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Museo de América, Madrid. Courtesy Robin Inglis

Detail from a 1791 drawing by José Cardero— artist on the Malaspina Expedition— of the battery of San Miguel built in 1789 at the entry to Friendly Cove. At that time some 75 soldiers were stationed at Yuquot . Not all went well: "... it seems that Spanish officials struggled to control their troops. Spain's five-year sojourn at Nootka Sound was peppered with incidents of violence. Spanish troops chased Native women for sex and took house boards from Native villages." (Quotation from p 106 of David W. Clayton's ISLANDS OF TRUTH*., reviewed in this issue by Phyllis Reeve.)*

Our Spanish Heritage

Mexican Base

A Unique Friendship

Sailing in Northern Waters

Deception at Mud Bay

Uncovering Malaspina

Yuquot

Special Issue

Spanish presence on BC's coast

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REVELSTOKE 2002

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

A Precious Spanish Heritage.

In her book *On Stormy Seas*, B. Guild Gillespie recalls the mysterious disappearance of the words "It was Dawn for Britain, but Twighlight for Spain" from a plaque on the Spanish Banks hill in Vancouver. The plaque commemorates the first friendly meeting of the captains Vancouver, Galiano, and Valdés on the waters off Point Grey. That "correction" of the plaque happened just before the Spanish Monarchs visited Vancouver in March 1984. The removal of the wording was an act of courtesy and diplomacy.

In this issue we like to think about the friendly encounter on the waters off Spanish Banks, not in the context of an international European confrontation but with an emphasis on the spirit of co-operation of those mariners as well as awareness of this briefly shared past of British Columbians, Native and non-Native, and Spain.

Our precious Spanish heritage is remembered mostly by a multitude of geographical names; names respected by contemporary and later explorers, mariners, British, and British Columbian. Those names give proof of the pioneering work done by these people in exploring and describing our coastal regions and those who lived here. Yes, there is much history to be told about the Spanish voyages and presence and fortunately there are now an increasing number of British Columbians and historians elsewhere actively involved in the research of that part of BC's history.

In 1971, in the fourth year of *BC Historical News*, founder of the journal and editor Philip Yandle published a 10-page article by Tomàs Bartroli, then at UBC, on the Spanish presence on the Northwest Coast. Near nothing else was published on the subject in the following thirty years. This issue should correct that omission…somewhat. A warm *gracias* to the authors. THE EDITOR

A Spanish Heritage for British Columbia

by Robin Inglis

Robin Inglis is director of the North Vancouver Museum and Archives and president of Vancouver's Spanish Pacific Historical Society. In 1991, as director of the Vancouver Maritime Museum, he and author and historian John Kendrick, developed the major exhibition, "Enlightened Voyages," and an international symposium to celebrate the bicentennial of the visit of the Malaspina Expedition to the Northwest Coast of America. Robin Inglis edited the papers given at this symposium, which were published by the Vancouver Maritime Museum in the following year under the title *Spain and the North Pacific Coast*. He has lectured widely on the subject of early exploration, with particular reference to the Spanish, and has published a number of articles from papers delivered internationally. He contributed a number of entries in the recently published *Encyclopaedia of British Columbia*

At the end of the fifteenth century, a papal division of the world encouraged and sanctioned the expansion of Europe by dividing the world between Spain and Portugal. Spanish conquests in the Americas were thus legitimized, and Spain claimed the entire Pacific coast of North and South America. Vast distances and adverse sailing conditions, however, combined with the demands of Spain's Central and South American empire, to thwart Spanish exploration of the coast beyond southern California, with the result that the Northwest Coast (Oregon, Washington, British Columbia and Alaska) was the last temperate region to be confirmed on the world map.

Spanish exploration in the late eighteenth century was motivated by concern over a Russian approach to New Spain (Mexico), and later by a search for the Northwest Passage. As early as the 1740s Russian traders were advancing northeast along the Aleutian Islands and Vitus Bering reached the Alaskan coast at about 60° North. In 1774 Juan Pérez left the naval base of San Blas in command of the *Santiago*. On 18 July he sighted the northern end of the Queen Charlotte Islands and encountered a number of Haida who came offshore Langara Island in canoes and engaged in trade. But Pérez did not land. Later he anchored off Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island—*Surgidero de San Lorenzo*—and there was more trade with local natives. But again he neither landed nor officially took possession of the area for Spain. Nevertheless, these first contacts between Europeans and First Nations people on the coast resulted in the first descriptions of native culture. In 1775 Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra in the *Sonora* reached 58°30' and explored Bucareli Bay off Prince of Wales Island in Alaska. At the end of the 1770s, learning of James Cook's plan to search for the Pacific opening of the long-dreamed-about Northwest Passage—a navigable waterway between the Atlantic and Pacific—Spanish authorities launched a third expedition, which, although a year late to intercept the English explorer, sailed again under the command of Bodega y Quadra in 1779 as far as Cook Inlet, also in Alaska.

Following Spanish involvement in the American War of Independence, the arrival of traders in the North Pacific and the threatening visit of La Pérouse's French expedition to the Northwest Coast in 1786 led to renewed Spanish activity. Esteban José Martínez explored the Alaskan coast north and west to Unalaska Island in 1788, returning to Mexico with information that suggested a Russian plan to occupy Nootka. The Spanish decided to move first and in 1789 Martínez led an expedition to Vancouver Island where they established themselves on the site of the Mowachaht village of Yuquot in Friendly Cove. Here Martínez seized British fur trading vessels, which had arrived to set up a trading post in the wake of the Cook expedition's discovery of the high value of sea otter furs in China. This action touched off the Nootka Sound Crisis that nearly led to a war in Europe.

The Spanish withdrew from Nootka in the Fall of 1789 but in 1790, just as the authorities in Madrid were preparing to cede to Britain the right to trade on the coast, Francisco Eliza returned to occupy the site more permanently, along with a garrison of soldiers under the command of Pedro Alberni. While construction of a fort and settlement proceeded, the Spanish embarked upon three years of feverish exploration in the region and Manuel Quimper explored into the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The Spanish wintered at Nootka and in the summer of 1791 Eliza continued this exploration with José Maria Narváez, in command of the tiny schooner *Santa Saturnina*, becoming the first European to enter the Strait of Georgia—*Canal de Nuestra Señora del Rosario*—off present-day Vancouver. That summer, also, Nootka Sound was visited, explored and described by scientists attached to the major expedition commanded by Alejandro Malaspina who had earlier searched, without success, with his ships *Descubierta* and *Atrevida* for the Northwest Passage along the Alaskan coast.

When Spain and Great Britain reached a diplomatic settlement over Nootka Sound, Bodega y Quadra was sent to negotiate the details of a handover of the site of the Spanish establishment with George Vancouver, the great English navi-

Museo Naval, Madrid. Courtesy of Robin Inglis

Left: *The* SUTIL *and* MEXICANA *under the command of Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés passing through the San Juan Islands in the summer of 1792, enroute into the Gulf of Georgia and a historic meeting with George Vancouver's expedition off Point Grey. Mount Baker is in the background of this drawing by José Cardero, who made two trips to the Northwest Coast in 1791 and 1792 Cardero left us with more drawings of the area and its people than any other artist of the exploration period.*

gator who meticulously explored the Northwest Coast during three summers, 1792-1794. Bodega's *Expedición de Límites* during the summer of 1792 also involved a search in northern British Columbia waters by Jacinto Caamaño for the Strait of Fonte, another suspected but wholly mythical passage to the Atlantic.

When Malaspina returned to Mexico in the fall of 1791 he learned the details of the explorations into and beyond the Strait of Juan de Fuca and persuaded Viceroy Revilla Gigedo to dispatch two of his officers, Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés, in the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* to continue the search for a passage to the Atlantic during the summer of 1792. After visiting Bodega y Quadra at Nootka, they entered the strait and, off Point Grey in late June, encountered Vancouver, himself exploring in the waters behind Vancouver Island en route to Nootka for his meetings with Bodega. For two weeks the Spanish and British explorers sailed together sharing information as they worked their way into the islands that we now know separate Vancouver Island from the mainland. After parting from the British, Galiano and Valdés took a route into Queen Charlotte Strait and, via Goletas Channel, entered the Pacific and proceeded to Nootka, completing the first circumnavigation of Vancouver Island by Europeans. That fall Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver failed to settle the competing Spanish and British claims and the Nootka affair was ultimately resolved in Europe. In 1795 Spain ended her occupation of Yuquot and, following one final expedition in 1796, withdrew from further maritime activity north of California.

The charts, drawings, journals, and collections of botanical specimens and artifacts from these early Spanish voyages are today housed principally in the Museo de América, the Museo Naval and the archives of the Real Jardín Botánico in Madrid. They are a treasured legacy of the "first contact" period between the vibrant native cultures of the Northwest Coast and European explorers and traders. Recent scholarship, publications, conferences, and exhibitions, precipitated primarily by the bicentennial of the Malaspina Expedition in 1991, have served to rescue the story of British Columbia's Spanish history from the shadow of the nineteenth-century emergence of an English-speaking United States and the evolution of Western Canada and British Columbia into the British Empire. Those who live in this part of the world today are the beneficiaries of an increased understanding and appreciation of the fact that, in addition to an English and American past, they also have an important link with Spain and a precious Spanish heritage.

Information on the Vancouver Spanish Pacific Historical Society can be found on page 47.

British Columbia's Mexican Connection

The Naval Base at San Blas 1768–1810

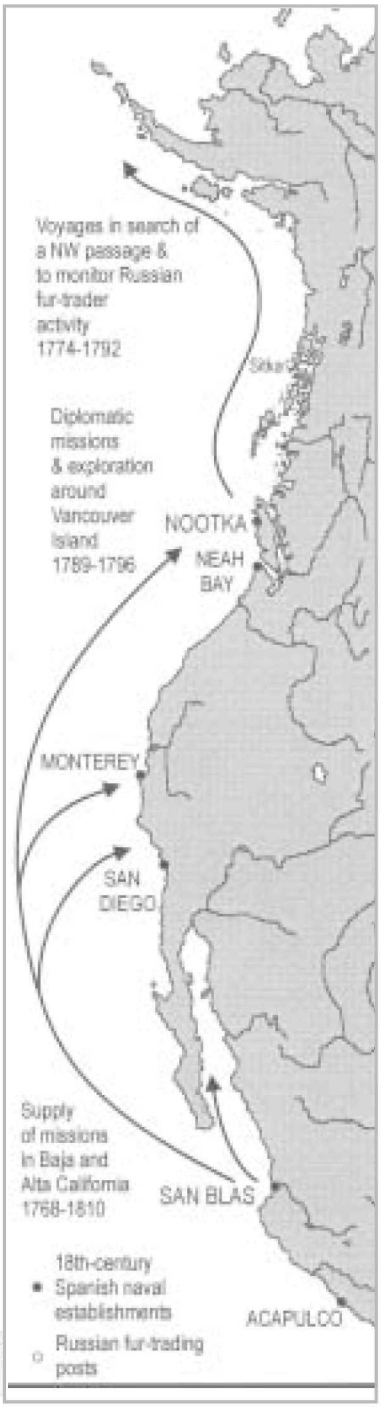
by Nick Doe

Nick Doe, a former resident of White Rock, now lives on Gabriola Island. His interest is in the history of coastal BC.

