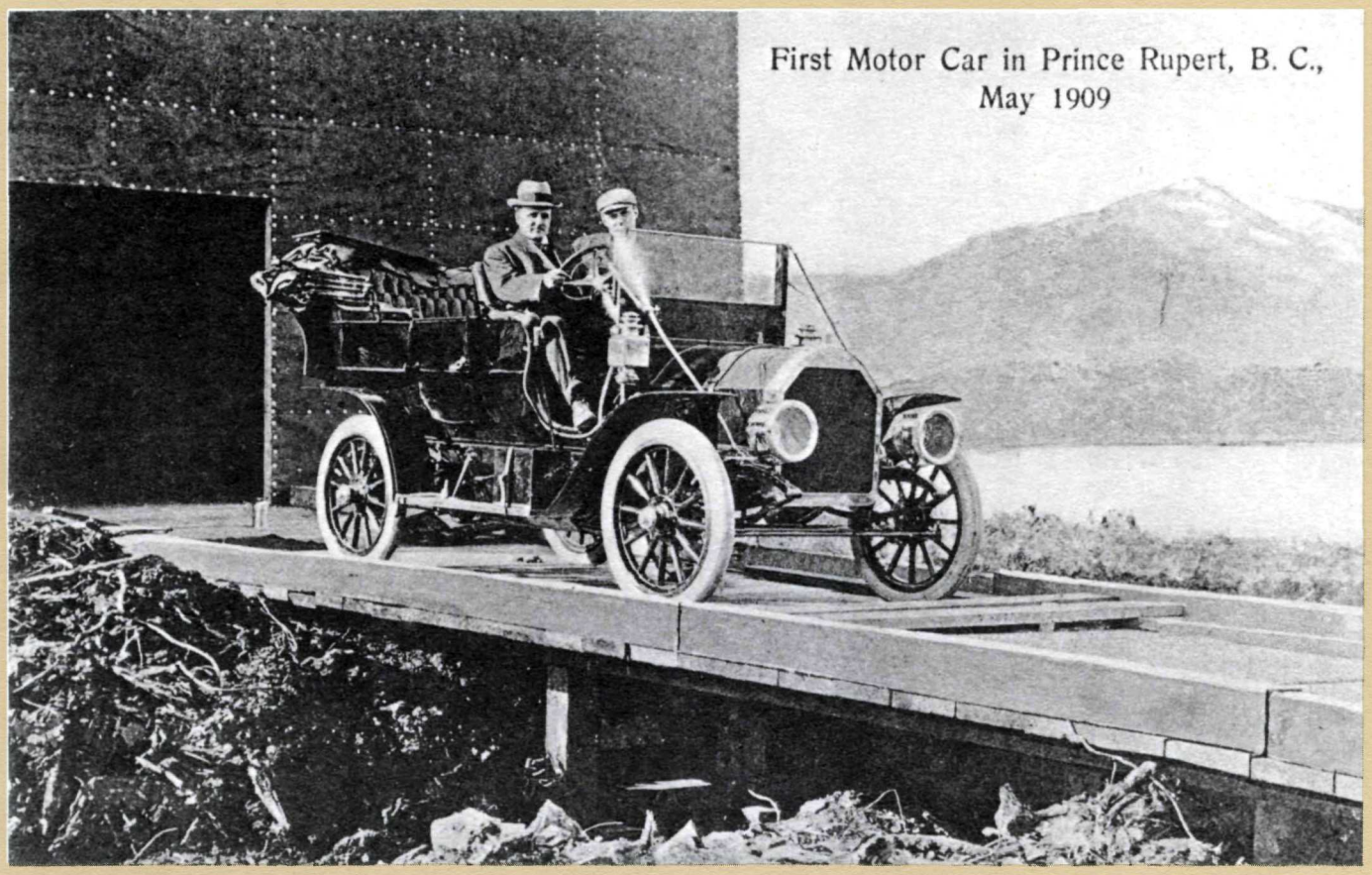
B.C. HISTORICAL NEWS



First Motor Car in Prince Rupert, B. C., May 1909

Vol 13 #1

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T.D. PATTULLO'S EARLY CAREER

Thomas Dufferin "Duff" Pattullo, British Columbia's premier from 1933 to 1941, is remembered, among other things for his promise of "work and wages", his belief in "socialized credit", his grand public works plans, and his fights with Ottawa over financial policies. Many of Premier Pattullo's financial ideas were not products of the Depression but of his personal experiences.

In his early years Duff Pattullo was an impetuous young man who tended toward impulse, always seeking an easy way out. He desired independence but lacked the ability to accept the responsibility that it demanded. Short of perseverance he drifted for years from endeavour to endeavour. His unwillingness to be tied down was perhaps the mark of greatness which sequestered him from ordinary men who early in life were bound to convention or to a job. But it was hard on his family, friends and business acquaintances, who wondered if Duff would ever accept his responsibilities and settle down. Such concerns often centered on his free-spending extravagance of other people's money; something he was never able to curb. Among these seeming character flaws was a strong ambition coupled with an apparent faith in his own destiny.

Thomas Dufferin, the second son of a prominent Ontario Liberal newspaper man George Robson Pattullo, was born January 19, 1873, in Woodstock, Ontario, just a few years before and a few miles away from his childhood acquaintance, William Lyon Mackenzie King. As a boy he did not distinguish himself as a scholar and there was some question as to whether he met all the requirements for high school graduation.[1]

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[1]When Pattullo sought authority as a barrister and solicitor in the Yukon Territory he sent away for high school transcripts. The institutions concerned certified that he had passed all the subjects of Junior Matriculation, with the exception of French. C.D. Macauley, a judge of the territory, accepted the proof of Pattullo's earlier schooling; as well as declarations that he had served as first Deputy Registrar in the Office of the Registrar of Oxford County, and as Chief Clerk and later Assistant Gold Commissioner, as sufficient evidence of educational attainment equivalent to the examination and service required by law. He was admitted as a Barrister and Solicitor of the Yukon Territory upon the completion of an examination for articled clerks. It should be noted that as first Deputy Registrar of Oxford County he served under George Robson Pattullo, the Registrar.

I.M. Levan, Principal, the Collegiate Institute to C.D. Macauley, 8 January 1902. Provincial Archives of British Columbia (hereafter PABC), T.D. Pattullo Papers. Unless otherwise noted, all other references are to this collection.

Early in life young Pattullo adopted a life style well beyond his means. He secured a position in a local bank but found the work quite unappealing. Unable to stay ahead of his creditors, without telling his family, he packed up and fled to the Grand Union Hotel in New York City. With only enough money to live on for a week he wrote his father that he would be able to secure a position by then and warned him not to come for him as nothing would induce him to return home. From New York he forwarded a resignation to the general manager of the bank at which he was still employed.

His venture towards independence was marred by his continued drawing on his father's accounts for funds. If his credit was good with his father that was where it stopped. In a day when men of his age and experience earned about twenty-five dollars a month, the young Pattullo left the country with debts of $691.00. He admitted to being "dishonestly extravagant."

His letters showed the tortured feelings of a young man unsure of himself and of his fortune. "I have long wondered whether I must continue in this life of...mediocrity", he wrote home, "whether I may not rise above which hitherto I have been, whether I may not tur aside from the rut in which I seem to have been travelling and whether I may not be capable of something beyond that which now seems to be my prospect." His ambition played on him. He developed money-making ideas which he never defined but "which if consummated I trust may yet in turn realize considerable." What particularly worried him was the thought that his flight might be construed as dishonourable. He asked his father to meet his debts "by the twenty-fifth of this month." His motive for leaving, he convinced himself, was to seek a new life which would afford him opportunity unavailable in Woodstock. Soon he felt the guilt of the strain he was putting on his father. "I have been but an ill son" he wrote, "and yet some day I trust, I say I shall be something father or fail in a hard struggle, and you then at least I trust shall not have cause to regret the birth of your second son."[2] By 1897 Duff was back in Woodstock doing newspaper work for his father's Sentinel Review as well as the Galt Reformer.

Whether George Pattullo Sr. found his boy too expensive to maintain at home or an embarrassment, is uncertain. But through Liberal connections he was able to secure a position for Duff on the staff of Major J.M. Walsh's Yukon expedition which the Department of the Interior despatched to provide government functions in the booming Klondike gold fields.[3] Pattullo was to receive seventy-five dollars a month plus expenses. Salary cheques were sent to Pattullo Sr. in Ontario who for the next few years paid his son's

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[2] T.D. Pattullo to George Robson Pattullo, undated, (ca.1895-96). PABC, George Robson Pattullo Papers.

[3] The father's Liberal connections were apparently substantial. Duff learned after that there had been 8900 applications for the handful of positions on Walsh's staff.

bills and kept his accounts. If Pattullo Sr. hoped that this would be the end of demands from his son, he was mistaken. Duff did not reach Winnipeg before he wrote home again:

> I find it will be necessary to buy a rubber suit, as we have to ford for half a mile. Also there are a lot of little things for me to buy such as soap and a hundred and one other things which I have not now. Again I have had to pay for my grub on the way out, and although this will be refunded to me have (sic) to lay out the cash at the present time. Also at Ottawa there were about a dozen fellows all putting up the champagne and that cost me $15 at a crack. It is pretty expensive just now but it will soon be over and you will not be bothered again. The gist of all this is that I am going to draw upon you at Winnipeg for $100 ad (sic) hope you may be able to look after it without too much inconvenience. Everybody else seems to have barrels of the long green and although this does not bother me, you have no idea of the little expenses which run up like blazes.[4]

Pattullo spent the winter of 1897 under pioneer conditions. The articles he sent to eastern newspapers described romantic but rugged activities in a true frontier community complete with dog-sleds, Indians, and cussing, drinking sourdoughs. Pattullo in later years remembered this as the happiest time of his life. Duff secretly admitted to his father that "a little of the yellow has a temptation for me"[5] but he resisted the temptation to search for gold even though Walsh was a difficult boss. "The Major has a fearful temper and damns me for everything that goes wrong," he complained in 1898,

> If men fail to carry out orders hundreds of miles away, I am to blame. If other men do not do their duty it is my fault because I did not instruct them...I nearly threw up my job.[6]

He soon left Walsh's service to join the Gold Commissioner's staff.

At the turn of the century, Pattullo left government service and eventually formed a partnership with W.G. Radford in a Dawson City real estate and brokerage business. The gold rush was soon over; the future seemed to be in British Columbia where there were plans afoot to build many new railways. One of the most promising sites from the point of view of real estate dealers and investors was Prince Rupert which the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway had chosen as the Pacific coast terminus of its transcontinental railway. Thus,

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[4] T.D. Pattullo to George Robson Pattullo, 27 September 1987 (sic)(1897), PABC, George Robson Pattullo Papers.

[5] T.D. Pattullo to G.R. Pattullo, 5 October 1897, PABC, George Robson Pattullo Papers.

[6] T.D. Pattullo to G.R. Pattullo, 4 March 1898, PABC, George Robson Pattullo Papers.

in 1908, Pattullo and Radford expanded by opening a branch office in Prince Rupert. Pattullo moved to the new office and Radford stayed in Dawson. They drew identical salaries from the business in spite of the fact that all paying transactions were done in the Yukon. As Pattullo channeled more and more company money into Prince Rupert, a rift developed between the partners.

European capital joined local money in a flurry of speculative buying of land along the real and proposed railway lines in British Columbia. Pattullo and Radford were ideally situated to take advantage of the boom. Not satisfied with commissions on sales of property or insurance, Pattullo began his own speculations in the Prince Rupert area. Along with his brother Pat, a close friend, J.N. Horne, and a reluctant Radford, he began buying up lots in the Prince Rupert townsite. Pat was a successful Vancouver lawyer; Horne, the wealthiest of the syndicate members, was an almost illiterate miner/rancher who had made money on the Yukon creeks and who owned acreage in the United States. Radford and the Dawson branch were also expected to supply investment funds but Radford found it increasingly difficult to do so. Dawson was no longer an economically viable community. The easy gold had been taken from the creeks, the prospectors had moved to Alaska, and the big dredges of the Yukon Consolidated had not yet taken over in a large way.

In managing the real estate syndicate, Pattullo developed financing methods he was to apply years later in negotiations with Ottawa for funds to cover depression relief costs. In order to meet his share of real estate obligations, he would borrow from a wealthier partner, usually Horne, and hope to meet the debt later out of capital gains. As Pattullo acquired more lots in Prince Rupert, expenses increased as the syndicate had to meet a mounting annual property tax bill. In addition, Duff got the syndicate into an unprofitable brick-making plan which seemingly always demanded new equipment. Pattullo ignored the objections of his partners and won a seat on City Council. Radford saw one advantage in that "we would know just what is going on; but whether we would make as much in the end as if you remained out of the race it is very hard for me to say."[7] Brother Pat thought there was more to be gained in working solely for their business interests than in fighting the electorate's battles. At times, Pattullo closed the office and operated the business out of the automobile he had bought for the syndicate even though Prince Rupert had few passable roads.

