Box 317, Celista BC V0E 1L0
Okanagan Historical Society
PO Box 313, Vernon BC V1T 6M3
Princeton & District Museum & Archives
Box 281, Princeton BC V0X 1W0
Qualicum Beach Historical Society
587 Beach Road,
Qualicum Beach BC V9K 1K7
Revelstoke & District Historical Association
Box 1908, Revelstoke BC V0E 2S0
Richmond Museum Society
Minoru Park Plaza, 7700 Minoru Gate,
Richmond BC V6Y 7M7
The Riondel & Area Historical Society
Box 201, Riondel BC V0B 2B0
Salt Spring Island Historical Society
129 McPhillips Avenue,
Salt Spring Island BC V8K 2T6
Silvery Slocan Historical Society
Box 301, New Denver BC V0G 1S0
Surrey Historical Society
Box 34003 17790 #10 Hwy. Surrey BC V3S 8C4
Terrace Regional Historical Society
PO Box 246, Terrace BC V8G 4A6
Texada Island Heritage Society
Box 129, Blubber Bay BC V0N 1E0
Trail Historical Society
PO Box 405, Trail BC V1R 4L7
Union Bay Historical Society
Box 448, Union Bay, BC V0R 3B0
Vancouver Historical Society
PO Box 3071, Vancouver BC V6B 3X6
Victoria Historical Society
PO Box 43035, Victoria North
Victoria BC V8X 3G2
Williams Lake Museum and Historical Society
113-4th Avenue North
Williams Lake BC V2G 2C8
Yellowhead Museum
Box 1778, RR# 1, Clearwater BC V0E 1N0

The British Columbia Historical Federation is an umbrella organization embracing regional societies.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES are entitled to become Member Societies of the BC Historical Federation. All members of these local historical societies shall by that very fact be members of the Federation.

AFFILIATED GROUPS are organizations with specialized interests or objects of a historical nature.

MEMBERSHIP FEES for both classes of membership are one dollar per member of a Member Society or Affiliated Group with a minimum membership fee of $25 and a maximum of $75.

QUESTIONS about membership should be directed to:
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BC Historical Federation,
#20 12880 Railway Ave.
Richmond BC V7E 6G2
Phone: 604.277.2627
E-mail: rbhyde@shaw.ca

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CANADIAN PUBLICATIONS MAIL PRODUCT SALES AGREEMENT No. 40025793
PUBLICATIONS MAIL REGISTRATION No. 09835

Canada We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada, through the Publications Assistance Program (PAP), toward our mailing costs.

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THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL FEDERATION INVITES SUBMISSIONS OF BOOKS FOR THE TWENTIETH ANNUAL COMPETITION FOR WRITERS OF BC HISTORY.

2003

Any book presenting any facet of BC history, published in 2003, is eligible. This may be a community history, biography, record of a project or an organization, or personal recollections giving a glimpse of the past. Names, dates and places, with relevant maps or pictures, turn a story into "history." Note that reprints or revisions of books are not eligible.

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

The Lieutenant-Governor's Medal for Historical Writing will be awarded to an individual writer whose book contributes significantly to the recorded history of British Columbia. Other awards will be made as recommended by the judges to valuable books prepared by groups or individuals.

Winners will receive a Certificate of Merit, a monetary award and an invitation to the BCHF annual conference to be held in Nanaimo in May 2004.

SUBMISSION REQUIREMENTS: All books must have been published in 2003 and should be submitted as soon as possible after publication. Two copies of each book should be submitted. Books entered become property of the BC Historical Federation. Please state name, address and telephone number of sender, the selling price of all editions of the book, and, if the reader has to shop by mail, the address from which it may be purchased, including applicable shipping and handling costs.

SEND TO: BC Historical Federation Writing Competition
PO Box 130, Whonnock BC V2W 1V9

DEADLINE: 31 December 2003