MANY of the Spanish ships that visited the coast of British Columbia in the late eighteenth century sailed from the port of San Blas. Nowadays, asked to describe exactly where San Blas is, one would probably have to reach for an atlas.[1] Yet, this small and congenial Mexican town, which is as far south of Victoria as Toronto is east, was for forty years the headquarters of the Spanish navy in the north Pacific. Here, in a belated effort to maintain their claim to all the lands of the Pacific Rim, the Spanish established shipbuilding yards, warehouses, and a fortified harbour. In what the historian Warren Cook has called the flood tide of empire, Spanish ships sailed from San Blas to establish Franciscan missions in Upper California, naval bases at San Diego and Monterey, and naval outposts at Neah Bay on the Olympic Peninsula and at Nootka Sound off the west coast of Vancouver Island.

To reach San Blas from Puerto Vallarta, you drive north for about three hours on the main Mazatlán highway, and then, just north of Tepic, take the road that wanders down to the coast through green, tropical countryside. If you go in winter, the streets will be dry and dusty, and the weather pleasant, but in the summertime it often rains.

The land around San Blas is flat. As you move inland, the barrier beaches give way to mangrove swamps, followed by freshwater marshes and lakes, and then the alluvial plain. From the air, the land to the north looks as though it has been furrowed by the fingers of a giant's hand, leaving long, narrow lagoons running parallel to the sea.



Nick Doe

Above: *Map of the coast of N. America showing Spanish attempts at controlling the whole of the Pacific coast of North America using ships built and manned by the Naval Department at San Blas.*

Two rivers emerge from the mangrove swamps on either side of the town: the San Cristóbal to the east, and El Pozo (formerly El Arsenal) to the west. Over the years, surrounding jungle has been cleared to make way for papaya, mango, and banana orchards, and near-by lagoons are used as shrimp ponds. But development is not rampant. Today's population, although growing, is not much greater than what it was at the height of the Spanish activities. The only buildings at the edges of the long, sandy beaches are *palapas* (a shelter made of sticks and palm fronds), where you can drink coconut juice, eat *ceviche* or grilled *pescado*, and watch Mexican families enjoying the sun.

Little is known of the early colonial history of San Blas and no structures dating from that period remain. Sometime early in the seventeenth century Franciscans founded a mission here and urged the Indians to give up their seminomadic hunting life style in the hills to the south and east where they were difficult to reach. Most of those that did so quickly succumbed to

[1] San Blas is in the state of Nayarit, Mexico at 21°32'N, 105°17'W, 3394 km from Victoria BC.
[2] The task of a *visitador-general* in Spanish dominions was to implement royal policies. They reported directly to the viceroy and were given wide-ranging powers to appoint officials, proclaim new regulations, manage financial matters, etc. They regularly visited provinces to confer with local authorities, inspect, and report on conditions, resolve problems, and direct the activities of the provincial administrators.
[3] Spanish cedar was an important wood in tropical America; aromatic, strong, easily worked, resistant to dry rot and insect damage, it has now gone from many areas where it once grew. Some of the vessels built at San Blas were constructed "keel to masthead" using Spanish cedar (Antonio de Pineda).
[4] Other trees known to have been used include the rubber tree (*Castilla elastica*), a soft lightweight wood used for construction; *mesquite* (*Prosopis juliflora*), tough and strong, used for posts and furniture; lead tree (*Leucaena glauca*), a hard heavy wood used for

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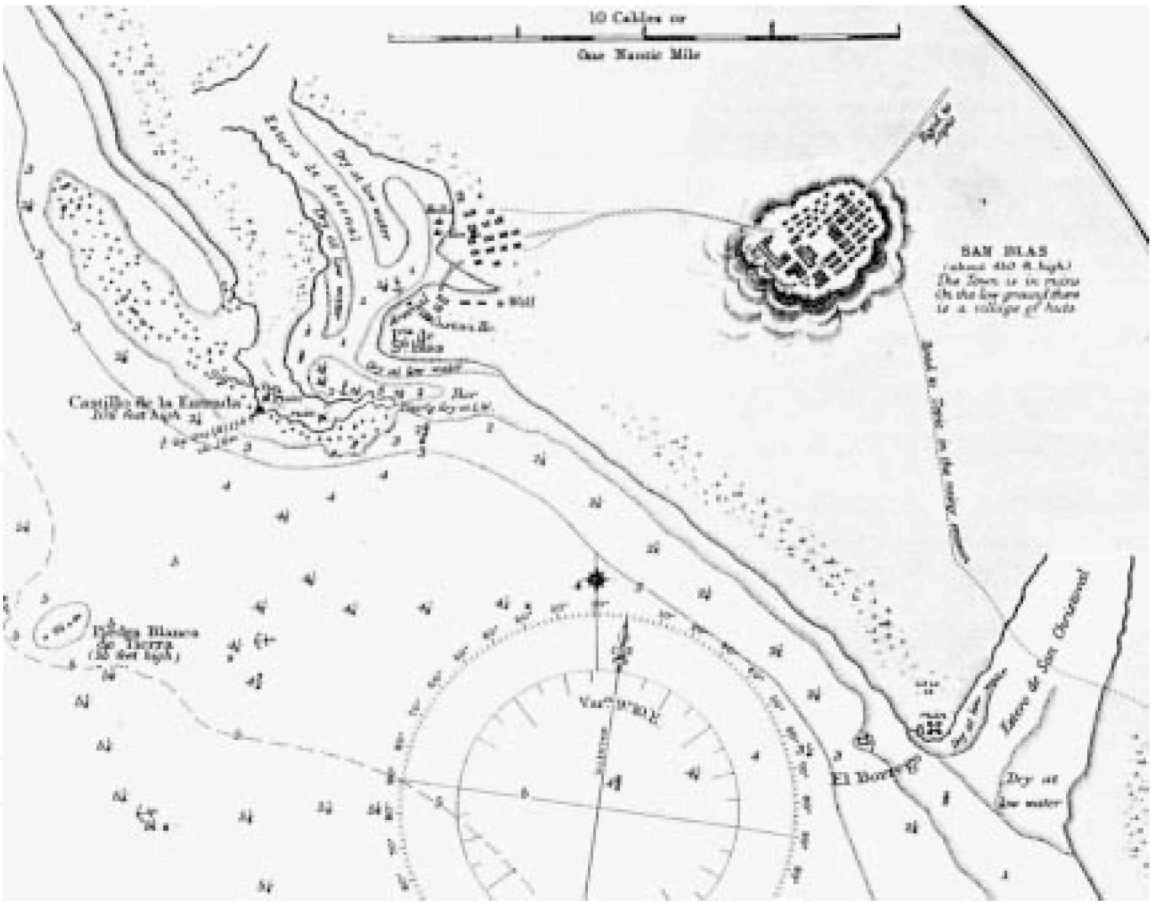

Port San Blas by Henry Foster, Master Mate of H.M.S. CONWAY, Capt. Basil Hall, 1882.

Left: *Part of a chart of San Blas made in 1822, shortly after Mexican independence. Not a lot has changed. The Spanish naval headquarters on the hill are marked "old monas(tr)y" and the hilltop town as "in ruins".*

newly introduced diseases, or fell ill as the result of trading their healthy climate for that of the hot and humid river estuaries. There are reports of pearl fishing; salt was shipped from San Blas and from Matanchén a few miles to the south; Manila galleons bound for Acapulco sometimes sheltered here from summer storms; Jesuits sailed for Baja California; and there were, no doubt, many unrecorded visits by pirate ships. There, the history of this remote and sparsely-populated settlement might have remained unremarkable were it not for events in the northernmost reaches of the Pacific Ocean.

In 1741, Bering and Chirikov reached Alaska from the Kamchatka Peninsula, and in the ensuing years, Russian fur traders, with the active encouragement of the Empress Catherine II, rapidly expanded their activities into the region. By 1760, all of the Aleutian Islands were supplying pelts of sea otters, blue foxes, and fur seals, together with walrus tusks from mainland Alaska, to the markets of China. Plans were made to push farther south, and the Spanish, who for more than a hundred years had been content to leave unexplored the vast northern territories that they claimed by virtue of having discovered the Pacific, were alarmed. In 1768, the *visitador-general*,[2] José de Gálvez, responded to the crisis in "Northern California" by ordering the establishment of a new naval base to control operations there.

San Blas was chosen because of its high latitude and sheltered harbour, its copious supplies of fresh water, salt, and wood, and for its access to the agricultural produce of the interior highlands. Many of the raw materials required for shipbuilding were obtained locally. Spanish cedar (*Cedrela odorata*) was the most extensively used construction timber.[3] Other trees, such as *guapinole* (*Hymenaea courbaril*) whose sap was used to make varnish, and *lignumvitae* (*Guaiacum sanctum*), whose heavy, fine-grained wood was ideal for making blocks, tackles, and bearings, were also necessary and in good supply.[4] Indians from near-by Tequepexpan were contracted to gather pitch and tar; and vitamin-C-rich guavas, the favoured fruit for the treatment of scurvy, were gathered from the local forests.[5]

By the mid-1770s, packet boats[6] built in the San Blas shipyards were plying regularly between the coast of Nueva Galicia and missions in Alta California,[7] carrying essential supplies of food, tools, manufactured goods, and barrels of sweet wine for celebrating Mass. It was from here that Juan José Pérez Hernández sailed the San Blas-

machinery components; tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*) for the charcoal used in making gun-powder; *chicharrón* (*Comocladia dodonaea*), a shrub with a sap that stains, used for paints and rouge dyes; silk-cotton tree (*Ceiba pentandra*) for silk stuffing material; and white mangrove (*Laguncularia racemosa*) for firewood. A local correspondent of the author, Manuel Lomelí, had no difficulty in identifying over 50 species of indigenous trees growing in the immediate vicinity of San Blas.

[5] Other trees and plants used for refreshment and medicinal purposes included oranges, limes, tamarinds (candy, preserves, and seasonings), *sapodilla* (*Manilkara zapota*) (chewing gum), cacao (cocoa and chocolate), bitterbush (*Picramnia pentandra*) for treating fever, *gumbolimbo* (*Busera simaruba*) for dysentery, and *margarita* (common daisy) used as a tonic and possibly as a treatment for nightsweats.

[6] A packet boat (Sp. *paquebote*) was basically a frigate (200 tons) with stowage space in place of heavy armaments.

[7] A late-eighteenth century list of missions in California being supplied from San Blas include: Purísima Concepción, San Antonio de Padua, Santa Bárbara, San Buena Ventura, San Carlos, Santa Clara, San Diego, San Francisco, San Gabriel Arcángel, San Juan de Capistrano, and San Luis Obispo.

built frigate *Santiago* north to the Queen Charlotte Islands and Nootka Sound in 1774, to become the first European to have visited the native peoples of British Columbia. It was from here that Esteban José Martínez sailed to Alaska in 1788 to meet the Russian intruders along the shores of the "Spanish lake" as the Pacific was sometimes called. And it was from here, in 1792, that the San Blas-built schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana* set out on their historic circumnavigation of Vancouver Island, the first European vessels to do so.[8]

To reach the ruins of the old Spanish headquarters, you walk towards the bridge that crosses the San Cristóbal estuary at the entrance to the town and climb the steep, cobbled road, full of playing children, up past the town cemetery onto the flat-topped hill known as the Cerro de Basilio.[9] The *cerro* has the peaceful air of an abandoned garden. A broad path leads past the old chapel to the ruins on the bluff where neatly-painted cannon point out over the palm trees towards the sea.