Pattullo himself did not live in any real style. He frequently lived with his wife and young daughter in run-down apartments over commercial buildings or in a cabin owned by Horne. An offer to manage a Loan Company Agency which F.W. Rounsfell hoped to open in Victoria tempted Pattullo, who was seeking a steady income, but the deal collapsed. In 1913, Pattullo did get a steady income; he was elected mayor of Prince Rupert.

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[7] W.G. Radford to T.D. Pattullo, 19 April 1910.

By 1913 the real estate and building boom in British Columbia was going sour and getting worse. Foreign capital withdrew and speculators were left holding unsaleable lots that were costly to keep up. Pattullo wrote his partners almost nightly seeking enough to meet taxes so the holdings could be maintained. Correspondence became desperate. Radford had no more money as business in Dawson got worse by the month. Horne had moved back to California and objected to Pattullo raiding his accounts as he had a sick wife and a number of dependents. Brother Pat closed his law practice in Vancouver, entered the service, and eventually went overseas. Pattullo cashed in the surrender value of his insurance policies.

The climax came in 1915. Pattullo owed Horne thirty thousand dollars; an incredible sum in 1915. He wrote his brother in October and remarked, "this is a fright Pat. I hope that I can make a landing before I drown."[8] Pat was dumbfounded that his brother was so over-extended, that Duff's entire share in their joint venture was paid for with borrowed money. Radford had nowhere near that amount invested and Pat assumed that Duff had limited his shares to his means. At first Duff was scared and wrote his brother that he was "reaching the end of the rope."[9] Property values were so low that there was no way the syndicate could get back their investment. They had to hang on, and Pat volunteered to protect Duff's share by some means, but suggested shutting the business.

The business was nothing by this time. Pattullo and Radford represented a few large insurance companies locally, and that was it. The lack of real estate transactions meant no commissions. Even the office building was falling down. Correspondence between the partners became formal and terse. They took to adressing each other as Mr. Radford and Mr. Pattullo. In 1915 the partnership was dissolved.

Radford asked that he be allowed to keep the Dawson end and Pattullo take the Rupert office. Duff insisted that he had a right to a share of the Dawson office as he felt it was more valuable than the branch. In truth, Radford's business was falling off so badly he could not maintain his own family. He had been unable to send Pattullo any money in 1914 or 1915 in spite of the latter's demands for his share of the "profits." Radford finally agreed to pay Pattullo twelve hundred dollars over a year to buy him out. He told Pattullo: "I consider that you have done fairly well out of the partnership - that is, if as far as actual results are concerned, getting much and contributing little can be considered doing well."[10] It was a bitter end to their association.

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[8] T.D. Pattullo to J.B. Pattullo, 15 October 1915.

[9] J.B. Pattullo to T.D. Pattullo, 21 February 1915.

[10] W.G. Radford to T.D. Pattullo, 24 June 1915.

Pattullo continued to maintain appearances but he was broke and in serious financial difficulty. His business was greatly impaired. His property was valueless as he could not sell it. He owed his brother Pat $4,986.63.[11] He owed Horne $38,098.75 without interest.[12] His yearly property tax bill was $1,098.48 and he owed an unspecified amount in back taxes.[13]

Pat advised Duff to leave Prince Rupert and look for some remunerative work in Vancouver or Victoria. The back room boys in Prince Rupert hoped he would stay and take charge of the newspaper. Pattullo was a respected pioneer citizen and it is unlikely he seriously contemplated a move. Many of his similarly indebted friends enlisted and went to the front. When confronted with that possibility Pattullo wrote; "this aspect of patriotism does not appeal to me and should only be resorted to as the final plunge."[14] He was forty-one years old when the war began and such an act would surely have been one of desperation. In addition, his wife was repeatedly ill and required attention and he had a young daughter in whose company he delighted.

Politics suggested a possible occupation and he wrote his brother pointing out the advantages: "the redeeming feature of this situation is that the money we are now putting up we shall get out all right -- with some profit if the Liberals win."[15] By 1915 Pattullo concluded that the McBride government could be beaten, that Liberal prospects looked good. McBride was fighting charges of gross extravagance and corruption. The pre-war years had broughtdepression to the province which Pattullo felt personally in Prince Rupert. Harlan C. Brewster, the new Liberal leader, demanded reform and promised sympathetic examination of such popular programmes as political equality for women and temperance legislation. When he wrote his party leader in 1915 Pattullo was uncharacteristically reserved:

> I believe that I will go as far as anyone in radical legislation on behalf of the people, but it is not always good politics to preach it... The thing that is going to put the Liberals in office, is the desire of the people to get the bunch of grafters, crooks, incompetents and criminally negligents out of office.[16]

Pattullo, of course, realized that if he won a constituency, "the north could fairly reasonably lay claim to a portfolio...the north if it can send a reasonably fit representative to the house would have to be recognized."[17]

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[11] J.B. Pattullo to T.D. Pattullo, 4 April 1916.

[12] T.D. Pattullo to J.K. MacRae, 26 August 1917.

[13] Income Tax Return of T.D. Pattullo for the year 1918.

[14] T.D. Pattullo to J.B. Pattullo, 24 February 1915.

[15] T.D. Pattullo to J.B. Pattullo, 2 November 1915.

[16] (T.D. Pattullo) to H.C. Brewster, 20 April 1915.

[17] T.D. Pattullo to J.B. Pattullo, 24 February 1915.

Pattullo's decision to enter politics was motivated by business failure. A legislative seat, and possibly a ministerial position, suggested an expedient solution to a severe financial position in that it provided a lucrative salary and commensurate recognition in an area that had always been a hobby. Later in life he was to style himself as an expert in the science of government.[18] However, his entry to that science was motivated by his first abject failure in his first profession - business. Provincial politics was a palatable opportunity to stave off complete financial ruin and to soothe -- and later over-fortify -- a shakey ego and perception of self.

While politicking through 1913 and 1916 he earned the nickname "cock of the north." He was a cautious campaigner who valued personal contact, who considered it important to make handshaking tours of the sprawling area he hoped to represent. Such tours were expensive and had to be repeated after McBride postponed the election. Pattullo depended on his brother Pat for financial support. "If you are unable to help me until after the elections," he wrote, "then the jig is up and I am wholly ruined."[19] He showed great concern about maintaining appearances with his friends in Prince Rupert who were unaware of the extent of his indebtedness. He asked his brother to protect his honour and his good name. Now there was the added incentive of keeping right with the party. Brother Pat advanced three hundred dollars a month for over a year to help with the campaign. Still, Duff asked for more. He admitted he would have been financially better off if he "had never monkeyed with politics" but disliked the prospect of stepping backwards.[20]

By March 1916 Pat had closed his practice and accepted a commission as a Captain in the 72nd Highlanders. Duff still desperately needed money. In March, 1916 he wrote:

> The ice seems to be getting thinner and if Horne will not come through it looks as though the jig is up.... I suppose that you will be going away very soon and it occurs to me that if my Yukon friend should turn up thereafter and I were not prepared to meet the situation, the cabinet that I would occupy would likely be of miniature dimensions.[21]

Pat advanced another $200.00 and in April signed over a note for $986.63 from brother George to cover a loan Pat made to him. The loan was due in November and since George was a successful writer in the United States both brothers assumed he would have no trouble meeting the payment when it came due.

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[18] Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, 29 August 1939.

[19] T.D. Pattullo to J.B. Pattullo, 15 January 1916.

[20] T.D. Pattullo to J.B. Pattullo, 24 January 1916.

[21] T.D. Pattullo to J.B. Pattullo, 10 March 1916.

The election finally came in September, 1916. Pattullo did very well and was easily elected over his opponent, the "Bowser-Conservative", William Manson. Pattullo went to Victoria and his constituents hailed him as "a Northman with a Northman's appreciation of and sympathy with, the problems of the North."[22] The new Liberal premier Harlan Brewster heard their representations and appointed Pattullo, Minister of Lands. In his new position, Pattullo commanded an annual salary of $6,000 plus a sessional indemnity of $1,600. In 1917, he claimed a total income of $7,978.[23]

Pattullo's early business experience, his economic acumen, and the traits exhibited in negotiations with his father, his brother, and his partners were to manifest themselves in his later negotiations with Ottawa. Never a saver, he wanted to put money to use. An ideal situation for him was as the broker for the syndicate in which he received other people's money when he wanted it and did with it as he saw fit. He was a great salesman and marketed ideas with a flourish. But when the money ran out, when the investors stopped listening, he was left only with bravado and charges of non-performance. It was a scenario that was to play itself out over and over again in his life.

His ideas and visions were wonderful in their prospects as long as the bills did not have to be paid. His father got stuck in that position: so did his business partners; Radford, his brother, and particularly Horne. But Horne was almost illiterate, R.B. Bennett and Mackenzie King were not. Ottawa ignored Pattullo's pleas and protestations for just a bit more or for another extension of credit. But Pattullo kept dreaming up schemes. If only he had some money!

Bruce Hutchison remarked that "probably also his fallen fortunes helped to humanize him...(made him) conscious of his own mortality, which he sometimes seemed to doubt in the old days."[24] If anything it showed what could be accomplished with nerve. It brought him to an understanding that anything was possible, all you had to do was find a backer. His political career was marked with repeated attempts to sell a particular idea to financiers. He was a man with a mission, who at any given time had innumerable freinds and associates but who left in his wake an accumulating number of corpses. At first glance he seemed an unlikely candidate to be running a province, especially in Depression. He was a man who had failed to handle his own finances. But as long as Ottawa refused him the money he wanted, his credentials were impeccable. He had over twenty years experience living on nothing but a smile, a handshake, a dream, his own resources, and gall.

Daniel J. Grant is currently completing an M.A. thesis on T.D. Pattullo at the University of Victoria.

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[22] (Omineca Liberal Association) to Harlan C. Brewster, 6 October 1916.

[23] Income Tax Return of T.D. Pattullo for the year 1918.

[24] Bruce Hutchison, "Portrait of a Premier: Pattullo's Human Side," Vancouver Province, 15 November 1933.

PRINCE RUPERT, B.C.: ADJUSTING TO PEACE AFTER WORLD WAR II

The Second World War suddenly transformed Prince Rupert from a small fishing port with a population of six thousand into a major shipbuilding and transportation centre of twenty thousand civilians and five to ten thousand service personnel. To cope with the return of peace, the city made successful reconstruction plans to improve and moderately expand the local fishing industry and to provide better housing, recreational facilities, and public utilities. More strenuous efforts towards post-war adjustment were channelled towards making the wartime boom permanent. Almost without exception, these efforts failed because Prince Rupert in 1945 remained bound by the same geographic and economic factors which shaped its past. The economy could not be materially changed by local initiative, despite the most liberal application of the "California booster spirit" advocated by the editor of the local paper.[1]

This fact was emphasized in 1947 with the establishment of a stable second industry, a pulp mill. Local geography influenced the choice of location but the mill was even more dependent on the state of the world market and the introduction of attractive legislation. Local historian R.G. Large correctly challenges the widely held belief that World War II "put Prince Rupert on the map."[2] It is likely to remain a popular myth, however, because that is what the "boosters" of the day hoped to do.

Prince Rupert has never given up trying to fulfill the extravagant promise of its origins. Selected in 1904 as the western terminus of the Grant Trunk Pacific Railway, Prince Rupert was planned as a "garden city" for fifty thousand people.[3] Laid out in broad streets, parks and curving avenues, zoned to ensure the orderly growth of the residential and industrial areas, the city was to be dominated by a grandiose terminal and hotel complex designed by Francis Rattenbury in the style of his Empress Hotel.[4] The prosperity of both the rail line and the city was to come from the rich Oriental trade and the development of rich agricultural lands along the right of way.

Modern studies indicate that both Oriental trade and agricultural potential were myths.[5] But, in the optimism of the early twentieth century, few doubted a joint statement by the federal Minister of Railways and the president of the CPR that Canada could easily support three transcontinental railways.[6]

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[1] Editorial, Prince Rupert Daily News, 22 September 1945.

[2] R.G. Large, Prince Rupert: A Gateway to Alaska (Vancouver, 1960), p. 64.