Most of the buildings on the *cerro* were built of wood and of them, nothing remains to be seen, but here on the highest point of the hill stand the massive walls of the *contaduría*. Half of this building was the administrative headquarters of the port; the other half contained shipping and receiving offices and a large warehouse, which ran the length of the building.[10] It was completed in 1779. The walls are about seven metres high and were made from volcanic rock, which was quarried from the hill on which they stand. Here and there, the roots of trees and shrubs are slowly prying the walls apart and the wooden roof has long since gone. At the southern corner there is, appropriately, a full-grown Spanish cedar tree.

The cannon along the cliff edge mark the site of early clashes in the Mexican War of Independence 1810–1821. Although the *contaduría* is now sometimes called a fortress (*fuerte*), the main defences of the base were actually located below. These comprised several gunboats, a substantial garrisoned fort (*El Castillo de la Entrada*) on the site of the present lighthouse overlooking the Pozo (Arsenal) estuary, and a smaller battery at El Borrego at the mouth of the San Cristóbal. They were not much used. Pirate attacks on galleons from the Philippines had declined considerably by the time the naval base was built, and no hostile warship ever approached San Blas in colonial times.

The chapel lower down the slope was built with the same heavy stones as the *contaduría*. It is a strangely cold ruin—cold both physically and spiritually. Its wooden roof too has gone, although the narrow, grey-black stone arches, that once supported it still span the ten-metre wide nave.[11] After independence, the bronze bells, at least one of them cracked, were taken down to the town, where for a time they were mounted in a wooden frame only a metre or so high. It was a report of this that inspired the American poet Henry W. Longfellow's final work: *The Bells of San Blas* (1882).

At least one of the chaplains that served here went north. Lummi Bay, near Bellingham in the state of Washington, was known to the Spanish as *Ensenada de Loera* (Loera's Bay) and was so named in 1791 by the commandant of Nootka after his ship's chaplain Nicolás de Loera of San Blas. The chapel too has a northern namesake; it was dedicated to *Nuestra Señora del Rosario la Marinera*, which is the name given by the Spanish to the stretch of water between Vancouver Island and mainland British Columbia, now known as the Strait of Georgia.[12]

Within the chapel, there are no signs of the icons, crucifixes, and flowers that usually adorn holy places in catholic countries. Clearly the much-frequented, patched-up old church in the town square below has the affection of the townspeople, and perhaps always did. Plans for a permanent church on the hilltop were first mooted in 1772, but by 1779 only one wall had been completed and further work was held up for lack of money. The priorities were elsewhere—a much-needed hospital and a barracks for the local troops were both completed in the intervening years. Since the hilltop community was largely abandoned in the early 1800s, the active lifespan of the chapel must have been brief indeed.

The naval dockyards and its associated facilities, including some housing less prestigious than that on the hill, were down by the town's inner harbour. If you stand in the old Customs House (*Aduana*), you cannot be far from where the carpenters, blacksmiths, coopers, rope-makers, mast-makers, and caulkers once had their workshops. Close-by, along the riverbank, there was an arsenal, surrounded by a stockade, where tools, lumber, and firearms were stored. The *Aduana* is a two-storey building with a Roman-like arcade in the Renaissance-style, probably built in the early-nineteenth century.[13] Only its shell remains,

[8] A complete list of ships built at San Blas known to have visited British Columbia in the eighteenth century includes the brigantine *Activa* (213 tons), the frigates *Princesa* (189 tons) and *Santiago* (225 tons), and the schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana* (46 tons). Another schooner, the *Santa Saturina* (32 tons), which was used in the first European exploration of the Strait of Georgia, was assembled at Nootka, probably from a kit of parts made at San Blas. It returned to San Blas in 1791 where it was used for many years for local traffic and deliveries.

[9] Also known as *Cerro de Contaduría*, literally "hill of the counting-house (accountancy)."

[10] In 1791, the staff of officers, clerks, and other employees at the base numbered 772.

[11] One arch of the chapel in particular has little curvature and is known as "the flat arch of San Blas."

[12] The Spanish name for the Strait of Georgia was later given to the Rosario Strait, which separates mainland Washington from the San Juan Islands. *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* was also a seldom-used alias of the frigate *Princesa*.

[13] The exact age of the Customs House is not known to the author. It was probably built before Mexico became independent in 1821. Thurman 1967 has a photograph of the ruin in his book captioned "Inner Dock and Warehouse" but he makes no reference to it in his text. In the 1930s, it was being used as a coconut-oil factory.

Photos by Nick Doe, March 1990.

Above from left to right: *(1) The west corner of the administrative building and warehouse at San Blas, built in 1779. This was the control centre for operations in "the Californias", a coastline stretching from Cabo San Lucas to the Aleutian Islands. (2) The chapel and graveyard, built between 1772 and 1792. The chapel was struck by lightning in 1793 and was abandoned in the early 1800s. (3) Inside the chapel. It had a timber roof, almost certainly of Spanish cedar. Most of the Spanish and Mexican explorers of the BC coast took Holy Communion here immediately before sailing north.*

and because of silting, a perennial problem on the Pozo River, its wharf is now a few minutes walk from the inner harbour. Here, where many ships once went about the business of empire, flocks of pelicans perform their ever-amusing antics amidst the moored fishing fleet of the town.

Birds abound in and around San Blas—over three hundred species have been seen in a Christmas bird count, twice the number usually recorded in Victoria or Boundary Bay. In the evening that I wandered amongst the ruins on the cerro, the bushes were full of rambunctious kiskadee flycatchers, and from the depths of the woods came the startling cry of a mottled owl.

But even more abundant than birds are insects. Where else but San Blas would ladies be driven to use tequila to sooth the mosquito and *jején* (no-see-um) bites on their legs? At the end of the dry season, high-ranking Spanish naval officers and their families moved inland to the highlands around Tepic to escape the heat, humidity, contaminated water, and disease-bearing insect infestations of the summer months. Alejandro Malaspina stopped briefly at San Blas in October 1791 on his voyage around the world, and his account leaves no doubt why proposals to relocate the port were popular:

> ... It would be impossible to give a full idea of the really pitiful spectacle presented at that time by the seamen and other inhabitants of those parts. Pallid of face, enervated, ragged, and careless in their attire, forced to find in destructive vices the only alleviation of their woes, making in all, a singular contrast with the healthy and happy appearance of our men.... the heat was insufferable and such were the swarms of mosquitoes, and such the putrid vapors arising from the immense sheets of stagnant water scattered over the flats, that in addition to discomfort, such excursions [ashore] were dangerous.

The decline of the naval base at San Blas after 1800 was as rapid as its ascent. Upper California became self-sufficient. The North American coast swarmed with foreign commercial vessels in uncontrollable numbers. Key naval personnel returned to Napoleon's Europe. And the concessions made to the British at Nootka Sound, and to the Russians in Alaska, fatally weakened Spanish territorial claims in the north.

Captain William Broughton, who surveyed the Pacific northwest coast under the command of George Vancouver in the early 1790s, describes the town in 1796 as having "a very noble and picturesque appearance," but when the trader Richard Cleveland visited the port in 1802, he was struck more by the lack of military discipline and the manifest signs of discontent and insubordination of the inhabitants. Finally, in 1810, a small band of rebels captured El Castillo from the unprotected landward side, and eleven years later, Mexico had won its War of Independence; the buildings on the hilltop were in ruins; and the short, but eventful, history of the Spanish naval base was at an end.

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Chief Maquinna and Bodega y Quadra

by Freeman M. Tovell

Freeman M. Tovell has a long interest in maritime exploration, and since coming to British Columbia in 1978, in the Spanish exploration of and presence in the Pacific Northwest. Mr. Tovell has just completed a biography of Bodega y Quadra, the research for which was done in various archives in Spain, Mexico, and the United States.

"Maquinna is the same as Quadra and Quadra is the same as Maquinna." So did Maquinna, the chief of the Mowachaht[1] people of the Nuu-chah-nulth confederacy, describe his unique relationship with Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, in command of the Spanish establishment at Yuquot (Friendly Cove) in Nootka Sound.

THE small establishment, which existed from 1789 to 1795, was a constant irritant in the relations between the Spanish and the Mowachaht. Its occupation by the Spanish forced Maquinna's displacement to less desirable locations, especially Tahsis, twenty miles inland at the end of the Tahsis Inlet. At the time of contact, Yuquot was the largest Mowachaht village and there is archaeological evidence that the site has been occupied for over 4,300 years. It was the capital of the Yuquot-Tahsis confederacy and here were held ritual feasts and festivities. As it was the best cove at the entrance to Nootka Sound, access to the ocean was easy for fishing and whaling, vital to the people's livelihood. Although the Spanish establishment protected the Mowachaht from Maquinna's more powerful neighbours, Wickaninnish of Clayoquot Sound and Cleaskinah ("Captain Hanna"), the chief of the Ahousaht group, it also represented a barrier to Chief Maquinna's exercise of his authority over his villages outside the Sound.

Museo Naval, Madrid

Above: *Tomás de Suria's pencil portrait of Chief Maquinna, executed during the visit to Yuquot of the Malespina expedition in 1871.*

From the beginning there were clashes and tension. The Spanish conducted occasional raids into the Native villages to collect planks from supposedly abandoned houses, and periodically the Indians carried out nocturnal incursions to steal barrel staves and hoops. Invariably the response led to loss of life on both sides. The worst occurrence was the murder, whether deliberate or accidental, of Maquinna's relative and a prominent sub-chief, Callicum,[2] when Estéban José Martínez was setting up the establishment. It was a black cloud that hung over the Spanish for the entire five years of their presence.

Not surprisingly, there were frequent inquiries when the Spanish would be leaving. As early as 1791, in his report to Viceroy Revilla Gigedo on the character and customs of the Natives, the second commandant, Francisco de Eliza, reported: "The place where we are anchored is the best there is in this grand port of Nuca. For this reason the [Natives] do not cease to come daily and ask me when we are leaving."[3]

At no time did the Spanish consider the Mowachaht as subjects of the king of Spain. There was no formal treaty to bind or control them, nor was any attempt made to enlist them as allies to force out other nationalities. There was no formal cession of the land to Spain and no part of it was donated or sold. Occupancy was based solely on Chief Maquinna's verbal consent beginning with Martínez in 1789, ratified with Francisco de Eliza in 1790 and Alejandro Malaspina during the latter's brief visit in 1791, and confirmed to Bodega y Quadra in 1792. Tenancy was always limited in time to the Spanish occupation of the site. As continued tenancy depended on Maquinna, constant manifestations of friendship and recognition of his paramountcy in the confederacy were essential.