[3] A.W. Currie, The Grand Trunk Railway of Canada (Toronto, 1959), p. 406.

[4] Terry Reksten, Rattenbury (Victoria, 1978), p. 114.

[5] A.D. Crerar, "Prince Rupert, B.C.: The Study of a Port and its Hinterland," University of British Columbia, M.A. thesis, 1951; John W. Adams, "Prince Rupert, B.C.," Economic Geography, vol. XIV (1938).

[6] Currie, The Grand Trunk, p. 397.

The boom lasted long enough for the engineers to carve out the skeleton of their garden city among the rain swept rocks and muskeg. According to local tradition, the plans to guarantee the successful development of the port were lost when Charles Hays, the dynamic president of the Grand Trunk, perished on the Titanic. In fact, in 1912, the recession had already begun. By the time the rail line was completed in 1914, the outbreak of war in Europe effectively ended any likelihood of immediate development.

After the war, the integration of the now bankrupt Grand Trunk Pacific into the federally owned Canadian National Railway which made Vancouver its Pacific terminus was a further blow to Prince Rupert's vision of becoming a major world port. In the 1920s, the erection of a federal grain elevator, the extension of port facilities, and the construction of a number of provincial government buildings contributed to a returned optimism. More significant were new federal government regulations permitting the shipment of American fish in bond through Canadian ports. This placed Prince Rupert, with its fine harbour, established rail connection, and proximity to the fishing grounds, in an excellent position to become a major port for the north Pacific halibut fisheries. The city began to enjoy moderate prosperity. Unfortunately, enthusiasm outreached resources. Like many other western Canadian cities in the 1930's, Prince Rupert was unable to meet its bond issue, and in 1934 a provincially appointed commissioner replaced the elected city council. By the end of the decade, the economy was improving. The halibut industry was picking up, and the possibility of attracting a pulp mill to the area was under serious consideration.

Once more, Prince Rupert was overtaken by events beyond local control. Totally neglected during the First World War, in the Second, the city played a significant role in North American defence. The dry dock, underused for so long, built freighters and made repairs for the North Pacific fleet. Two thousand dock workers were employed where one hundred had worked before. Over five hundred houses were built for the war workers and their families. In addition, Prince Rupert became a major trans-shipment point for American forces in the Pacific. The city grew quickly. If the high incidence of street brawls, petty crime and juvenile delinquency which persisted in 1945 is any indication, war time Prince Rupert suffered a good deal of social dislocation. How would the city adjust to peace?

Problems of post-war reconstruction concerned all Canadians. Over half the respondents to polls taken in 1944 and 1945 believed that peace would bring a period of unemployment, although most thought it would be temporary. Memories of the severe economic and social dislocation after the First World War and of the Depression which had only ended with the outbreak of the Second, were still fresh.

The federal government was determined that the transition from war to peace should be orderly. As early as 1939, a Cabinet committee was established to consider the problems of returning veterans. In February 1941 the terms of reference were broadened to include all phases of reconstruction. In summary, the committee recommended that the policies of the federal and provincial governments and private enterprise should be designed to ensure full employment

and an adequate supply of goods within the framework of a free enterprise society.[7] The provincial government, in turn, created a Post War Rehabilitation Council in 1942. The reports submitted to this Council were largely specific provincial applications of the general recommendations of the federal reports. The detailed plan for highway construction submitted by the Department of Public Works is the best illustration. The department produced a comprehensive long-term plan for a highway network including virtually all the major routes which have been constructed since then, and even a few which are not yet built. Details were given of recommended standards, costs, and man hours of work involved.

In a brief submitted to the provincial Post-War Rehabilitation Council in 1943, Prince Rupert outlined its post-war concerns. The city placed high priority on the development of a northern trans-provincial highway, insisting that such a road was essential to the industrial development of the area. It urged upgrading the CNR, suggested constructing facilities for land-based aircraft, made a modest request for maintenance of dock facilities, proposed building wooden ships at the dry dock, and made a strong case for improving and expanding the fishing industry. A pulp mill was mentioned as the most appropriate new industry. The report pressed for an immediate survey of available timber and of the most suitable site for industrial development. The brief detailed over a million dollars' worth of urgently needed work on city streets, water lines and sewers, and made a general request for assistance with other public projects. The School Board submitted a separate brief requesting a new high school and a replacement for an old elementary school.[8]

In his study of Prince Rupert, A.D. Crerar asserts that after the war "people felt that Prince Rupert would return to the status of a small fishing port." There was little reason to suppose otherwise. The Americans and war workers could be expected to leave soon after peace was announced, taking with them an annual payroll of ten million dollars, a substantial portion of the eleven million dollars saved in the form of war bonds, and ten million dollars estimated to be in local bank accounts. What would remain were an estimated seventeen million dollars in fixed assets, mostly dock facilities and army buildings; just over five hundred wartime houses; and a road connection to Terrace, one hundred miles inland, and thence to the rest of the province.[9]

Despite these new fixed assets, the city's position was not greatly altered. Its finances, bolstered by the 1942 sale of the municipal electric company, were now on a sound basis; but the streets, sewers and water system, neglected during the depression, had deteriorated still further under the impact of wartime traffic.[10] All corporate and income taxes had been collected by the federal government for the duration of the war, so the city coffers had not benefitted directly from the influx of well paid war workers. Furthermore, all fixed assets left over from the war were under the control of the federal government, and could not be turned to peacetime use simply at the city's behest. The most substantial of these, the loading dock and rail spur connection at Port Edward, was in any case rather an embarrassment of riches

for a city with chronically underused dock facilities.

The headline "Peace, So What?", with which the Daily News followed the announcement of the Japanese surrender, accurately summed up the uncertainty of Prince Rupert's future. Interviews with local residents revealed opinions ranging from unbridled optimism to the pessimistic speculation that without government help, Prince Rupert would "settle back into lethargy". The Chairman of the Northern B.C. Power Corporation saw industrial expansion as a distant possibility, noting that rising world prices for pulp would favour the establishment of a pulp mill. In his capacity as chairman of the local rehabilitation committee, he recommended the slogan "Don't Sell Prince Rupert Short!" A more conservative view anticipated a slump after about six months. Pessimistically, the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce expected an immediate slump. Perhaps most significant was the simple statement of a "returned vet" that if no work was available locally, he would go to Vancouver.[11]

A casual survey of the local newspaper in the weeks immediately following the end of the war suggests that the possibility of unemployment was a major concern. In fact, this was not a pressing issue, and soon gave way to concern over economic expansion. It is not hard to see why. Before the war the population was predominantly middle aged or elderly.[12] As a result, there were few local returning veterans. As to the dock workers, the majority were not local men. Given the disagreeable climate, the relative isolation and the probability that many of the war workers had a backlog of savings, it was unlikely that many of them would remain if they became unemployed.

Rather than simply export the unemployed, Prince Rupert sought to expand the local economy permanently. Not unnaturally, major efforts were directed towards the old Grand Trunk Pacific dream of port development. Although this possibility had been treated with restraint in the City's 1943 brief to the provincial Rehabilitation Council, in 1945, port development was the central theme of a joint business-labour delegation to Ottawa. Prince Rupert's virtues as a harbour had been amply demonstrated during the war, the delegates pointed out to government and railway officials. All that was needed now was some pump priming to make world shipping interests aware of this. The federal government, they suggested, might extend subsidies to encourage freighters to make Prince Rupert a regular port of call in the United Kingdom trade. As a precedent, they cited the subsidies paid to help Vancouver compete with American ports. They also reminded the government of pre-war promises to subsidize a Prince Rupert - U.K. steamship service. The delegates pointed out that increased shipping for the port would increase traffic on the CNR and use of the federally owned grain elevator and dry dock.[13]

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[7] Canada, Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, Report (Ottawa, 1944), pp. 7-10.

[8] British Columbia, Supplementary Report of the Port-War Rehabilitiation Council (Victoria, 1944), pp. 84-88.

[9] News, 24 September 1945; 10 July 1945; 1 November 1945; 4 September 1945.

[10] Supplementary Report, p. 86.

[11] News, 17 August 1945.

The problem of the dry dock had been around as long as that of port development. One of the last installations completed by the Grand Trunk, it was never active for any length of time before the wartime emergency. Since ships are built in peace as well as in war, the suggestion that efforts be made to keep it in operation was not altogether unreasonable. Perhaps doubting their ability to promote an industry which had languished for forty years, the Ottawa delegation also proposed converting the dry dock to some other industry, such as the manufacture of railway cars. Federal officials quickly convinced them that this was impracticable.[14]

The delegation generally received polite interest, but little definite encouragement. The Minister of Reconstruction expressed interest in the continued operation of the dry dock, but pointed out that the government was not in the shipbuilding business, and that the matter would have to be taken up with the CNR. One CNR official, conversely, agreed to support efforts to have Prince Rupert exempted from federal shipping regulations stipulating that lighter winter loads be carried by freighters in northern latitudes because of possibly violent sea conditions. The brusque statement made by the first CNR representative the delegates encountered, that the company was in the business of running a railroad, not building ships, was probably a more accurate reflection of eastern attitudes towards Prince Rupert.[15]

The same rather cavalier tone also appeared in the response of the Canadian Wheat Board to the Chamber of Commerce insistence that grain ships be diverted to Prince Rupert. Completed in 1922, the grain elevator, like the dry dock, had stood virtually idle ever since. The local Chamber hoped to have it used regularly. The Wheat Board advised they expected to have no further use for the elevator in the current season since they had previously experienced difficulty in persuading ships to put in to Rupert, and, in any case, had enough customers loading at Vancouver. They concluded that they would be pleased to consider using Prince Rupert in the event of a surplus of grain in the following year. The northern elevator, in other words, was only needed in an emergency.[16]

The Wheat Board's basic reasons made sound economic sense and also explained why the immediate development of the port or continued operation of the dry dock was impractical. Prince Rupert was built to exploit the Oriental trade and the supposedly rich agricultural hinterland which would develop along the line of the Grand Trunk Pacific. In 1945, there was certainly no likelihood of trade with the war devastated countries of Asia, and a port on the north coast of British Columbia is not ideally situated

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[12] Adams, Economic Geography, p. 180.

[13] News, 19 August 1945.

[14] News, 7 October 1945.

[15] News, 2 October 1945.

[16] News, 29 December 1945.

to trade with Europe. Furthermore, northern British Columbia and Alberta remained relatively undeveloped. It was possible to route freight over the northern rail line instead of south to Vancouver, but it was economically unsound.

Both the city and the Department of Public Works stressed the economic benefits to the region in arguing for the permanent establishment of a northern trans-provincial highway. One wonders if the local citizens were not prompted more by a desire to mitigate their isolation. Once the exigencies of war had provided their city with a road link to the rest of the province, they were understandably loath to see it abandoned. The problem was urgent. Subject to avalanches, slides, and flooding, the low standard road would virtually disappear if it were neglected for a year or two. Efforts to improve the highway situation proved frustrating. Constructed as a military supply road, at the end of the war it remained under federal jurisdiction. At either end, the military section joined a provincial highway. To complicate matters, part of the road had been built on the CNR right of way.[17] It is not surprising that discussion on the subject tended to be circular. The CNR said they had no objection to the road remaining on their property, the federal government expressed a willingness to have the province take it over, but the provincial authorities seemed quite unable to make up their minds on the subject.

Balked in efforts to get any official action on the highway, Prince Rupert concentrated on informal efforts to ensure that the road link be maintained. The News regularly interviewed travellers who either extolled the road, or pointed out the urgent need for work. The Chamber of Commerce suggested a work-bee, and was instrumental in having a local branch of the British Columbia Automobile Association established. Although Public Works maintenance of the highway appeared as tacit acceptance of responsibility, the province did not actually take over the road until 1948. It also signed an agreement with the railway to permit continued use of their right of way.[18]

The effort to keep the highway open was only a part of the local "booster" campaign. Even before the 1945 establishment of an official Publicity Committee, some of Prince Rupert's citizens set out to convince the world, and perhaps themselves, that their city was a great place to live, work and do business. The "Farewell to Yanks" Daily News supplement of September 15, 1945 described Prince Rupert as a centre of great wealth, which could anticipate "an expanding future based on industrial wealth and a strategic global position." Prince Rupert, the article continued, is "the natural seaport of the north coast with a virtually untapped hinterland of mineral, forest and agricultural wealth." More practically, the Publicity Committee commissioned the publication of a pamphlet designed to attract prospective business, workers and tourists.[19]

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[17] British Columbia, Post-War Rehabilitation Programme: Construction and Reconstruction of Main Highways (Victoria, 1943), p. 22; News, 21 August 1945 and 10 October 1945.