According to José Mariano Moziño, the multitalented scientist who accompanied Bodega y

Quadra to Nootka, the Maquinna known to the Spanish is believed to have inherited the chieftainship when his father was killed in a war against the Tlaumases[4] in 1778, the same year that James Cook visited Nootka Sound. As Cook makes no mention of any chief by name, it is not known for certain whether the Maquinna with whom we are concerned was the chief at that time.[5]

Nor do we know Maquinna's age at the time of Bodega y Quadra's four months residence in 1792. The English fur trader John Meares, who visited Nootka Sound in May 1788, recorded that the chief "appeared to be about thirty years."[6] Alejandro Malaspina, who followed three years later, estimated that "the age of this chief...is not over thirty years."[7] If Meares' estimate is correct, Maquinna would have been in his mid-thirties when Bodega y Quadra arrived in April 1792. Meares described Maquinna as "of middle size, but extremely well made, and possessing a countenance that was formed to interest all who saw him."[8] Malaspina portrayed him as "of short stature and ill-formed in the lower half of his body, but he makes up for these deficiencies with a spiritual air, full of majesty and nobility, with which he inspires naturally a respect for his person."[9]

But if Maquinna was strong and vigorous in his youth, two years later Malaspina found him "short and thin, although of a nervous disposition and soft musculature." He complained that he no longer enjoyed the robustness of his youth, largely because he had been compelled to move away from Yuquot, his whaling village, to Tahsis. There, food was not so plentiful and he became weak and thin. He recalled to Malaspina the "happy time when his strength allowed him to harpoon a whale single-handedly."[10] Ten years later, in 1801, John Jewitt, a survivor of the *Boston* massacre, had a different impression. He described Maquinna as "a man of dignified aspect, about six feet in height, and extremely strait and well proportioned... [He] had an air of savage magnificence."[11]

The geographic extent of Maquinna's authority and influence cannot be defined with any precision. According to Moziño, it stretched north from Nootka Sound up the western coast of Vancouver Island as far as Cape Cook. In addition to Yuquot, it included the villages of Coopti,[12] Marvinas and those in the Tahsis Inlet, the greater part of Nootka Island, the waters around Bligh Island, Tlupana Inlet, five miles into Muchalat Inlet, and, possibly, the south coast from the entrance to Nootka Sound as far as Breakers Point.[13] A few chiefs whose villages were outside this realm were in varying degrees subordinate to Maquinna. To the north were the Kwakwaka'wakw, called by the Spanish the *Nuchimases*, who occupied the north coast of Vancouver Island, possibly as far north as Laredo Sound, and with whom Maquinna's people traded peacefully.

Museo Naval, Madrid.

Above: *There is no likeness of Bodega. On the occasion of the launching of Canadian Coast Guard Ship Quadra in 1966, the Spanish government presented the Canadian Coast Guard with a medallion of which a detail is shown here. When the vessel was decommissioned a few years ago, the medallion was removed and it now hangs in the Coast Guard headquarters in Victoria.*

Bodega y Quadra says nothing in his journal of Maquinna's character, but Malaspina does. He wrote:

> The character of Maquinna is difficult to decipher. His personality seems simultaneously fierce, suspicious and intrepid. The natural tendency of his inclinations is probably much disturbed on one hand by the desire of the Europeans to cultivate his friendship, the treasure he has accumulated in a few years and the discord between the Europeans themselves, and perhaps their attempts to obtain a monopoly of the fur trade; and on the other, the weakness of his forces, the skirmishes suffered, the usefulness of the trade, and the too frequent presence of European ships in these parts.[14]

Visitors to Nootka Sound at this time testify to Maquinna's continuing suspicion of foreigners. From the outset of the Spanish occupation of Yuquot and the arrival of the English and American fur traders, he had been compelled to play a largely passive role, but one he performed with consummate skill to accumulate considerable wealth and prestige. With Bodega y Quadra's arrival in April 1792, Maquinna would acquire a central position in the events of the next six months.[15]

In Mexico City, Viceroy Revilla Gigedo had firm views on how his officers should conduct relations with the Natives. No longer were they to be treated as inferior as in Mexico and Peru. His strict instructions called upon his commanders to maintain vigilance over their men not to "insult the Indians," even over trifling matters.

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They were to "leave behind a cemented friendship," never use their arms except in self-defence, never take from the Indians anything unless offered by hand, and so forth.[16] In another instruction he wrote that "Good treatment and harmony with the Indians is of the first importance to establish in this way a solid friendship with them so that our visits should not be as distressing as those of other voyages to the detriment of humanity and the national credit. [The] use of superiority of...arms...is...directly opposed to humanity."[17]

The viceroy's expansive phrases were not mere platitudes. His policy was in tune with the Age of Enlightenment and more than a superficial concern for native people as human beings. The policy was also dictated by the need to recruit native support for Spanish sovereignty. Not only was the viceroy anxious to avoid occurrences that would poison relations with the Natives, but Spain's presence in the Pacific Northwest demanded stability. Without it, exploration and any eventual settlement would be impossible. It was not always easy to follow the viceroy's policy to the letter. Francisco de Eliza, who reopened the establishment in 1790 after Martínez' recall, had some success in gaining the trust of the Indians and Maquinna in particular. There were some violent incidents in the two years he was in command, but on the whole he managed to create a modicum of trust on which Bodega y Quadra could build.

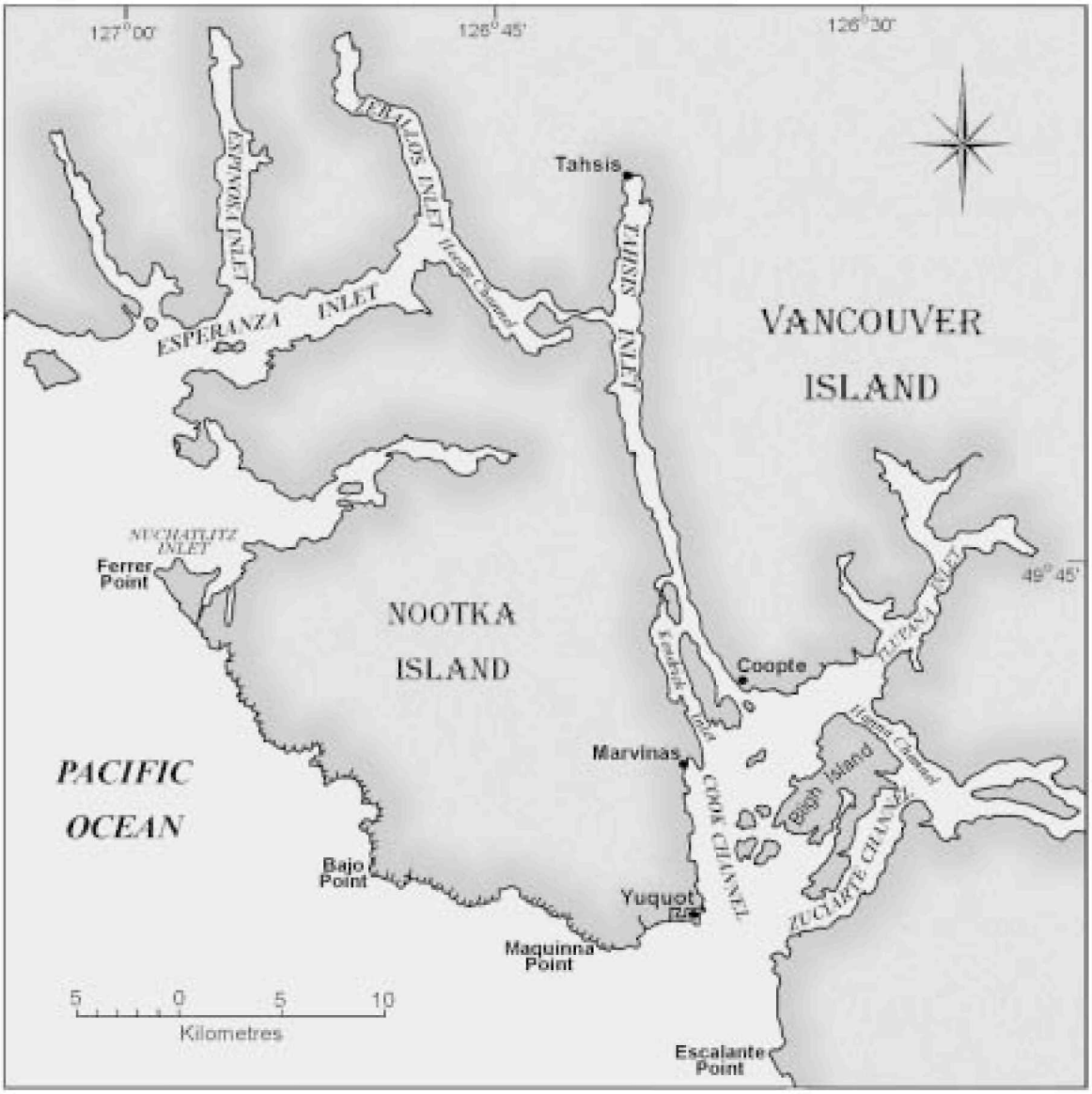
Implementation of the viceroy's policy was a top priority for Bodega y Quadra and he would prove to be the right instrument to carry it out. Bodega, who earlier had made a name for himself as a maritime explorer of the north Pacific and was now serving as commandant of the naval department of San Blas, Mexico, had been appointed Spanish commissioner by the viceroy to meet with his English counterpart, Captain George Vancouver, to arrange the handing over of the Spanish establishment under the terms of the Nootka Convention of 1790. Immediately upon his arrival, Bodega made it clear he intended to carry out the viceroy's enlightened policy. He told the captains and officers of the ships of his command and the garrison ashore that he "would view with displeasure the conduct of anyone who did not show the greatest friendship and harmony towards the natives."[18]

Bodega's relations with Maquinna got off to a good start. Very shortly after his arrival, Maquinna came to Yuquot to welcome him and invite him to a potlatch he wanted to hold in his honour. Bodega reciprocated with a standing invitation to Maquinna and his sub-chiefs to dine with him in the commandant's house.

Unlike his predecessors, Bodega travelled frequently outside the bounds of the Spanish establishment to make regular visits to the chiefs and sub-chiefs in their villages and present them gifts of blue cloth, abalone shells and especially much prized copper plates. They in turn responded to Bodega's openness by offering potlatches in his honour. Tlupananutl, the chief of Bligh Island and Tlupana Inlet and Maquinna's principal rival, and Quiocomasia, the chief of the Ehattesaht group, were prominent in this respect.[19] Tlupananutl, a frequent guest at the commandant's house, constantly sought Bodega's support for his claim to higher status and vied with Maquinna for his favours. Bodega was not swayed by such attentions and was able to discern the games they were playing, perhaps even amused by them.

Bodega y Quadra not only recognized and respected the ranking order

[1] Following their recent amalgamation, they are known today as the Mowachaht/Muchalat people.
[2] Because of the phonetic system of spelling used by early explorers, Callicum is variously spelt Ke-le-kum, Quelequem, Calacan, etc.
[3] Author's translation. Eliza to Revilla Gigedo. N/d. "Costumbres de los Naturales del Puerto de San Lorenzo de Nuca, propuestas para su Conquista y Utilidades que comprendo puede producir." Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico), Ramo Historia, 69, ff.10-16. Hereafter cited as AGN.
[4] *Noticias de Nutka*, trans. and ed. Iris H. Wilson Engstrand. (Toronto: 1970, reprinted Seattle and Vancouver: 1991), 31. Hereafter cited as Moziño *Noticias*. He added that "I have not been able to determine in what area this nation resides... [Maquinna] avenged his death; going in person to the enemy villages, he took them by surprise and carried out a frightful massacre."
[5] In their oral history, however, the Nuu-chah-nulth say that Captain Cook was welcomed by "Chief Maquinna."
[6] John Meares, *Voyages made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the West Coast of America*, (London: Logographic Press, 1790), 113. Hereafter cited as *Meares*.
[7] *Viaje científico y político alrededor del mundo por las corbetas* DESCUBIERTA *y* ATREVIDA, ed. Pedro Novo y Colson (Madrid: 1885), 354. Hereafter cited as Malaspina, Novo y Colson.
[8] *Meares*, 113.
[9] Quoted by Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano: Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast, 1791 & 1792*, (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1991), 90. Hereafter cited as Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*.
[10] Author's translation. Ricardo Cerezo Martínez, *Diario General del Viaje*, vol. II, *La Expedición Malaspina* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, Museo Naval, Lunwerg Editores, 1992), 349.
[11] *The Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt, Captive of Maquinna*, ed. Hilary Stewart, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987), 42.
[12] Also spelt Kupti and on some modern maps Coopetee.
[13] Moziño, *Noticias*, 41.
[14] Author's translation. Malaspina, Nova y Colson, 354. The remarkable charcoal portrait done by Malaspina's artist, Tomás de Suria, reflects the same sad, even wistful mood. Carmen Sotos, *Los Pintores de la Expedición Malaspina*, vol. II (Madrid:1982), fig.606.
[15] For a detailed analysis of Maquinna's role during the years of the Spanish occupation of Yuquot, see Robin Inglis, "Maquinna of Nootka: Portrait of an Indian Chief on the Edge of the Empire," a paper delivered at the *Ateneo de Madrid*, 4 October 1993. Published in the series *II Jornadas sobre España y las Expediciónes Científicas a América y Filipinas*, in *De la Ciencia Ilustrada del Ciencia Romántica*, ed. Diez Torre, Alejandro Mallo, Tomás y Pacheco Fernandez Daniel (Madrid: 1995).
[16] Articles 15 and 23 of Revilla Gigedo's instructions to Francisco Mourelle, printed in Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Explorations of the Strait of Juan de Fuca* (Santa Ana: 1933), 207-208.
[17] Revilla Gigedo's instructions to Alcalá Galiano and Valdés, printed in John Kendrick, *The Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana: The Last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast of America* (Spokane: 1991), 53.
[18] "Viaje a la Costa Noroeste de la America Septentrional por Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra del orden de Santiago, Capitán de Navío de la Real Armada y Comandante del Departamento de San Blas...Año de



Cathy Chapin - Lakehead University/Thunder Bay

Left: *Map showing Nootka Island and the surounding area as well as the location of Yuquot, Marvina, Cooptee, and Tahsis. Cooptee (modern) is spelt in many different ways such as Copti, Kupti, and Coopetee (modern).*

of the chiefs in the Sound, but he did so in such a way as to reinforce Maquinna's primacy. In his *Viaje*, he wrote that

> I constantly treat Maquinna as a friend, singling him out among all with the clearest demonstrations of esteem. He always occupies the place of honour at my table and I myself take the trouble to serve him. I favour him with anything that might give him pleasure and he boasts of my friendship and very much appreciates my visits to his villages.[20]

Bodega's desire to substantiate Maquinna's primacy was particularly manifest in the "state visit" he suggested that he and George Vancouver pay Maquinna at his residence at Tahsis. After travelling the twenty miles from Yuquot with their officers in the ships' long boats, they witnessed elaborate entertainments and dancing (including a solo dance by the chief), and exchanged gifts. They partook in a great feast, the Natives dining on tuna and dolphin stew. As previously arranged, the European visitors would enjoy the "drinkables" brought by Vancouver and the "eatables" prepared by Bodega's cooks, and served on his silver plate. In a farewell speech, Maquinna correctly interpreted the evening as recognition of his senior status in the region. He remarked to Vancouver that "neither Wacaninish, nor any other chief, had ever received such a mark of respect and attention from any visitors."[21]

Summing up the success he had achieved in improving relations with the Natives, Bodega wrote:

> I can say with assurance that it is not possible to mistake the confidence they have in me and the affection that not only the common people declare they have for me, but the chiefs as

1792." Archives of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ms. 145; photocopy in British Columbia Archives and Records Service, Victoria. Hereafter cited as Bodega, *Viaje*.

[19] See Yvonne Marshall, "Dangerous Liaisons: Maquinna, Quadra and Vancouver in Nootka Sound, 1790-5," in *From Maps to Metaphors: The Pacific World of George Vancouver*, ed. Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston (Vancouver: 1993). Hereinafter cited as Marshall, *Dangerous Liaisons*,

[20] Author's translation. Bodega, *Viaje*. As Maquinna came to dinner frequently, when he was not occupying one of the bedrooms in the commandant's house, he must have occasionally taken up residence at his villages closer to Yuquot, possibly either Marvinas or Coopti.

[21] *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, 1791-1795*, ed. W. Kaye Lamb (London: Hakluyt Society, 1984), 672. Hereafter cited as Lamb,

> well since they frequently sleep at night with the satisfaction that perhaps they would not have in the houses of their most intimate relatives. Thus I have no difficulty in establishing with them a human relationship towards which my nature inclines.[22]

Bodega y Quadra's claim is substantiated by other witnesses. Thus George Vancouver wrote:

> I could not help observing with a mixture of surprise and pleasure how much the Spaniards had succeeded in gaining the good opinion and confidence of the people; together with the very orderly behaviour, so conspicuously evident in their conduct toward the Spaniards on all occasions.[23]

The Boston fur trader, Joseph Ingraham, and master of the *Hope*, echoed Vancouver:

> "These people can never expect to have among them a better friend than Don Quadra. Nothing can exceed his attention and kindness to them, and they all seem sensible of it and are extravagantly fond of him."[24]

Bodega y Quadra never lost an opportunity to present Maquinna with much valued gifts such as copper. One special gift, which the chief would wear on special occasions, was a beautifully embroidered coat of mail made of leaves of tin plate in the shape of scales. Maquinna reciprocated with gifts of prime-quality sea otter skins. He also paid Bodega y Quadra a very special honour by inviting him and some of his people to a celebration at Coopti to honour his daughter, Apenas, who was entering into puberty and thus acquiring a "new status in the tribe, that of entering into womanhood".[25] As festivities and ceremonies, exchanges of gifts and reciprocated hospitality were fundamental aspects of native culture, Bodega was demonstrating respect for their customs and cultural practices. Moreover, as Marshall has observed,

> [Bodega y] Quadra's hospitality, especially the importance he attached to rituals involving the serving of food, the attention he paid to placing people at his table according to rank, and his policy of housing high-ranking guests in his own quarters, again placing them according to rank, closely paralleled local notions of appropriate chiefly behaviour.[26]

It should not be concluded that all was sweetness and light during Bodega's four months at Nootka. Accounts of cruel incidents are still to be found in Mowachaht oral history. Though many of these are undoubtedly exaggerated, Moziño gives them some credibility:

> The sailors, either as a result of their almost brutal upbringing or because they envied the humane treatment the commander and other officers always gave the natives, insulted them at various times, crippled some and wounded others, and did not fail to kill several.[27]

Bodega y Quadra acknowledged that he was not always successful and he never hesitated to punish members of his crews who committed what he called "excesses," both "to serve as a warning and to give the Indians an idea of our justice." In his view it was important politically that visitors of other nationalities observe the extent to which the Spanish had succeeded in ingratiating themselves with the native community and the manner in which the Mowachaht demonstrated their support for Spanish sovereignty.

Moziño defended the Natives:

> It causes me inexpressible wonder to hear various bitter criticisms of the reputation of the natives, when not one example can be cited which could ever serve as proof of their perversity. During the five months we were living among them, we did not experience one offence on their part. They filled the house of the commandant day and night. Maquinna slept in his bedroom; Quio-comasia and Nana-quius did the same in mine. There were many times when more than fifty remained in the living room. The occasions on which some small thefts were noticed were very few, although there were at hand several articles that would have been very convenient for them to possess. Many of our officers went alone and without arms to visit a number of villages, conducted in the savages' own canoes. They always returned impressed by the affection and gentleness they had observed in everyone.[28]

More measured is the view of ethnologist Richard Inglis, who has noted,

> ...it is clear from the historical record that the officers lived up to the spirit of the Spanish policy, and when they transgressed, they were reprimanded. But it appears they were unable to control the behaviour of the sailors and the soldiers who were often brutal in their treatment of the native people. At the level of officers and chiefs the official Spanish policy was a reality, but at the level of sailors, soldiers and commoners there was a different reality. And it is this reality that has been passed down in the oral traditions of the Mowachaht people.[29]

That Bodega meant his warning on arrival about the conduct of his people vis-à-vis the Natives is

[22] Author's Translation. Bodega, *Viaje*.
[23] Lamb, 662.
[24] *Joseph Ingraham's Journal of the Brigantine Hope on a voyage to the Northwest Coast of America*, ed. Mark D. Kaplanoff, (Barre, Massachusetts, 1971). Entry for 4 August 1792. Hereafter cited as Ingraham, *Journal*.
[25] The ceremony was described in detail by Moziño, *Noticias*, 34-37 and formed the subject of a wash drawing by Bodega's artist, Atanasio Echeverría.
[26] Marshall, *Dangerous Liaisons*, 165.
[27] Moziño, *Noticias*, 84.
[28] Moziño, *Noticias*, 84.
[29] Richard Inglis, "The Spanish on the North Pacific Coast: An alternative view from Nootka Sound," in *Spain and the North Pacific Coast: Essays in Recognition of the Bicentennial of the Malaspina Expedition, 1791-1792*, ed. Robin Inglis, (Vancouver: Vancouver Maritime Museum, 1992).

Above: *"Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound," Engraving of a sketch by Harry Humphreys, 1792*

evident from his sharp reprimand of Salvador Fidalgo at Neah Bay, who, in retaliation for the murder of one of the Spanish officers, Antonio Serantes, and fearing an attack on his ship, ordered his guns to fire at a passing canoe, killing all but two of the occupants.

This incident acquired special significance as word spread quickly and Wickaninnish, Tatoosh and Hanna met to plan a combined assault on the Spanish settlement at Friendly Cove and on English and American fur traders trading in the region.[30]

A joint attack on the Spanish establishment at that moment would have been devastating if not catastrophic. Anticipating the turning over of the establishment to Vancouver, Bodega had considerably reduced his forces. The *Santa Gertrudis*, his most powerful ship, had been sent back to San Blas with a good part of the garrison and the *Aránzazu* under Caamaño was absent, exploring to the north. The only vessel on hand to defend the port was his flag ship, the *Activa*, and the remaining Catalonian Volunteers would have amounted to only a corporal's guard to defend against any land attack.

Maquinna went to see Wickaninnish to attempt to defuse the situation, but he, Tatoosh and Hanna in turn attempted to persuade him to join them.[31] The Mowachaht chief defended the Spanish and persuaded Hanna to go to Yuquot to speak to Bodega y Quadra. He did so, and after being exposed for two days to Bodega's charm, the plot was called off. The tense situation, which could have had bloody consequences, had been defused by the diplomacy and joint action of Maquinna and Bodega.