[18] British Columbia, Department of Public Works, File no. 3588, Section 4; December 13, 1946 - July 22, 1949.

[19] News, 15 and 17 September 1945.

While attempts to transform Prince Rupert into a major world port held the local headlines, quieter efforts continued to insure that the city would be a better place to live, whether it expanded or not. The problem of the great need for water, road and sewer improvement, detailed in the 1943 brief, was raised constantly between the end of the war and 1947. Indeed, in January of that year, the City sought permission from Victoria to use part of the sinking fund for these purposes, arguing that the City was now in such good financial shape that this would be quite safe. It is not likely the members of city council expected the Department of Municipal Affiars to countenance such an unsound fiscal manoeuvre, but hoped to dramatize the need for permission to borrow the required funds. In 1947 the province approved a $24,000 loan for sewer repairs and eventually the federal government granted almost $140,000 towards street repairs.[20]

Prince Rupert also sought a share of funds available through the federal government's National Housing scheme which was designed to construct ten thousand homes throughout the country. At first glance it might seem the last thing Prince Rupert needed was more houses but in the early days of peace it was expected the wartime houses would be demolished. Since much of the pre-war housing was of a low standard, new homes available at moderate cost and favourable interest rates were likely to be attractive even if there were to be no immediate increase in the population.[21]

The main American army establishment on Acropolis Hill was demolished before the forces left but a number of substantial buildings remained elsewhere in the city. Plans were made to put some of these to public use, notably the Wartime YMCA building which was formally taken over as a public recreation centre on March 16, 1947. The wartime houses, meanwhile, were not demolished. Instead, the federal authorities were persuaded to make them availale for sale at a maximum cost of $2,000 each.[22]

Throughout 1945 and 1946 there was much talk of the need to attract new industry, especially a pulp mill. There was, however, almost no public reference to any kind of specific detail. The president of the local Power Corporation noted the availability of power but there is no reported discussion of even such a basic matter as the location of a mill. The first hint that the hoped for mill might become a reality came at a City Council meeting on February 4, 1947 when an alderman reported that the chairman of the Power Corporation had "made it clear" to the local Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Committee that unless assured of a long term power supply, "the interests he represented" would not consider constructing a pulp mill in the area. Council responded by agreeing to renew the private power company's franchise (due to expire at the end of the year) provided a pulp mill was

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[20] News, 23 April 1946; British Columbia, Department of Municipal Affairs, Annual Reports, 1947; Large, Prince Rupert, p. 68.

[21] Province, 13 July 1945; Crerar,"Prince Rupert," pp. 167, 158.

[22] News, 17 March 1947; Crerar, "Prince Rupert", p. 167.

built in Prince Rupert. Whether the Northern B.C. Power Corporation, a subsidiary of the Canadian Power Corporation, had any real authority to speak for the pulp mill interests is unclear. The city was not happy with the company and had earlier considered asking the B.C. Power Commission to take it over.[23] The chairman may simply have been using the pulp mill issue to ensure the extension of his company's franchise.

When the definite announcement of a $15 million pulp mill was made, that too came from the outside through E.T. Kenny, the Minister of Lands and Forests and MLA for the adjoining riding of Skeena who allowed Prince Rupert's CCF MLA to inform the local newspaper of the bare details before the official release of the minister's press statement. There is no indication of the information being privately communicated to city officials beforehand.

Kenny's formal announcement referred to months of negotiations with the Celanese Corporation and to "a large tract of forest land" that would be made available to the company. This simple statement concealed the complexity of the negotiations. The Forest Management License (later to be called a Tree Farm License) granted to the Celanese Corporation in 1948 gave them timber rights to over six million acres. Of this, about a third was productive timber land, which the company might use, subject to restrictions regarding management and reforestation, in perpetuity. However, the amendments to the Forestry Act which permitted the granting of such rights were not passed until the 1947 session of the Legislature.[25] The negotiations with the Celanese Corporation were presumably carried on in the understanding that there would be substantial changes in forestry legislation. Once again, the fortunes of Prince Rupert had been shaped by forces quite beyond local control.

"Prince Rupert, City of Progress and Community Activity" was the self-congratulatory description of the city in the supplement published by the Daily News for the meeting of the Associated Boards of Trade in August 1947.[26] The tone of the issue gave the impression that Prince Rupert's adjustment to post war conditions had been entirely successful. In real terms, so it had. The boosters were assured of a period of stable economic expansion, and those more concerned with the quality of life could point to the recreation centre, the availability of decent housing in a country beset by a shortage of living accommodation, and an expected improvement in public utilities. The error lies in confusing cause and effect. Prince Rupert prospered after the Second World War because what the city had to offer fitted into the buoyant North American economy. As a result, many of the wartime

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[23] News, 25 July 1945; 5 February 1946; 28 August 1945.

[24] Province, 12 March 1947.

[25] British Columbia, Report of the Royal Commission on Forest Resources (Pearse Report), (Victoria, 1976), vol. II, p.111; British Columbia, Department of Lands and Forests, Annual Report (Victoria, 1948), p. 7.

[26] News, 6 August 1947.

facilities were put to profitable peacetime use. Had there been no market for the timber, or had it been controlled by a government less willing to exploit the province's natural resources, the American built dock facilities would have remained as idle as those of the Grand Trunk had done, and the city would have continued to resemble "an impoverished family squatting in the ballroom of a palace abandoned long before it was completed."[27]

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[27] Nigel H. Richardson, "A Tale of Two Cities," Planning the Canadian Environment, ed., L.O. Gertler (Montreal, 1968), p. 272.

JOHN WEBBER: A SKETCH OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK'S ARTIST

John Webber's pictures of Nootka Sound and of its native inhabitants became well known to many British Columbians during the Captain James Cook bicentennial year. An exhibition at UBC's Museum of Anthropology brought many of the original Nootka pictures back to the province of their origin for viewing by its present inhabitants. The drawings were frequently reproduced both in their painted and engraved versions, while a Nootka picture by Webber was, for the second time featured on a Canadian postage stamp.[1]

Webber's drawings offer a significant ethnological and aesthetic record of Cook's third great voyage of exploration. Yet, if Webber made a major contribution to Cook's mission, that voyage created - and sustains - Webber's own reputation.

Webber's family origins were respectable if impoverished. His grandfather, Daniel Wäber, was a dyer in Berne, Switzerland, a burger of that city and his family a member of the Corporation of Merchants (Gesellschaft von Kaufleuten). Webber's father, Abraham Wäber, born in 1715, apprenticed to the decorative carver and sculptor, Johann Friedrich Funk, into whose family his sister, Maria Magdalena, had married. About the year 1740, Abraham Wäber emigrated to London. There, on February 18, 1744, in St. George's Chapel, Hyde Park Corner, he married Mrs. Mary Quant, parishioner of St. Martin's-

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[1] The drawings and paintings are held largely by three institutions: The Peabody Museum, Harvard University; The British Library, and the Dixson Library, Sydney, Australia. Others are widely scattered. The Public Archives of Canada has a number of examples. Webber's "Inside of a House, Nootka Sound" was on a postal issue of 16 January 1974; "A Native of Nootka Sound", on the bicentennial issue of 26 April 1978.

in-the-Fields, about whom nothing else is known. Some sources say that there were eight children from the union. The records of the St. George's Church, Hanover Square, list six, of which John was the second: born 6 October 1751 and baptized on the 30th of that month.

In about his sixth year, young John was sent to Berne, an event occasioned by his father's financial difficulties and an opportune invitation from Rosina Wäber, an unmarried aunt. The Berne relatives encouraged John in his early aptitude for art and, in 1766, sought assistance from the Corporation of Merchants, to which the family yet belonged, for a stipend. This was granted in consideration of his father's poverty, and for three years, from 1767 to 1770, he received an annual grant to enable him to study with Johann Ludwig Aberli, the leading artist of the city. A Berne source describes young Webber as being "a half-foreigner" in his father's city. "He learned to speak and write neither German nor French properly, greatly preferring to use English and longing constantly for the homeland of his mother."[2]

In 1770 he went to Paris for further training. He carried letters of introduction from Aberli and other Berne artists to J.G. Wille, a successful German engraver in that city. His referees, Wille wrote, "gave great praise to M. Webber, as being of very good manners and strongly attached to his art," and Wille was himself impressed by this "très joli garçon" of eighteen years.[3] Webber frequented Wille's studio and the two went sketching together in the countryside. Examples of Webber's picturesque peasant scenes are preserved in the Berne museum.

After five years in Paris, Webber returned to London in 1775 and found work as a painter of house interiors. His employer, a speculator in remodelled houses, hired Webber to redecorate them with murals of landscapes and mythological figures. In the spring of 1776, this builder persuaded Webber to exhibit at the Royal Academy's annual exhibition at Somerset House.

This was Webber's first exhibition in his home country, a country where he had absolutely no reputation, no influential friends, barely any acquaintances, and to which he had scarcely returned after an absence since childhood. Yet chance smiled upon him. A portrait of his younger brother, Henry, and two views of the environs of Paris attracted the attention of Dr. Daniel Solander, a close scientific associate of Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society and influential with the Admiralty. This led directly to Webber's commission as draughtsman to Cook's third voyage, then being prepared. The standard Swiss account tells the story very dramatically: two days after the pictures went on view, Solander came to Webber's rooms, 4 Down Street, Picadilly; eight days later Webber embarked from Plymouth on Cook's Resolution. While the appointment was done swiftly and only shortly before the ship departed, it was not quite this way. The exhibition ran from April 24 to May 22. Webber received his admiralty appointment on June 24; he joined the Resolution at

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[2] F. Romang, "Johann Waber", in Historisches Verin des Kantons Bern, Sammlung Bernisches Biographien, II (1896), 296.

[3] Georges Duplessis, Memoirs et Journal de J.G. Wille (2 vols.: Paris, 1857), I, 555.

Plymouth on July 5, and it sailed for the Cape seven days later. Webber himself contributed to the story by writing that "all was decided eight days before my departure and I had in all haste to attend to everything necessary."[4]

Webber may have been more accurate in recalling his motives: "it sufficed me to see that the offer was advantageous, and contained, moreover, the things of the world that I have always most desired to know, of being able to voyage and see countries, known and unknown." He received one hundred guineas a year plus expenses. This was attractive, but, more, he felt that the engagement offered an opportunity "on my return, to distinguish myself by the production of novelties"; it gave him hope "that my lot will be happier."[5]

For its part the Admiralty told Cook that it had engaged "Mr. John Webber Draughtsman and Landskip Painter to proceed to His Majesty's Sloop under your command on her present intended Voyage, in order to make Drawings and Paintings of such places in the Countries you may touch at in the course of the said Voyage as may be proper to give a more perfect Idea thereof than can be formed by written descriptions only."[6]

Webber's voyage on the Resolution took him to the Cape, Kerguelen's Island Tasmania, New Zealand, The Cook Islands, the Friendly Islands, Tahiti, and Hawaii before the two battered ships pulled into Nootka Sound for refitting in March 1778. After leaving Nootka, the voyage proceeded north to Prince William Sound, Unalaska, the impenetrable ice of the Bering Sea, Hawaii again (where Cook was killed), Kamchatka, Bering Sea once more, then back to England via Macao, Batavia and the Cape. The voyage lasted from July 1776 until August 1780, a little over four years.

In London, Webber capitalized upon his work. He gained celebrity by showing his drawings to the King and royal family, to Lord Sandwich, to Banks, the Burneys and various other establishment figures. He received his back salary and began new terms, to supervise the engravings, of £ 250 a year.[7] He was

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[4]Staatsarkiv des Kantons Bern, Nachlass Sigmund Wagner, Webber to Daniel Funk, 4 January 1781 (copy).

[5]Ibid.

[6]Public Record Office, Adm. 2/101, CLB, Admiralty to Cook, 24 June 1776, in J.C. Beaglehole, ed., The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, vol. III, Part Two, 1507.

[7]For a summary of the engraving process, see Douglas Cole, "Cook at Nootka -- The Engraved Record," Canadian Collector II (May-June 1976), 27-29. This should be read in conjunction with Rüdiger Joppien, "John Webber's South Seas Drawings for the Admiralty," British Library Journal 4 (Spring 1978), 49-77.

elected an associate of the Royal Academy in 1785 on the strength of his engravings and the various Pacific scenes he showed. He made a trip to Switzerland and northern Italy in 1787 and sketching tours of Wales and Darbyshire in 1789. Nevertheless, Pacific views continued to dominate his exhibited pictures until 1790 when they retreated entirely before views of Monmouth, Como, and Langollen. The next year he was elected to full membership in the Academy, and his diploma picture, a view of Tahiti, again drew from his Cook experience. In 1787, Webber issued a set of four aquatinted Pacific etchings, done with Maria Prestel, and in 1788 he began a fuller set of Pacific views, etched, published and coloured by himself.[8] When he had completed sixteen he began to suffer severly from illness. He died at his Oxford Street apartments of decayed kidneys on April 29, 1793, age 41.