A number of inferences may be drawn from this affair. In a general sense, the constant tension between the Natives and non-Natives was never far from the surface. It also confirms the high regard in which Bodega was held, not only by Maquinna, but by the other chiefs of the region. As well, the incident provides important evidence of the high extent to which Maquinna and Bodega were dependent on each other. While it would be misleading to say that the mutual respect the chief and the commandant had for each other "deepened into friendship",[32] each realized that their fortunes were inextricably connected. Bodega y Quadra depended on Maquinna for the safety and security of the settlement and

[30] Another motive was the coincidental brutal killing by the fur trader, William Brown, of a number of Natives in Clayoquot Sound.

[31] The four chiefs were inter-related by blood and marriage.

[32] Marshall, *Dangerous Liaisons*, 165.

Maquinna depended on Bodega for support of his senior rank in the hierarchy over the more powerful neighbouring chiefs. It should not be assumed, however, that Bodega's policy was not without purpose. As Christon Archer has observed,

> Bodega made seduction and good treatment of the Natives...into key elements in building Spanish claims to sovereignty...If Quadra manipulated Maquinna to bolster Spanish claims to sovereignty, the Nootka chief proved himself equally adept at using the Spanish to strengthen his own diplomatic position.[33]

On the eve of Bodega's departure from Nootka, there occurred a gruesome incident that illustrates how Bodega y Quadra respected Maquinna's jurisdiction over his people and refused to intervene in incidents between the Natives and his people unless Spanish guilt could be established conclusively. The body of a fourteen-year-old cabin boy on the *Activa* was found in the woods, horribly butchered. Bodega's immediate reaction was to ask Maquinna to find the guilty party. There was much speculation about who might have committed the crime. One rumour, reportedly initiated by Bodega himself, placed the blame on Maquinna who, hearing of it, sought out Bodega.

In a lengthy discourse, which he described "as exciting as it was poetic", Moziño recorded that Maquinna himself did not believe that Bodega thought him responsible, but asked that he realize that

> Maquinna has a thousand obligations to be your friend. You have given me much copper; because of you I had many [abalone] shells to distribute at the celebration of the first menstruation of Apenas. Yours are the cloth, beads, coat of mail, instruments of iron, glass window panes, and many other things with which I am provided. Our mutual trust has reached the point of our both sleeping alone in the same room, a place in which you find yourself without arms or people to defend you. I could have taken your life if my friendship were capable of betrayal. One thinks very lowly of me and of my dignity if he imagines that, seeking to break a friendship, I would order the murder of a boy less able to defend himself than if he were a woman...You would be the first whose life would be in great danger if we were enemies...Have not you yourself gone accompanied by few of your men and found only that the multitude of my subjects surrounded you with the purpose of making the liveliest demonstrations of friendship?...Make all [your men] know that Maquinna is a true friend that he is far from harming the Spanish...Maquinna is the same as Quadra and Quadra is the same as Maquinna.[34]

As proof of his innocence and esteem for the commandant, Maquinna asked Bodega y Quadra for a launch with four or six swivel guns, manned by Spanish sailors and his own people, to punish the "treacherous ones of Itz-coac"[35] who lived outside the Sound and who he was certain were responsible. Though no doubt surprised at the vehemence of the chief's oration but not swayed by it, Bodega, true to his policy of refusing to give arms to the Indians and avoiding involvement in inter-tribal quarrels and jealousies, wisely declined Maquinna's request. Nevertheless, Maquinna "offered to search for the aggressors of the murder of the cabin boy."[36]

Bodega's refusal to take action, other than to turn the matter over to Maquinna, puzzled those present. Even Joseph Ingraham, whose admiration of Bodega was boundless, doubted Bodega's decision to "choose to look over it than to risk punishing the innocent" was the right one.[37] Similar thoughts were expressed by Vancouver's people, one or two even advocating seizing Maquinna as a hostage until the culprit was found. But Bodega's refusal to take reprisals was supported by the viceroy who saw fit to report the affair to Madrid. In his reply, the minister of state, Aranda, reported that the king approved Bodega's judgment.[38]

Bodega waited until the next to last day of his stay to inform Maquinna of his departure. The chief, he wrote, was so "startled by the news that I wished I had not told him, but I consoled [him] with the hope that I would return."[39] At the same time, Bodega told him that Salvador Fidalgo would be coming from Neah Bay to assume command of the establishment. This, too, would have shaken the chief, who would not have forgotten the officer's deplorable cannon blast. Maquinna would not yet know that Fidalgo, suspicious of Indians, would not continue Bodega's open policy but accept him only as an occasional guest at his table. Under him, the close relationship established by Bodega y Quadra underwent a radical change. All the proud chief could do was to wait until 1795, when the Spanish finally left Yuquot, and recall Malaspina's promise that the cove would then revert to his people and the commandant's house would be his.[40]

[33] Christon I. Archer, "Seduction before Sovereignty: Spanish Efforts to manipulate the Natives in their Claims to the Northwest Coast," in *From Maps to Metaphors: the Pacific World of George Vancouver*, ed. Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston (Vancouver: 1993), 157.
[34] Moziño, *Noticias*, 56-57.
[35] Possibly the Hesquiats who resided on Estevan Point at the southern entrance to Nootka Sound.
[36] Bodega, *Viaje.*
[37] Ingraham journal, entry for September 18. See also Moziño, *Noticias*, 55.
[38] Royal Order #162; AGN, Reales Cédulas #154, f.209.
[39] Bodega, *Viaje.*
[40] Viana's *Diario*, cited by Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 105.

Jacinto Caamaño:
A Spaniard in BC's Northern Waters
by John Crosse

EVER since Tomàs Bartroli, in the 1960s, re kindled our curiosity about our Spanish heritage, interest has been growing. The Malaspina Symposium held in Vancouver in 1991 went further by introducing Spanish scholars to our common history. Since that time there have been many interchanges between our two countries. As a fortunate beneficiary of one of these I was invited to Cádiz to lecture on Jacinto Caamaño.

Of all the Spanish eighteenth-century explorers and their voyages on our coast we know perhaps the least about Jacinto Caamaño and his expedition to the northern waters of British Columbia in 1792. Researchers in BC have to rely mainly on an incomplete 1938 English translation of his 70-page journal.[1] More important: the reproduction of Caamaño's principal chart, originally 28 by 20 inches (72 by 51 centimetres), was so reduced in size as to become virtually illegible. Thus most of us in British Columbia have really been unable to profit from Caamaño's legacy, and this is a pity because he is eminently readable.[2] Rather than summarizing the 1938 translation I have chosen to highlight a few interesting details of the voyage, applying as it were a magnifying glass.

It was my good fortune to be able to examine Caamaño's original manuscript, and the full-size charts, in the archives of the *Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores* in Madrid.[3] Here the problems of reproduction become immediately apparent. Caamaño used such a fine quill pen that normal photographic means do not pick up the details. Thus both his route and the names he gave to the many landmarks become indecipherable. In addition to the main chart, Caamaño produced many smaller charts of particular locations. These found their way into various libraries. However, individual copies of these manuscript charts vary, making interpretation of the journal doubly difficult.[4]

Jacinto Caamaño was the most aristocratic Spanish naval officer on our coast, not excluding Bodega y Quadra.[5] This may seem of little significance in the egalitarian Canada of today, but was of much greater import in the Spanish colonial society of the eighteenth century. By virtue of his birth the young Jacinto had not been required to attend formal training at the Spanish naval academy, but went to sea first as an *aventurero*, a young unpaid gentleman adventurer. Only after proving his worth had he been commissioned into the navy of Imperial Spain. This lack of formal training accounts for many of the characteristics of his journal and why it is more readable that those of his brother officers. His lengthy accounts of his encounters with the Haida and Tsimshian are of particular interest and among the earliest to describe these nations in any detail.

Caamaño's ship was the lumbering old *Aránzazu*, a 205 ton frigate, built in Cavite in the Philippines in 1780, that had proven so slow that she had been quickly transferred to New Spain, where she could be usefully employed supplying the missions of Baja California. Like most Spanish ships of war she had a fuller name, *Nuestra Señora de Aránzazu*, Our Lady of the Thornbush, after the shrine of that name in the Basque country behind Picasso's Guernica, where the Virgin Mary appeared five hundred years ago to a young shepherd in the mountains.

Due to the need to effect repairs to the *Aránzazu*, Caamaño was not able to sail from Nootka until June of 1792, somewhat late in the season for normal exploration work. His first task was to re-examine Bucareli Bay on the outer coast of the Alaska Panhandle about fifty miles north of today's US/Canadian border. Bucareli Bay had been extensively surveyed by an earlier Spanish expedition some thirteen years previously. One therefore wonders why they were going over the same old ground again. The answer is that Spain was concerned about Russian incursion from the north,[6] and also about the possibility that English or American traders had established outposts in what Spain still considered her own domain.

It was well into July before the *Aránzazu*'s boat crews had completed their investigations in Alaska. They had found nothing except the occasional encounter with Aboriginals. After a week's delay

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[1] Henry R. Wagner and W.A. Newcombe, Eds. "The Journal of Jacinto Caamaño. Translated by Capt. Harold Grenfell R.N.," *B.C. Historical Quarterly*, July 1938, 189–222, October 1938, 265–301. This account is incomplete. The first part of the journal, consisting of 18 pages of the ship's log is missing, as is an appendix listing artifacts collected.

Freeman Tovell has drawn my attention to a possibly more complete translation in the BC Archives, probably Daylton, M.E., "Official documents relating to Spanish and Mexican voyages of navigation, exploration and discovery, made in North America in the 18th century." BCA/A/A/10/M57t.

There is a Spanish version in Special Collections at the UBC Library. Enquire under "Pamphlets," Call Number: SPAM 24506: *Colección de Diarios y Relaciónes para la Historia de los Viajes y Descubrimientos, VII: Comprende los viajes de Arteaga en 1779 y de Caamaño en 1792, por la costa NO. de América, Consejo Superior de Investigaciónes Científicas, Instituto Historico de Marina, 1975.* This publication includes extensive extracts from the Caamaño journal in the second half.

[2] One notable exception. See Freeman M. Tovell, "Ending the Search for the Mythical Passage of Admiral Fonte: The 1792

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Below: *The Spanish Olive Jar found off Langara Island in 1986 and believed to come from the Caamaño Expedition. The remnant is about 30 inches high. The original was possibly 4 feet high.*

Vancouver Maritime Museum/John Crosse

due to bad weather, Caamaño headed southwest, surveying two small bays on the northern side of Dixon Entrance. On the 20th of July he turned south, crossing into what are today Canadian waters.

The Spanish Olive Jar off Langara Island

In 1985 two fishermen from Masset, on the north coast of Haida Gwaii, hauled up in their nets the lower half of a large earthenware urn—an olive jar of Spanish origin dating from the eighteenth century. It was found off the east coast of Langara Island, a small island on the north coast of the Queen Charlottes. Thermo-luminescent analysis determined that the jar had been manufactured between 1720 and 1790, and was probably a *botija* of Mexican origin.

Although preliminary analysis by the Vancouver Maritime Museum[7] suggested that it could have come from the *Aránzazu*, the origin of this interesting artifact was never firmly established. The museum's investigators lacked the copies of Caamaño's charts so essential to locate the track of the *Aránzazu* and therefore the evidence of the likelihood her having jettisoned this olive jar. The only other Spanish vessel that had been in the area was the *Santiago* in 1774, but it had *not* sailed down the east side of Langara Island.[8]

Judge Howay in the 1930s and Gibson more recently[9] have extensively catalogued all vessels on the Northwest Coast in the Contact Period, but no other but a Spanish vessel could have acquired the urn in Mexico and lost it here, since at that time Spanish ports were closed to foreign vessels. We are therefore left with no choice of its origin but the *Aránzazu*.

In Madrid, I was able to clearly establish that the *Aránzazu* had been in the area where the urn was found (Figure A). In the archives there I found a more detailed copy of the same chart of the Port of Floridablanca than is shown by Wagner & Newcombe.[10] The Madrid chart actually shows where the *Aránzazu* had anchored (Figure B), a point of critical importance, for the chart traced in Figure A can only be interpreted as a general indication of the ship's movements.

Further information is available from the ship's log. Caamaño states in the log that he anchored at the location shown at 7:30 on the evening of the twentieth of July. He stayed only two nights, and sailed at about 11 o'clock on the morning of the twentysecond with a fresh southwesterly breeze. Low water had been two hours earlier.[11] The flood would therefore have been beginning to make to the eastward through Parry Sound. Caamaño would have been anxious to stay close to the Langara Island shore so as to be as far to the westward as possible when he met the full force of the flood coming in through the Dixon Entrance, so that he could pick up easily on his survey of the Alaska coast. In doing so he passed over the position where the urn was found.[12]

It is unlikely that the jar was lost overboard as they were coming in to anchor, for the crew would then have been working the sails. A far more likely possibility is that it was thrown overboard as they were clearing the decks after setting sail. The probability therefore is that, being broken, the jar was thrown overboard on the morning of 22 July 1792.

However, further investigation is required before provenance can be firmly established. If the *botija* did in fact come from New Spain, there should be other broken urns of similar manufacture lying around at San Blas, the old Spanish naval base north of Puerta Vallarta from which the *Aránzazu* had originally sailed.

The urn from Haida Gwaii was returned to Masset, where it has recently been installed in the newly established Dixon Entrance Maritime Museum. The finding of the Langara Island olive jar, once provenance is established, will mean that at last we have a Spanish artifact to match Captain George Vancouver's Arnold No.176 Chronometer, although most British Columbians will

Voyage of Jacinto Caamaño," *BC Studies*, no.117, Spring 1998, 5-26.

[3] Harold Grenfell's translation was made from the manuscript in the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) in Mexico City.

[4] For the sake of clarity I have made tracings of the relevant details of the charts necessary for my tale. These are exact copies with minor exception, purely to aid comprehension.

[5] All Spanish naval officers, with the exception of *Pilotes* had to be of noble birth. A relative of Caamaño's was the Marquis de Villagarcía, Monroy y Cusano, Conde de Barrantes y Señor de Rubianes, Vista Alegra y Vilanueva, 25th Viceroy of Peru. By comparison Revilla Gigedo, the Viceroy of New Spain, was a mere Count.

[6] Alexander Baranof did not reach Sitka until 1794.

[7] Beasley, T., Hunley, D., Newton, W. & Williams, H.,

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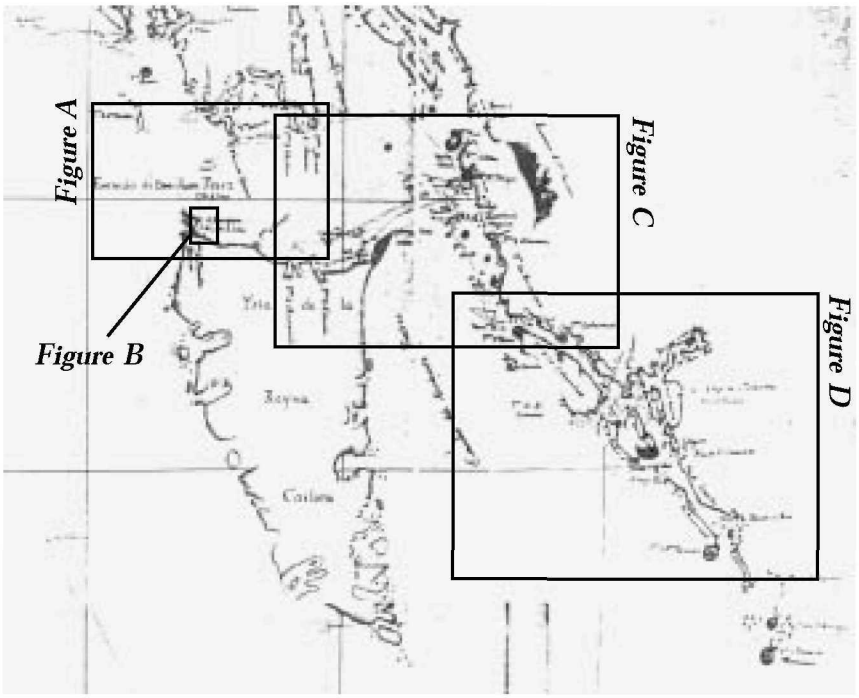
Charts on opposite page >>>

Figure A—*An extract from Caamaño's* Plano de los reconocimientos ... *showing his route across Dixon Entrance,* Entrada de Dⁿ Juan Pérez, *to and from Langara Island. (MAE Madrid).*

Figure B—*The area marked on* Figure A *from the MAE copy of the* Plano de Floridablanca *with the anchor—missing on the Library of Congress copy—marking the place where the* Aránzazu *anchored.*

Figure C—*Part of Caamaño's track chart. Rose Spit is shown as* Pta Ynvisible *and the modern port of Prince Rupert lies behind* Las Once Mil Virgenes. *(*Carta Reducida..., *MAE Madrid)*

Figure D—*A continuation of Figure 4 showing Caamaño's anchorage at San Roque, Zayas's survey of Douglas Channel (*Bocas y brazos de Moniño*), and the* Aránzazu*'s eventual escape to the open sea.* (Carta Reducida ... *MAE Madrid)*



Part of the chart reproduced in BC HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, 1938, showing the approximate areas covered by tracings made from the original charts in Madrid.

Figure B

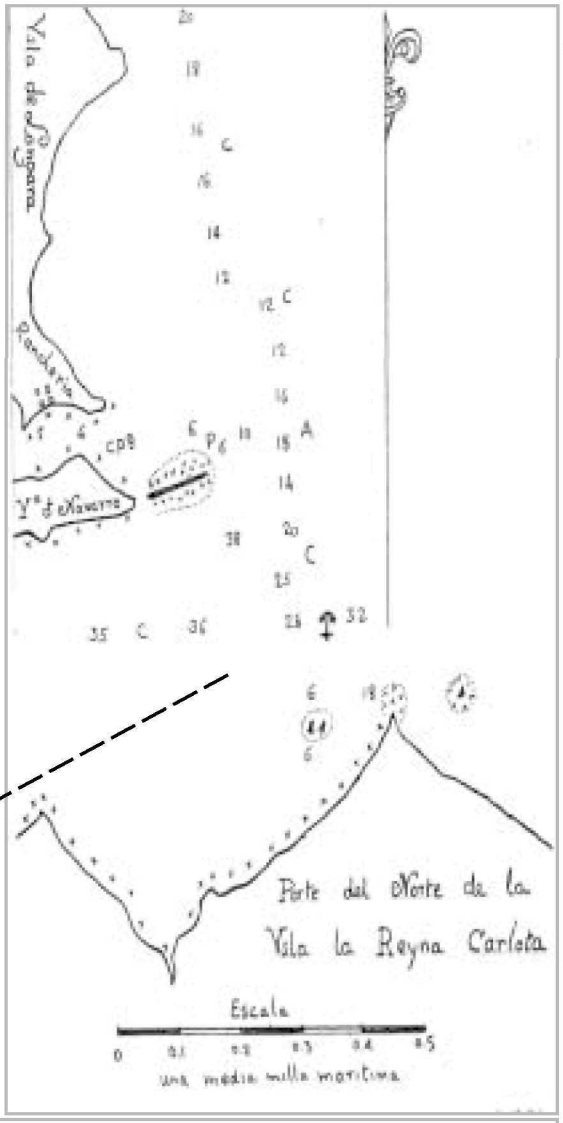


Figure A

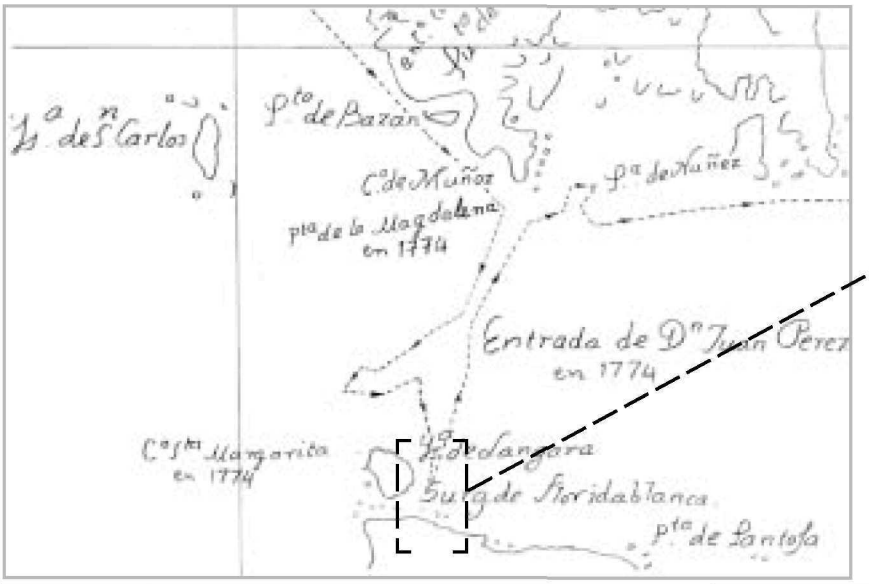


Figure C

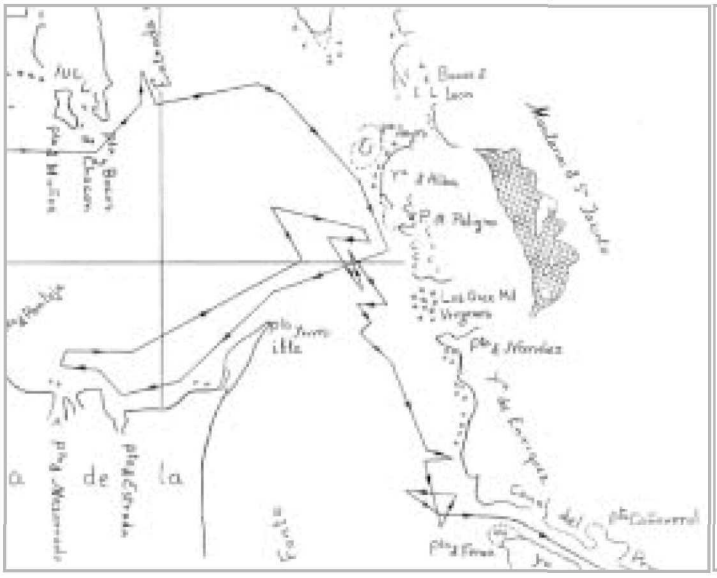
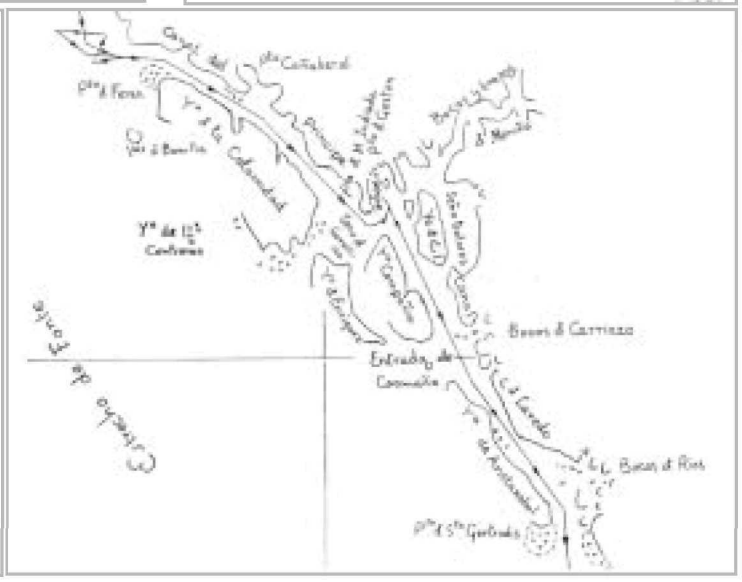


Figure D



have to travel much further to see the jar.