One thing is salient in Webber's career: if he performed excellent service for Cook and posterity in his third-voyage drawings, he did well by it. Picked from obscurity by Solander and the Admiralty, he died with a comfortable living among congenial friends and left a very decent property to friends, relatives and the Company of Merchants in Berne. He had already made a gift of his ethnological collection to the city of Berne where it still resides.

We have little knowledge of Webber's character. Aside from Wille's observations, there is little comment from contemporaries. M. Monneron, who came to know Webber intimately while working for LaPerouse in 1785, found his conversation most interesing. A Swiss source writes of his noble bearing and pleasant humour, his quiet but penetrating conversational manner.[9] Physically he was short with a strikingly light and rosy complexion, blue eyes and a full chubby face.

As an artist, Webber can be variously assessed. He was an excellent landscapist, at least when working in pen or pencil and washes. His draughtsmanship is good, he possessed a fine sense of composition and his choice of subjects was interesting and appropriate. He sketched in charcoal or crayon, then drew more carefully with a pen or soft pencil. Finally he laid on colour washes. He was not a pure watercolourist. His are tinted or "stained" drawings, of the 1770's and '80's. He used thin washes of blues, greys, yellows and greens, with touches of russet and apple-green. These colours and methods form part of a continuity of British Watercolours. We can trust Martin Hardie's judgement that "Webber takes a high place, higher than has yet been recognized, among the forerunners of Girtin and Turner."[10]

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[8] For further details on Webber's prints, see A.A. St. C.M. Murray-Oliver, "John Webber and His Aquatints," The Turnbull Library Record, 2 (October 1969), 74-79 and Douglas Cole, "John Webber: Etchings and Aquatints," ibid., (October 1975), 25-27.

[9] Mitchell Library, Sydney, "La Perouse's Voyage," Monneron to La Perouse, 11 April 1785; Romang, 305.

[10] Martin Hardy, Water-colour Painting in Britain I: The Eighteenth Century (New York, 1966), 236.

Webber had obvious failings in drawing figures. His proportions are sometimes incorrect and distorted; he gives a characteristic but inappropriate elongation to all his figures. In oils he was least successful, though his portrait of Cook, probably done before the voyage, is expressive and natural.

Webber belonged to the school of the picturesque. He sought out rustic and rough scenes in Europe that mirrored his age's taste for irregularity, variety, quaintness, and a humble human presence. Many of his drawings for the voyage are within this style, and a later picture, taken from a Nootka sketch, was actually titled "Picturesque Scene, in Nootka (or King Goerge's Sound), west coast of America." This kind of delineation and subject melted very easily into the sense of the "typical," which Bernard Smith points out was so characteristic of eighteenth-century voyage illustration.[11] Webber's work at Nootka and elsewhere form both a record of late eighteenth-century sensitivities and of the great voyage of which he was an important part.

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[11] Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768-1850 (London, 1960). Professor Smith and Dr. Joppien are compiling a complete catalogue of the graphic work of the tree Cook voyages, the publication of which will add greatly to our knowledge of Webber's work and set him in greater perspective.

OLD TRAILS AND ROUTES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA BY R.C. HARRIS

LT. PALMER'S PRECIPICE

One of the major tasks of the government of the new colony of British Columbia was exploring routes of communication to the various goldfields. Governor Douglas used any means at hand; magistrates, Indians, constables, Hudson's Bay Co. employees, but principally the Columbia Detachment of the Royal Engineers, under Lt. Col. R.C. Moody. Col. Moody was also designated the first "Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works" in the colony, a department which has continued to the present, through many divisions, subdivisons and regroupings.

As miners worked their ways up the Fraser River and its tributaries to Quesnel Lake, and then north over the Snowshoe Plateau (in midwinter) to Antler,

the Cariboo became British Columbia's great goldfield, in need of tons of supplies.

By 1860, some entrepreneurs were already running pack trains across the Chilcotin from the fiords of the west coast, a possibility that was given some advance publicity by Mackenzie in 1793.

On the 24th of June 1862, Lt. Henry Spencer Palmer, R.E., aged 26 years, received 8 pages of detailed instructions[1] from Col. Moody for a major exploratory survey of the Interior (together with an "Appendix paper by Capt. Parsons"). Palmer's exploration from Bella Coola to Alexandria was covered in only one sentence of these instructions, which required him "to travel along the proposed road... altering the line as he may thing proper."

A route had already been recorded in October 1861 by Captain Cavendish Venables, retired, of the 74th Highlanders, when he intended taking up a military grant of land at Bella Coola. His Map[2], in which Bella Coola appears as Bill Whoalla, was drawn by the master draftsman James Launders, R.E., and lithographed by William Oldham, R.E. at the Royal Engineers' Survey Office, New Westminster.

Venables shows 16 camps from Alexandria to Bella Coola. In the vicinity of Palmers' Precipice and Great Slide, Venables travelled some distance to the north, past Anahim Lake, descending from the Chilcotin Plateau to a "dam" in the deep valley of the Bella Coola River, probably down the old Canoe Crossing summer trail[3] to a point near the mouth of Asananny Creek.

Palmer understood that his major problem was to find the best route for the 3000 foot climb out to fhe Bella Coola valley, and on to the Chilcotin plateau. His large scale map[5] shows several possibilities, all on the north side.

In November 1862, Palmer published his informative report[4], with two maps[4,5] that were remarkably good considering he traversed the country only once. Using Palmer's information, we were able to retrace that part of his journey between his Great Slide on the Atnarko, and his Summit of the Precipice, section 3 of his report. It involved an ascent of nearly 3000 feet, on to the Chilcotin Plateau, in 16 miles of trail.

It should be mentioned here that Palmer's "Great Slide" does not look different from any other talus slope along the Atnarko, it merely identifies the particular slide that he and his party had to backpack up. Palmer reports

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[1]Copy in PABC C AB 30.6J, letter book No. 1.

[2]Print in PABC S 6.5.8 gmbh V447S 1861.

[3]British Columbia, Surveyor General; Plan 4T 264. "Sketch showing approximate position of divides etc. north of Bella Coola River, B.C."

[4]PABC NW 971M P174 re 1863. "Report on a journey of Survey from Victoria to Fort Alexander".

[5]British Columbia, Surveyor General; Plan 3T1 Roads and Trails, "Sketch of the valley of the Bella Coola or Nookhalk River, from the Coast to the Precipice." 1 inch = 2 miles. Drawn by Sapper Chas. Sinnett, R.E. Marked "Plan 3".

that the trail at his Great Slide ran almost directly up the loose talus. Our 1978 examination of this part showed faint traces of the trail used by Palmer, supplanted by at least 2 later trails a short distance south. The final horse trail, shown on some maps[7] as "The Old Sugar Camp Trail," holds a very good grade, and in places is wide enough to take a waggon. It has, however, gathered many loose rocks in parts, having not been maintained since 1956 when the citizens of Bella Coola, aided by the Department of Highways, finally completed their road connection to Williams Lake via Young Creek, now Highway 20.

The Sugar Camp Trail zigzags up to "cruising altitude" 1200 feet above the Atnarko and then contours north and east for 4 miles, exactly as Palmer did, to cross a broad saddle above the Hotnarko, the major valley or coulee joining the Atnarko from the east.

Palmer notes how his Great Slide route may be avoided by taking an alternative trail up the lower canyon of the Hotnarko. At the time, this may have been the better trail, provided the four crossings[8] of the Hotnarko were in good order. This was the route selected for the Dominion telegraph from Bella Coola to join the Yukon telegraph at 150 Mile House in 1912. This line continued in service, latterly under B.C. Telephone Co., until the early 1960s.

Today, Palmer's Sugar Camp Trail is the better way to go. The four pack bridges over the Hotnarko are in ruins. Abandoned telephone wires festoon the floor of the lower canyon, and slides from a Department of Public Works exploratory road cover parts of the trail.

Around 1912, the Hotnarko was further surveyed for a Trans Canada railway, the Pacific and Hudson Bay; several fair topographic maps[9] were prepared, and some trial lines were slashed along the south slopes of Precipice Basin.

Four miles above the junction of the two trails reported by Palmer, the trail crosses modern Precipice Creek, which runs into Precipice Basin from the north. We are still 4 miles from Palmer's Precipice. The whole upper Hotnarko is ringed by miles of precipices in the form of small basalt columns.

Great coulees, such as the Hotnarko and the Kappan, were gouged in the basalts of the Chilcotin Plateau, as meltwaters took the short route to the coast in the closing years of the last Ice Age. The area formerly drained east to the Fraser River; the eastbound outlet of Hotnarko Lake makes a 180 degree turn after three miles, giving clear evidence of its recent capture by the main Hotnarko.

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[6] British Columbia, Surveyor General;"Sketch of the Route from North Bentinck Arm to Fort Alexander." 1 inch - 10 miles. J. Turnbull, R.E. Marked "Plan 1" (plan 2 may not have been drawn).

[7] British Columbia, Surveyor General; Pre-emptor's Map 2E, 1924. Bella Coola. Inset Map B.

[8] British Columbia, Surveyor General; Plan 5T30 "Sketch Map to show position of Trail from Bella Coola to Ootsa Lake with alternative routes." 1907. E.P. Colley, B.C.L.S.

[9] British Columbia, Surveyor General; Plan 4T259 negative photostat of Topographic Sheet 1. Pacific and Hudson Bay Railway; 1 inch = 2 miles.

"The Precipice" had moved to its present location before 1907 when E.P. Colley B.C.L.S. made his report and map[8] to the Department of Lands. By this time, the trail by Anahim Lake had become the main travel route. Colley shows the route used by Palmer as "disued trail", down by the Hotnarko. It continued in use, however, for many years, being taken over by Jacob Lunos, a settler from the Norwegian colony round Hagensborg, near Bella Coola. Lunos moved up to Towdystan (just south of Nimpo Lake) in the early 1900s, and kept the trail open for many years, at a time when the lands were being surveyed and subdivided.[10]

Palmer's trail upstream from Precipice Basin runs braided, along a bunch grass and jackpine hillside facing south. After three miles, it dips down suddenly to the pack bridge over the Hotnarko, just above the mouth of Kappan Creek. Since its days of coulee cutting, the Hotnarko has shrunk to a very modest trickle.

Here the topography is just as Palmer describes it.[11] The long easy ridge between the two creeks leads up to the base of a 100 foot basalt cliff, the edge of Table Mountain. Being unconfined, the cliff tends to fall away in great rows of basalt columns. We could not verify just where Palmer got on top, but there is an easy ascent about 200 yards to the left, from which we made our way back to Palmer's survey point at the prow of Table Mountain elevation "3840, The Precipice", on his map. The point is still used for surveys, being shown on modern maps as elevation 3926 (feet). The remains of a pole tripod, dressed in tattered white cloth, lay nearby during our visit.

Palmer shows[5] the easier trails to Nacoontloon and Sutleth, both up on the plateau, on either side of his Precipice, but presumably he took the steep trail up the middle to get a better view of the country.

From here, Palmer travelled southeast along a delightful open and flat verge, a few feet back from the rim rock. The trail continued east, over gently undulating and somewhat monotonous country, passing the headwaters of Pelican Creek, and the north shores of the two main arms of modern Nimpo Lake. In Palmer's day, and for many years afterwards, the two arms were shown as separate lakes, Nimkop and Sutleth,[7, 6, 12] or variants of these names.

Still on the main Indian trail, Palmer crossed the Salmon (Dean) River where highway 20 crosses today, at the Fishtrap,[13] now identified by a roadside Point Of Interest sign. He then continued southeast, on the general line of highway 20, past Towdystan and out of this story. He arrived back in New Westminster after four busy months.

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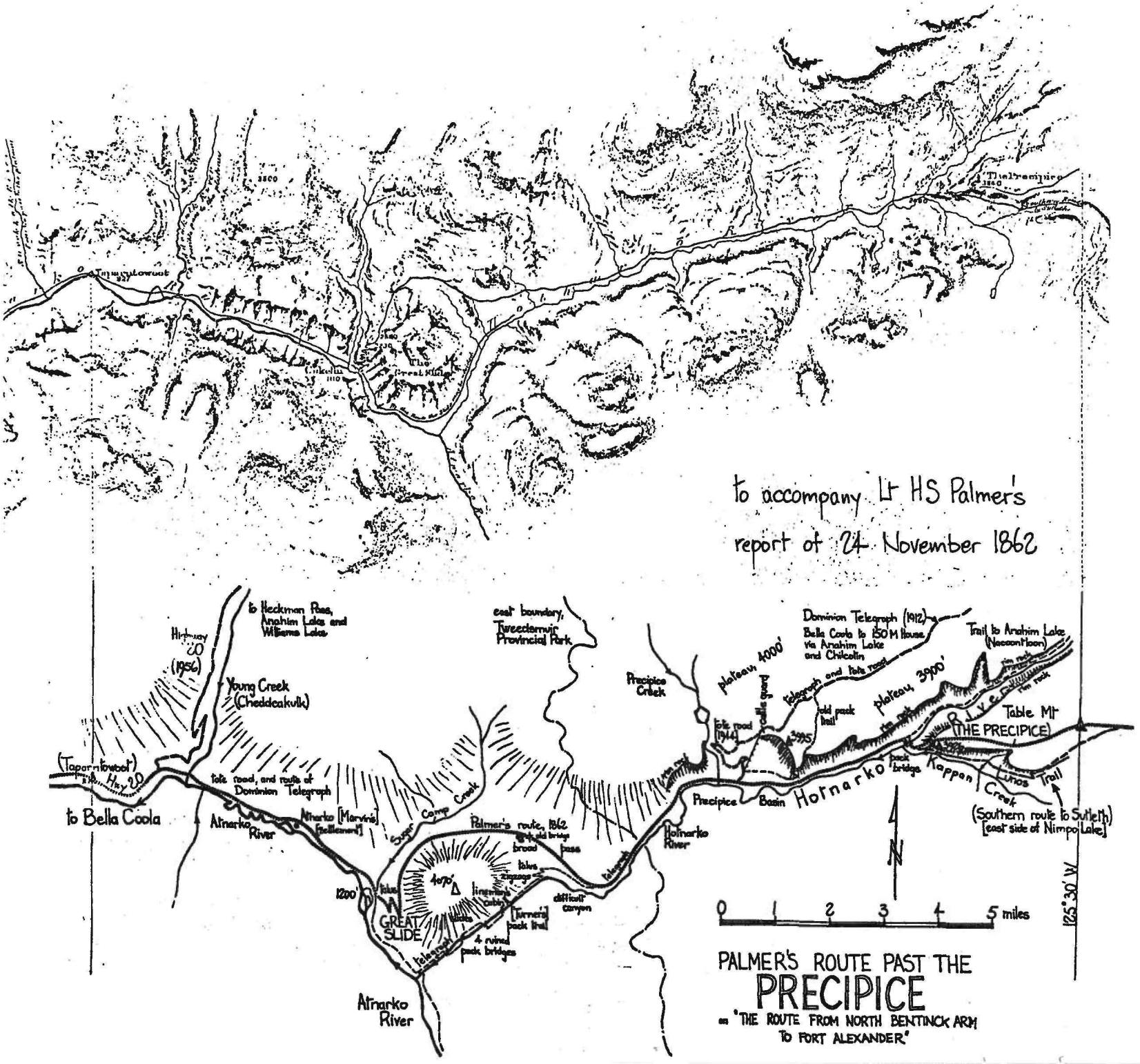
[10] British Columbia, Surveyor General; Plans 1 and 2, T995 and 13, 14, 15, 16, 36 T5 Coast.

[11] Pages 14, 15 of reference 4 (above).

[12] Geological Survey of Canada; "Geological Map of a portion of British Columbia between the Fraser River and the Coast Range. G.M. Dawson, 1875-76. 1 inch = 8 miles.

[13] British Columbia, Surveyor General; Plan 36T11 Coast.


to accompany Lt HS Palmer's
report of 24 November 1862
Highway 20 (1956)
to Heckman Pass, Anahim Lake and Williams Lake
Young Creek (Cheddeakulk)
(Taportowat)
Hwy 20
to Bella Coola
Atnarko River
Atnarko [Marvin's Bellacoola]
fole road, and route of Dominion Telegraph
Sugar Camp Creek
Palmer's route, 1862
old bridge
broad pass
false zigzags
difficult canyon
lingering cabin
[Turner's pack trail]
4 ruined pack bridges
GREAT SLIDE
1200'
4070'
Atnarko River
east boundary, Tweedsmuir Provincial Park
Precipice Creek
Holnarko River
Precipice Basin
plateau, 4000'
plateau, 3900'
fole road (1914)
3995
old pack trail
telegraph and fole road
Dominion Telegraph (1912) Bella Coola to 150 M House via Anahim Lake and Chilcotin
Trail to Anahim Lake (Nacoontloon)
Table Mt
(THE PRECIPICE)
Hornarko River
pack bridge
Kappan Creek
Lunos Trail
(Southern route to Sutlelth) [east side of Nimpo Lake]
N
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles
125°30' W
PALMER'S ROUTE PAST THE
PRECIPICE
or 'THE ROUTE FROM NORTH BENTINCK ARM TO FORT ALEXANDER'

To round out this account, a table of modern equivalents for Palmer's toponyms is given below:

North Bentinck Arm (of Burke Channel)	Bella Coola village is at the head of this arm, and on the delta of the Bella Coola (Nookhalk) River.
Kahylskt	Burn Bridge Creek; Mackenzie came down the east side. One of several northern valleys noted by Palmer as "possible pass to the plateau".
Cheddeakulk	Young Creek; the route taken by Highway 20.
Palmer's Precipice (one of his "Astronomical stations")	The western tip of Table Mountain; in the angle between the Hotnarko and the Kappan.
Nacoontloon	Ahahim (Avnahime's) Lake
Sutleth	The north east arm of Nimpo Lake
Fort Alexander	(Fort) Alexandria, on the Fraser River.

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[14] The "Bella Coola Courier", a weekly newspaper, gives good coverage of such items as the Pacific and Hudson Bay Railway, Jacob Lunos, and the Dominion Telegraph, in the period ca. 1912.

NEWS FROM THE BRANCHES

GULF ISLANDS - New officers elected on April 29th are President: Marjorie Ratzlaff, Saturna Island; Vice-president, Lorraine Campbell, Saturna Island; Secretary, Elsie Brown, Mayne Island; and Treasurer, Evelyn Saunders, Saturna Island. Council members are Frank Copeland, Saturna Island; May Drew, Galiano Island; Elsie Brown, Mayne Island.

In addition to sponsoring an annual essay contest, the branch is arranging a publication about the Outer Islands to update Gulf Islands Patchwork. Among the speakers at this spring's meetings were Jim and Lorraine Campbell who gave an illustrated account of their trip to South America; Marjorie Ratzlaff who described her experiences as a nurse at Bella Bella Hospital during World War II; and Beth Hill who gave an illustrated talk describing the research for her recently published book, The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley.

VICTORIA Officers for 1979-80 are President, Ruth Chambers; 1st Vice-President, Tom Carrington; 2nd Vice-President, Ken Leeming; Secretary, Frances Gundry; Treasurer, Bruce Winsby.

During the summer the branch had two social gatherings. In July, Jack Barnes invited members to lunch at his home in Sooke; in August, a number of members visited the Forest Museum at Duncan.

BULLETIN BOARD

Two journals published by the University of Chicago Press may be of interest to members concerned with the operation of museums. Technology and Culture is the international quarterly of the Society for History of Technology. Its coverage is international but a recent issue included an article "Canadian Technology: British Traditions and American Influences" by Bruce Sinclair. The Winterthur Portfolio is a new journal of American material culture. Individual subscriptions at $15 (U.S.) each per year and further information may be obtained from the University of Chicago Press, 11030 Langley Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60628, USA.

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A new journal of interest to archivists and museologists is Photographic Conservation published by the Graphic Arts Research Centre, Rochester Institute of Technology, one Lomb Memorial Drive, Rochester N.Y. 14623. A subscription for four issues costs $7.50 (U.S.) The Institute is also sponsoring a seminar on the Preservation and Restoration of Photographic Images in Rochester on March 3-5, 1980. Address inquiries to Thomas T. Hill at the Institute.

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We apologize for unavoidable delay in distributing the summer issue and for several minor errors. The cover picture should have been identified as Henry Ogle Bell-Irving, "Kicking Horse Pass, Rocky Mountains, May 1883" (PABC, pdp 764). As careful readers have undoubtedly deduced, John Graves Simcœ was not a government but a governor (p. 37).

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We're not sure if our readers are too busy to enter contests in the summer or too young to remember the Depression. In any case, there were no entries in the contest announced in the spring issue.

Since we still have the prize book, Faces from History: Canadian Profiles and Portraits by George Woodcock, we're going to try a different kind of contest. Who is driving the car on the cover picture? Submit your entry to : The Editors, Box 1738, Victoria, V8W 2Y3 by December 15, 1979. In the case of more than one correct answer, we'll have a draw from the correct entries.

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WESTWARD MOVEMENTS CONFERENCE

Each year the Canadian Association for American Studies sponsors an interdisciplinary conference on a specific theme. Papers are frequently cross-cultural as well as interdisciplinary. The comparison of the literature, history and art of the United States and Canada generates new insights into the culture of both countries.

The conference will be held at the Holiday Inn, Harbourside and at Simon Fraser University, November 1-3, 1979. For further information about the program, contact Continuing Studies, Simon Fraser University.

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MUNICIPAL HERITAGE

The Union of British Columbia Municipalities has circulated to all municipalities and regional districts a recent decision of Mr. Justice Gould of the British Columbia Supreme Court that may be of interest to those municipalities which are contemplating the designation of a historic site pursuant to the HERITAGE CONSERVATION ACT.

An application was made to quash Richmond By-Laws No. 3515 and 3528 which designated a building and the surrounding 22½ acres of land as a municipal heritage site on the grounds that there was no evidence that the land *per se* was of historical significance. There was some evidence before the Municipal Council as to historical significance. Moreover, under the HERITAGE CONSERVATION ACT both a building and land can be declared a heritage site. The Court concluded that it would be very difficult to declare a building a heritage site without the land on which it is situated being automatically included. This particular heritage site was a farm, and the farmhouse sits on a 22½ acre operating farm and Mr. Justice Gould indicated in his judgement that he could not grasp the concept of declaring the farmhouse an historical site without automatically including the farm, which by the fact that historic buildings rest thereon becomes an historic site itself.

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COUNCIL MEETING

The next Council meeting will take place in Vancouver on SATURDAY, 3 November.

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ANNUAL MEETING

Princeton has invited us to hold our convention in their city. The editors would welcome articles, notes of interest, etc. about Princeton for publication in the Spring issue of the *News*.

BOOK REVIEWS

WHITE CANADA FOREVER. W. Peter Ward. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978. Pp.ix, 205, illus., $6.50 paper.

White Canada Forever is an impressive piece of research, but it is only half of the story. Because Peter Ward has adopted a "social problems" approach to race relations in British Columbia, he catalogues those relations solely from a negative, "white" perspective. Racism in British Columbia, he argues, was the product of a psychological urge for cultural homogeneity. White British Columbians, he contends, saw Asians as a threat to the "white" (actually "British") culture they had brought with them to B.C., and which they wished to pass on unaltered to their children. As a consequence, Ward concludes, "racist sentiments were broadly shared across the province" and the idea that B.C. should rid itself of the Asian menace was commonly accepted.

Ward supports his thesis with an impressive array of anti-Asian incidents between 1858 and 1942 using British Columbian newspapers as his major source. While he acknowledges on several occasions that racism was definitely cyclical, arising sporadically (usually at election time) and then quickly dying, he ignores the quiet periods in his analysis. The result is a distorted image of British Columbian society as a rabidly racist entity in which only antagonistic relations existed between the white and Asian subcultures. For example, he cites the conflict between white unionists and Asian scabs at Atlin as solely a racial conflict, but conveniently ignores the good relations between labour and Japanese at Cumberland. He points out the paranoia at Summerland when Asians first bought land there but not the calm at Vernon or the marketing co-operatives in the Fraser Valley which had both Japanese and white members. He discusses attempts to segregate Asians from whites in schools but never mentions that white children in the Fraser Valley and at Cumberland sometimes attended Japanese language schools along with their Japanese playmates. He describes labour's distaste for Asians in some detail but ignores the fact that the Trades and Labour Council accepted the Japanese Camp and Mill Workers Union as a full-fledged member in 1929. He discusses the social complaints commonly made against Asians - low standard of living, dirty, undemocratic, diseased - but ignores the fact that that the same complaints were made against all non-British whites from time to time. "Bohunks" and "Wops" were despised as much as "Japs" and "Chinks". Most importantly Ward never gives the Asian perspective nor does he discuss the more irrational aspects of the racist stereotypes. The combined impression these omissions leave is the suggestion that Asians brought much of the "problem" upon themselves by wanting to work for less than the going white wage. The closest Ward comes to pointing out the absurdity of this aspect of the pejorative Asian stereotype is to acknowledge that Japanese entered fishing and farming in part because market conditions assured them the same return for their produce as a white man.

The distortion in White Canada Forever results, I suspect, from Ward's sources. Historically newspapers make no attempt to be unbiased. On the contrary, in the midst of circulation wars editors would say whatever they assumed the public supported. Ward has apparently accepted editorial opinion as indicative of public opinion. In so doing he has granted newspaper

editors powers of social analysis no modern sociologist or even politician would dare assume without an expensive survey. The opinions of the politicians and labour leaders he cites are similarly accepted as "proof" of the pervasiveness of virulent racism when there is nothing to prove that those views were shared by, or affected the voting patterns of, the general public.

The "Evacuation" chapter is perhaps the best example of how the sources can manipulate the historian. The standard accounts, of which Ward's is yet another, commonly contend as Ward does that "thousands of west coast whites petitioned Ottawa for the immediate evacuation of all Japanese" (p.151) and Ottawa, democratically bowing to public opinion, promptly did so. My own count of the sources Ward cites, however, throws the all pervasive role of "public opinion", whether bigoted or simply frightened, into doubt. The records in Ottawa indicate that prior to February 24, 1942 when the decision to uproot the Japanese was taken, Ottawa had received only 100 petitions demanding the removal of all or part (male Japanese nationals) of that minority, less than 40 of which were sent in February. Most of those 100 petitions came from the same type of groups which had demanded the incarceration of German aliens in 1940, demands which the federal government wisely ignored. The bulk of the hysteria on the west coast in fact came after the "evacuation" decision; that is, after the federal government had liabled Japanese Canadians as traitors, thereby reinforcing the lies of B.C.'s professional racists. British Columbia's anti-Asian past was undoubtedly a factor in the "evacuation" decision, but it was not the only factor and may in fact have been more of an excuse than a reason.

Ward wisely halts his tale in 1942. To carry it further is to endanger his thesis for the postwar history of race relations in B.C. stands in marked contrast to Ward's portrait. The suddenness with which British Columbians apparently lost their psychological urge for homogeneity raises a question. What caused British Columbia's sudden metamorphosis, or were British Columbians never quite as petty, bigoted and paranoid as Ward suggests? A good account of the black marks in the history of race relations in B.C., White Canada Forever must be read with the understanding that it tells only part of the story.

Ann Sunahara, of Edmonton, presently is completing a book on Japanese-Canadians during World War Two.

RADICAL HERITAGE: LABOR, SOCIALIAM, AND REFORM IN WASHINGTON AND BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1885-1917. Carlos A. Schwantes. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1979. Pp. xviii, 288.

If comparisons of slave societies throughout the Americas can yield the many rich and rewarding insights to be found in books by Carl Degler, Eugene Genovese and others, surely the same method ought to enable an historian to isolate, identify, and weigh those factors which best explain both the similarities and differences in the course of radical labour politics in the United States and Canada. Indeed, most theses, articles and

books on this subject make at least implicit comparisons with related events or influences emanating from the United States and Europe. But so far as I know Carlos Schwantes is the first to publish a history book which promises to analyze a welter of c uses, influences and consequences through direct and explicit comparison of the politics of labour groups in a region which he dubs the "North Pacific Industrial Frontier." Drawing upon an immense variety of trade-union sources, newspapers, manuscript material, and unpublished theses, Schwantes sets out to weigh various historical, cultural, and environmental influences at work in this "unique historical laboratory" (ix) in order to explain "why orginized labor in America failed to develop a viable socialist-labor-reform party" similar to Britain's Labor Party of Canada's NDP (x). It is an old question, to be sure, but one that social scientists such as S.M. Lipset and Louis Hartz have wrestled with decidedly mixed results.

In fourteen somewhat overorganized and occasionally too brief chapters, the author details the rise of an economy characterized by isolated, polarized communities engaged in extracting the rich natural resources of the region. Radical working class responses to exploitation, congealed through anti-Oriental outbursts, appeared as scattered thrusts ranging from the populist crusade in Washington to myriad sects that cropped up on both sides of the boundary. Radical doctrines flourished, the author asserts, because the region's industries were undergoing consolidations which provoked greater class consciousness among the miners, loggers and migrant workers there. In the absence of a laissez-faire ideology, with fewer ethnic divisions, and with the presence of parliamentary forms along with a failure of the old line parties to plant roots, B.C. Labour radicals achieved greater success in using political methods to achieve a more abundant life. The author disentangles this complex web of events, tracing the evolution of various left-wing groups in the region and their continuing struggle with each other and with the AFL crafts. He tells how radicals were engulfed by progressive reformists and then virtually destroyed by a war-inspired government crackdown on both sides of the border. His story is thoroughly researched and clearly presented. While the broad outlines have already been sketched and interpreted by Phillips, Robin, MacCormack and others, the author's diligent work does fill in several important gaps. For instance, chapter 9 contains the most thorough account of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees that I have read. The book is dotted with interesting sketches of a large number of labor radicals, ranging from Washington's obscure George Boomer to the better-known B.C. Socialist and printer, R. Parm. Pettipiece. At the narrative level the author's herculean labours are most apparent, and his book ought to become the standard reference for students of labour, socialism, and reform in the province and state.

On the other hand, Schwantes' overall analyses and explanations are neither original nor persuasive. At various points he appeals to history, culture, geography, and an "opportunity structure" for an explanation of the greater impact of the region's radical heritage upon the British Columbia political culture, without bothering to suggest the proportions of those causal factors or even to tie them directly with parts of his narrative. As a result most of his conclusions seem divorced from his narrative, and by concluding only that "intangibles" such as class consciousness and political culture were "far more important determinants of the success or failure of the socialist movement than matters of leadership or trade union structure"

(222), his major thesis goes begging. Rather than analyzing his concepts, or at least separating and weighing the relationships between class consciousness, political culture, and the ideologies of individualism and collectivism (surely ingredients of a political culture) at appropriate points in his story, Schwantes rings all his explanatory bells frequently and indiscriminately. Perhaps realizing the inadequacy of this procedure in his conclusion, he finally invokes the old Hartzian typology (individualism/collectivism) to explain why labour politics has been more successful in B.C. The reader never learns precisely which of the various ingredients in the political cultures of the province and state best explain both the similarities and differences Schwantes describes.

For example, Schwantes argues at one point that parliamentary forms, class consciousness in the mining camps, the threat posed by Oriental immigrants, and "the inability of labor to co-operate politically with the province's small and diversified agrarian community" (163) all coalesced to encourage the formation of a labour party in British Columbia. Whether each of these factors was of equal causal importance is not made clear. Since the second and third reasons also influenced events in Washington, the reader is left wondering whether the first and last factors exerted disproportionately greater influence in B.C. Such imprecision coupled with a failure to define and develop concepts such as "class" and "reform consciousness" occasionally results in a form of circular reasoning where causes become consequences:

> Within the local movement, class consciousness was also being encouraged by three significant developments: growing interest in industrial unionism, the socialists' acquisition of power in the councils of organized labor and its publications, and the increasing isolation of trade unionists in Washington from the middle class as a result of the collapse of the reform coalition in the state. (206)

Surely these are more likely to be explained as consequences rather than causes of class consciousness, or are at least mutually interactive.

We must conclude, then, that the question bedevilling labour historians for so long is still unanswered. Perhaps the most satisfactory explanations for the presence or absence of a viable radical labour heritage will be found through more detailed analysis of the formation of political consciousness among comparable groups of Canadian and American workers. Such a study, resting upon a more precise assessment of demographic, economic, and attitudinal factors, might actually weigh, however crudely, the differential results of the factors Schwantes and his predecessors have often invoked. Until then, this book furthers the quest by shedding a clearer light upon the relevant details, and is certainly not without value for having failed to prove its thesis.

Professor Babcock teaches history at the Univeristy of Maine.

VANCOUVER DEFENDED: A HISTORY OF THE MEN AND GUNS OF THE LOWER MAINLAND DEFENCES, 1859-1949. Peter N. Moogk, assisted by Major R.V. Stevenson. Surrey, British Columbia: Antonson Publishing Ltd., 1978. pp. 128, illus.

By the author's admission, this illustrated history of the men and guns of the lower mainland defences is meant to be an accurate and entertaining account of the past. The author fully meets his obligation. There is history in this book, both written and pictorial, which has not been published before, and it is accurate. It is leavened with first hand accounts and stories which add humour and make this a very human story. Too often written military history is a gory picture of glory or disaster. These are peaks and valleys, often spectacular, in a landscape where humour, boredom, incompetence, efficiency and other human propensities are all present. This book's military landscape does not have spectacular moments, only an enemy attack on Vancouver could have produced those, but it is far from being a dull landscape for anyone with a desire to know more of an important part of British Columbia's history, military history enthusiast or not.

The first three chapters cover the period from 1859 to the First World War. During these formative years, the local militia were plagued with manpower, equipment and morale problems, but Dr. Moogk's account also reveals the remarkable tenacity of the volunteer spirit, soon to fully blossom in war and to persist as a tradition. Gun batteries were mounted to defend the approaches to Vancouver harbour in 1914, but their operational role endured only as long as it took the Royal Navy to hunt and destroy the German naval force in the Pacific.

The last four chapters begin with a brief account of the survival of the local militia units through the lean years of the twenties and thirties. By the start of the Second World War, local militia organization was matched with the defence plans for Vancouver. These plans were steadily implemented to produce a formidable coast and anti-aircraft artillery defence for the port and its approaches. Both guns and men were rapidly demobilized after the war, coast artillery becoming obsolete in 1956. Dr. Moogk is assisted in his account of these years by Major Vic Stevenson, historian of 15th Field Artillery Regiment, a local militia unit. Their precise recital of events is lightened by human anecdote. This book, by its nature and its subject, is a valuable contribution to the history of British Columbia. It is not a story of military heroism and valour. It is an introduction to the history of the military defence of British Columbia. It should be read with both interest and pleasure.

Ron Lovatt, who completed his MA thesis on the Militia Gunners of Victoria, is presently Historian for the Fort Rodd Hill Project.

ATLAS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA: PEOPLE, ENVIRONMENT, AND RESOURCE USE. Albert L. Farley. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979. Pp. viii, 136; 115 maps, illus., $45.00.

Dr. Farley's 1979 Altas largely supersedes the 1956 British Columbia Atlas of Resources, in which he also participated. Again the maps and related texts have been placed on facing pages, facilitating reference and interpretation. Page iv gives a useful Guide to Atlas Use. The new pages, at 28 x 35 cm., are less than half the page size in the old atlas, and the information per map page appears to be reduced in the same proportion. However, there are 30% more new map pages, and the facing texts are good value indeed. The Atlas is certainly more portable.

The difference in style between the two atlases is best seen by comparing maps with identical names:

Old Map 12 } Native Indians:
New Map 3 } Distribution of Ethnic Groups, 1850.

In the 1979 Atlas, the change to SI units is almost complete, Imperial measure lingers (in parentheses) in the Statistical Summary at the back, and in the bar scales on the maps. It is interesting to see how the change to metric has shifted the climatic boundaries on maps common to both atlases See Mean Annual Precipitation, where nine ranges are shown in each atlas, or Mean Daily Temperature, January and July. Some of the shifts may be due to more reliable data.

As the 1979 Atlas subtitle indicates, British Columbia is treated under three main headings. Confirming some readers' suspicions of contemporary priorities, Resource Use requires twice as many maps as Environment, and three times as many maps as People. The first section of the Atlas, People, showing exploration, and movements of British Columbia's population, may hold the greatest interest for readers of B.C. Historical News. There should, however, be a map identifying the location of historic trails and roads, now that their remnants are under increasing pressure from resource use. The reduced Trutch Map, on page 13, when examined with a hand lens, will fulfill this requirement. It shows all trails and roads of any consequence up to 1871, but only the Whatcom trail has been named. The other routes could be identified in future editions by a mylar overlay to the Trutch Map.

The Environment section covers the physical and natural history of British Columbia, while Resource Use includes recreation and transportation as well as the more commercial activities. Several of the maps give some history of resource development in the province. In view of persistent rumours that some Forest Districts, Map 39, are running out of timber to cut, it would be helpful to have a map based on Map 27 Distribution of Forested Land, showing the remaining commercial timber in the province. From the forested land would be deducted all logged areas less than, say, 50 years old. The Statistical Summary infers that less than 28 per cent of B.C.'s surface supports mature timber, while icefields, alpine scrub and tundra, plus urban areas, account for 38 per cent.

Following the three main map sections of the Atlas are a Gazetteer and the Historical and Statistical Summary. The Gazetteer locates some 1650

toponyms, in and around B.C., within their 1:250,000 map sheets of the National Topographic System. The Historical Summary recites a list of Selected Historical Events, starting in 1840, while from the Statistical Summary one can learn that only five per cent of B.C.'s land surface is capable of food production (arable or grazing land).

A preliminary review of the Atlas has revealed very few errors or omissions: Meager Creek hot springs, at the head of Lillooet River, should be added to those shown on Map 14. It would have been helpful to squeeze in two more small maps, for spruce and lodgepole pine, on Map 28, Forestry: Distribution of Commercial Species.

This well-made book is recommended to all who are interested in understanding their historical, natural and resource environment in British Columbia.

R.C. Harris is a regular contributor to the News.

WESTERN CANADIAN HISTORY: MUSEUM INTERPRETATIONS. D.R. Richeson, ed. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1979. Pp. vi, 158, illus.

The editor's stated purpose in Western Canadian History: Museum Interpretations is "to examine and compare museum interpretations of Western Canadian History through the use of illustrated interpretative essays". (p.iv) Mr. Richeson notes further that there are few differences between the themes and issues interpreted by museologists and academics. Well covered in museums are the themes of: exploration and survey; the fur trade; transportation; agriculture; natural resource development; urban history; law enforcement; leisure and sport. Poorly covered are such topics as: politics; sewage systems; prisons; the treatment of the insane; secondary industry; organized labour; commercial activity and the service industries; education; and religion. In conclusion Richeson states that "musuem exhibitions in their present form may be perpetuating a feeling of narrow regionalism which may have untold future impact." (p.8)

The exhibits discussed and the contributors are: the Modern History Galleries at the British Columbia Provincial Museum (Daniel T. Gallacher); the Vancouver Centennial Museum's History Galleries (Robert Watt); Glenbow's "History of Western Canada" Gallery (Hugh A. Dempsey); the Transportation in Saskatchewan Exhibit at the Western Development Museum in Moose Jaw (Diane Matthews); and "Interpretive Themes in Socio-Economic History" at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature (Philip L. Eyler).

Each writer has dealt with his subject quite differently. For example, Gallacher has provided "the historical context upon which those displays (at the B.C. Provincial Museum) depicting the region's modern history rest" and has stated the curatorial objectives for the displays, explained the scope nature and content of the history exhibits, and discussed the highlights of each gallery. Watt, on the other hand, has offered a critique of the Vancouver Centennial Museum's History Galleries and has dwelt on such questions as "the function of overall policy in exhibition development, the history curator's responsibilities in terms of collecting, preserving, and interpreting, the

influence of budgets and space on exhibition content, plus a number of other related issues" (p.43). Dempsey of Glenbow, Davidson of the Provincial Museum of Alberta and Eyler of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature have each written a narrative description of their history exhibits, providing the rationale for the selection of the themes they contain. Matthews has not provided information about particular exhibits per se, but has instead adapted part of the Western Development Museum's transportation exhibit storyline which comprises a general history of transportation in Saskatchewan.

With the exception of Matthews' piece, the other articles do provide sufficient information to enable an understanding of the various history exhibits' content and scope. All except Watt's were written for the teacher or non-museum layman; Watt's appears to have been directed more at the museum professional. This lack of unity in approach to their subjects by the various authors is the greatest weakness of the paper. Nevertheless, it has considerable merit in that it provides, for the first time in one volume, pertinent information about Western Canada's major museum history exhibits.

Richeson's introduction does provide a useful overview of the state of some of Western Canada's largest history exhibits. Yet it is interesting, at least to this reviewer that his "history" refers to the documentary and academic, rather than the material variety, something which warrants some clarification in the text, especially since the readership does include a large proportion of museologists.

The paper is well illustrated with photographs of sections of the galleries under discussion. However, the bleak captions under some of them probably do not represent the quality of labelling which accompanies the actual exhibits.

The only serious omission from the choice of galleries reviewed is "Several Areas of Snow", the gallery devoted to modern Canadian history in the editor's own museum, the National Museum of Man in Ottawa. In this large gallery are many exhibits which interpret aspects of Western Canadian history, including some of the topics noted by Richeson as being absent in the other galleries reviewed (e.g. organized labour and politics). The photograph on the cover of the paper is, in fact, of the Depression Prairies Kitchen at the National Museum of Man, but it is not identified anywhere in the paper.

Western Canadian History: Museum Interpretations is not a must for either the history or museum amateur or professional. Unless one is already familiar with the exhibits or will have the opportunity to view them in the near future, reading about them in this form is not entirely informative or stimulating. The paper does, nevertheless, serve a useful purpose by presenting in one volume a number of related topics. Historians and museologists would be well served by repeating the theme of museum interpretations of history in future papers, but the long term usefulness of the paper under review will be that it provides information to readers wanting to find out about one particular exhibit, and not to those hoping to compare and contrast several.

A useful sequel to this paper would be a paper containing critical reviews of the galleries in question by both academic and museum historians, to determine first whether the curators have selected the themes of their exhibitions wisely and, secondly, to examine to what extent the completed exhibitions are based on feasible interpretations of the documentary evidence, as well as that afforded by the artifacts themselves.

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A VICTORIAN TAPESTRY: IMPRESSIONS OF LIFE IN VICTORIA, B.C. 1880-1940. Edited by Janet Cauthers. Sound Heritage, Volume VII, No. (1978). Pp. 77, illus.

This issue of Sound Heritage contains "reminiscences" of twenty-two persons who resided in Victoria for either all or part of the thirty-four years stretching from 1880-1914. The interviews excerpted in the volume are taken from the Imbert Orchard Collection of the Aural History Program, Provincial Archives of British Columbia. Orchard conducted the interviews in 1962 for his radio series on the history of British Columbia. "His method of selecting interviewees was informal and based on such considerations as the person's ancestry, the nature of their activities at the turn of the twentieth century, and their fluency and sharpness of memory. Interview questions were general and designed to stimulate a spontaneous flow of reminiscences from the informant" (p.2). The editor of A Victorian Tapestry, Janet Cauthers, wrote a short introduction, provided thumbnail sketches of the interviewees, and arranged the reminiscences by subject under the following headings: Familiar Old Places: The City from 1880-1914; A Very Fine Race: The Ethnic Communities; Numbers of Prosperous People: The Small, Elegant World of the British Colonists; a Time of Family Life: Making Their Own Amusements; That Was Always Our Big Day: The Royal Navy and the 24th of May; and A Bit of Old England: A Postscript on Victoria After World War I. Ms. Cauthers also edited some of the reminiscences to remove false starts and crutch words, but "took great care to preserve the original import and distinctive flavour of each individual's remarks" (p.2).

Readers of A Victorian Tapestry will undoubtedly be left with at least three impressions. The first and initial impression is that this is a delightful book. There are reproductions of watercolours on the front and back covers and inside there are more than fifty illustrations. The elaborate typeface used for headings and the expensive paper used for printing make for what it is, quite simply, a lavish publication. Even the interviewees themselves are enjoyable, containing a wide variety of impressions, prejudices, opinions, and facts. In short, the volume would seem to be exactly the kind one likes to have around to browse through, or to give as a gift to a good friend. On reflection, however, readers will be disappointed. It seems that so much effort was put into the actual production and visual impact of this issue that no-one bothered to ask "what is the purpose of the volume?" There is, of course, no doubt that a printed version of the Orchard tapes is convenient to have, but the expense, in my opinion, cannot be justified. There is little in this volume that researchers could not have discovered

elsewhere. Presumably, however, the volume was produced for the general public, not for the researcher. But, if this was the case, the editor was certainly remiss in her duties. Surely a volume of this sort deserves a strong and historically sound introduction that would attempt to put the interviews in context. The ethnic section of the volume, to cite one example, contains numerous racist remarks about Indians and Chinese with no attempt by the editor to indicate what is fact and what is not. The reader has no idea of how big Victoria was in these years, learns little about its economy, social compositon, spatial growth, etc. Had this volume been produced by a private publisher, intent on profit, it would be understandable. But this volume was produced with government funds, and we deserve better.

The third impression readers will have stems from the second. Few people interested in British Columbia's history will doubt the wisdom of the province's aural history programme. Aural history, like other types of history, has a valuable role to play in the reconstruction of our past. But the limited funds available to the staff involved in this programme at the provincial archives can best be spent interviewing people in an organized fashion, and preceding and following up the interviews by in-depth research. A Victorian Tapestry consists of material recorded more than sixteen years ago for a radio programme. The questions which are not included in this volume, were "general" and, one suspects, not based on careful, pre-interview research. It is regrettable that the funds and effort put into this volume were not directed elsewhere.

These concerns, following the ones expressed in a recent issue of the News about two other volumes of Sound Heritage (B.C. Historical News, Vol. 12, No. 3 (April 1979, pp. 17-19) raise questions about the value of this publication. Certainly it is time that more attention was paid to content and less to form. Surely readers can expect proper introductory essays by the editor and some indicaton of the historical accuracy of the answers given by interviewees. It is not, perhaps, reasonable to expect these and other things when interviews remain on tape, but when they are presented in published form the product must meet the standard criteria for historical work. While A Victorian Tapestry contains some amusing and entertaining passages, the volume is not good history.

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BOOKS OF INTEREST

EVENDEN, L.J., ed. Vancouver western metropolis. (Western Geographical Series, v. 12.) Victoria, Department of Geography, University of Victoria, 1978. xxii, 277 p. ill. $4.25.

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TOYNBEE, Richard Mouat. Snapshots of early Salt Spring and other favoured islands; collected by Richard Mouat Toynbee and kindred souls. Ganges, Mouat's Trading Co. Ltd., 1978. 127 p., ill. $6.95

MEMBER SOCIETIES

Alberni District Museum and Historical Society, Mrs. C. Holt, Box 284, Port Alberni V9Y 7M7. 723-3006.

Atlin Historical Society, Mrs. Christine Dickenson, Box 111, Atlin, V0W 1A0.

BCHA, Gulf Islands Branch, Elsie Brown, R.R. #1, Mayne Island, V0N 2J0.

BCHA, Victoria Branch, Frances Gundry, 255 Niagara, Victoria, V8V 1G4. 385-6353.

Burnaby Historical Society, Ethel Derrick, 8027-17th Ave., Burnaby, V3N 1M5. 521-6936.

Campbell River & District Historical Society, Julie O'Sullivan, 1235 Island Highway, Campbell River, V0W 2C7.

Cariboo Historical Museum Society, Reg Beck, Box 16, Glen Drive, Fox Mountain, R.R. 2, Williams Lake.

Chemainus Valley Historical Society, Mrs. B.W. Dickie, Box 172, Chemainus, V0R 1K0. 246-9510.

Cowichan Historical Society, H.T.H. Fleetwood, Riverside Road, Cowichan Station.

Creston & District Historical and Museum Society, Mrs. Margaret Gidluck, Box 164, Creston, V0B 1G0. 428-2838.

District #69 Historical Society, Mrs. Mildred Kurtz, Box 74, Parksville, V0R 1S0. 248-6763.

Elphinstone Pioneer Museum Society, Box 755, Gibsons, V0N 1V0. 886-2064.

Golden & District Historical Society, May Yurik, Box 992, Golden, V0A 1H0.

Historical Association of East Kootenay, Mrs. A.E. Oliver, 670 Rotary Drive, Kimberley, V0A 1E3. 427-3446.

Kettle River Museum Society, Alice Evans, Midway, V0H 1M0. 449-2413.

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Princeton & District Pioneer Museum, Margaret Stoneberg, Box 687, Princeton, V0X 1W0. 295-3362.

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La Societe historique franco colombienne, Anna Beaulieu, 1204 - 1560 Burnaby St., Vancouver, V6G 1X3.

Trail Historical Society, Mrs. M.T. Jory, Box 405, Trail, V1R 4L7. 368-5602.

Vancouver Historical Society, Irene Tanco, Box 3071, Vancouver, V6V 3X6. 685-1157.

Wells Historical Society, Sharon Brown, Box 244, Wells, V0K 2R0.

Windermere District Historical Society, Mrs. E. Stevens, Box 784, Invermere, V0A 1K0.