The 11,000 Virgins

One look at the next track chart of the *Aránzazu* (Figure C) makes one wonder what Caamaño was doing, but in the days of sail a ship was dependent on wind and tide as to where she could go. Unlike a trading vessel, where the master could adjust his route to the weather, a naval officer had specific orders to obey.

On leaving Langara Island, Caamaño had returned to charting the south coast of the Alaska Panhandle and, meeting contrary winds in Clarence Strait, had angled south toward his next assignment of checking out Bartolomé de Fonte's supposed Northwest Passage.[13]

Coasting down the shoreline, when only four miles off Prince Leboo Island, the wind had suddenly backed and Caamaño found himself in thick fog. A flood tide was carrying him onto the reefs inshore. He named the spot *Punta de Peligro,* Danger Point, and headed back west, but, struck by heavy squalls and then flat calm, he was forced to anchor. Heavy rain fell all night long.

Shaken by this ordeal, he coasted back beyond Rose Spit, on the northeast tip of Graham Island, before renewing his efforts. Off the same spot where he had anchored two nights previously, he again encountered fickle winds and poor visibility. At times it would clear and again he could see a hazardous coast to leeward, a mass of small islands on which the seas were breaking.

Ocean freighters approaching Prince Rupert today are warned

> Because of the dangers in the approach ... and the probability that tidal streams will set a vessel towards these dangers, it is essential to be continually certain of your position before approaching ... If good positioning is not possible it is advisable to keep an offing until conditions improve.[14]

Caamaño had no such navigational advice; there was no light on Triple Island as there is today. He named the area *Las Once Mil Virgenes,* The Eleven Thousand Virgins, a name requiring an explanation.

After his experience with Danger Point, Caamaño was alarmed to see all these rocks on which the white waves were breaking. As a good Catholic he was reminded of the fourth-century legend of Saint Ursula. Saint Ursula was an English princess wanting to marry a pagan prince. Travelling to Rome to seek dispensation from the Pope, she took with her eleven young friends. But on their way home all were massacred at Cologne by Atilla the Hun. Somehow or other the Roman figure "M," signifying a thousand in Latin, got inserted in the story. Thus the eleven virgins became eleven thousand.[15]

The approaches to present-day Prince Rupert seem drab without Caamaño's colourful imagination. Perhaps the Board of Geographical Names of BC should consider changing names like "Triple Island" and the "Tree Knob Group" to "The Archipelago of the 11,000 Virgins," to attract more visitors to this economically depressed city. Cruise ships pass hard by the reef.

Colnett's Northwest Passage

Captain James Colnett was one of the more important players in our early history. In 1787 and 1788 he had been a fur trader on the coast in the *Prince of Wales* in company with the *Princess Royal,* commanded by Captain Chas. Duncan.

Colnett had returned a year later, this time in the *Argonaut*, again with the *Princess Royal* but with a different captain. In the intervening period Spain had established an outpost at Friendly Cove where Colnett had called the commandant, Estéban Martínez, a "God-damn Spaniard,"[16] thus precipitating the Nootka Incident and the Nootka Convention.

Colnett and his ship had been taken as prisoners to San Blas, but after months of captivity they had been released, and had returned to the Pacific Northwest to continue their fur trading activities. However, the vessel suffered some damage en route and put into Nootka for repairs. There the new Spanish commandant, Don Francisco de Eliza, rendered every possible assistance. In gratitude Colnett showed Eliza his chart of his earlier voyage and Eliza had copied this and given it to Caamaño before his voyage north. This 1787-1788 chart clearly showed that Colnett suspected that there might well be some substance to de Fonte's tale that there was, at about 53° North, some connection to a Hudson's Bay Company outpost far to the east.[17]

Caamaño's most important task on this 1792 voyage was to lay to rest, one way or the other, Colnett's hypothesis. In sending him north, Bodega y Quadra knew that on his return Captain George Vancouver would be at Friendly Cove to finalize details of the Nootka Convention. It was absolutely essential that, if there was indeed a Northwest Passage, Spain knew of it before the

"A Spanish Olive Jar from the Queen Charlotte Islands," Vancouver Maritime Museum, Press Release, 13 December 1990.

[8] See H.K. Beals, ed., *Juan Pérez on the Northwest Coast: Six documents of his expedition in 1774.* (Oregon Historical Society, circa 1989), 70.

[9] F.W. Howay, "A List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1785-1825," *Royal Society of Canada, Transactions & Proceedings,* Vols XXIV to XXVIII (1930 to 1934),. J.R. Gibson, *Otter Skins, Boston Ships, and China Goods,* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

[10] *Plano del Puerto de Floridablanca ...*, a large scale chart showing the east end of Parry Sound between Graham and Langara Islands. Wagner's copy came from the Library of Congress.

[11] Tidal data has been supplied by Luis Sobrino, himself a former Spanish naval officer.

[12] I am indebted to David Stone, Archivist and Executive Director of the Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia for all his help in the preparation of this section.

[13] F.M. Tovell, "Ending the Search for the Mythical Passage of Admiral Fonte: The 1792 Voyage of Jacinto Caamaño," *BC Studies,* no.117, Spring 1998, 5-26.

[14] *Fisheries & Oceans, Canada, Sailing Directions, British Columbia Coast,* Vol.2 (North Portion), 12th Edition, (Ottawa 1991), 127.

[15] Information from Teresa Kirschner, Arsenio Pacheco and Luis Sobrino of the Vancouver Spanish Pacific Historical Society. The reef today is known as the "Tree Knob Group."

[16] *Sic.* This is in the Spanish account of the incident.

[17] In Robert Galois's forthcoming edition of Colnett's previously

British. Thus, after some hesitation, Caamaño, following his orders, plunged down the "Princes" Channel.[18] (Figure D)

Colnett and Duncan had spent nearly three months at Calamity Bay on the southwest tip of Banks Island, and their ships' boats had made numerous expeditions among the surrounding islands and unexplored inlets. They had reached about half-way up Douglas Channel, as far as Kitkatla Inlet. Caamaño was determined to explore Douglas Channel—the assumed Fonte Strait—even farther. He rounded the bottom of Pitt Island and soon afterwards anchored off a Tsimshian village called Citiyats.[19] There he dispatched his Second Pilot, Don Juan Zayas, with two of the ship's boats to establish the veracity of de Fonte's claim.

Upon the boats' return Caamaño records:

> [Zayas] brought with him a draft of the survey he had made, and reported that the N.E. Arm (the main one), up which he had penetrated for a distance of 18 leagues, ... seemed to run inland for a considerable way; also, although very deep water, it as well as the others are all subject to a regular, but extremely sluggish, semi-diurnal ebb and flow of the tide; and therefore, in his opinion have little importance. These reasons, coupled with others that I shall mention later,[20] led me to deprive this region of its name of Fonte Strait and replace it with that of *Bocas y Brazas de Moniño.*[21]

After Zayas's return Caamaño was delayed from departing by trouble with the Tsimshian. Rowing ashore to do their laundry, some of his crew had both clothes and boat stolen. Two seamen were captured, and others fled into the woods. It was a week before everything was straightened out again.

Bad weather delayed him further. Though Caamaño did not know it at the time, this confluence of the Inside Passage and Douglas Channel is notorious for its fickle winds. Several times he tried to depart before having to hurriedly anchor again.[22] The old chief Hammisit, who had always acted as a peacemaker, insisted on a farewell feast. In a ceremony that even outshone Maquinna's dancing to Vancouver and Quadra at Tahsis, the 80-year old veteran himself performed a spectacular display.

Finally, on the thirtieth of July, the wind changed and Caamaño could make his way, via the Laredo Channel to the open sea and the waters of Queen Charlotte Sound, and home to Nootka. Dining later with Vancouver, he gave the good captain a copy of his chart,[23] which is why so many of Caamaño's names have been preserved to this day.

Caamaño had laid to rest the ghost of Admiral de Fonte, and it is with some eagerness that we await the Robert Galois's forthcoming edition of Colnett's previously unpublished first voyage.[24]

Concluding Remarks

A few details of Caamaño's subsequent career are worth adding. In recognition of his work on this expedition Caamaño was, a year later, appointed a knight of the Military Order of Calatrava, Spain's oldest order of chivalry. For a short time he was commandant at San Blas. In 1800 he married Francisca de Arleta in Guayaquil. She bore him eight children. In 1809, at the age of 50, he retired from the navy and became port captain of Guayaquil, dying there in the 1830s. By this time Ecuador, like much of Latin America, had gained its independence from Spain; a grandson of Caamaño was their president in the 1880s. There are descendants living in Texas today.

My brief time spent in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs's archive in Madrid was insufficient to garner all the information from Caamaño's larger charts, full-size reproductions of which are still not available. This is unfortunate because we are still unable to glean the colour from his imagery, decipher all the names. As an example, the island of Aristizábal was named after an admiral with whom he had sailed as a young man, on a goodwill mission to Constantinople in the old Ottoman empire, Spain's hereditary enemy.

In Spanish and Mexican archives a great mass of material relating to the early history of Britsih Columbia is gathering dust. To the best of my knowledge, only Tomàs Bartroli, Jack Kendrick, Freeman Tovell, Jim McDowell, and Christon Archer have seriously penetrated this labyrinth. Here is an opportunity for anyone interested in the Spanish part of our history because at least for research in Spain, scholarships (*becas*) are available through their cultural attaché in Ottawa.

In closing it remains but to thank Marisa Calés, Mercedes Palau, and Eric Beerman, all Spaniards, without whom this article would never have been written.

unpublished first voyage—due this spring from UBC Press—Colnett has recorded, opposite Douglas Channel: "Prince of Wales & Sloops Boat overhauld these Inlets in 1787 & P[rincess] Royals in 1788. The openings & Channels appeard to have no End. Sound. at the greatest E[ast]ing they made was 90 fm & then no Bottom. Its the general Opinion of Capt. Duncan & of all that saw those Inlets that they communicate with Hudson Bay the nearest Settlement of the Hudson Bay Coy. which is Hudson House is Lat 53° Long [ ] Bears [ ] West dist. 400 Leagues." Quoted with the author's permission.

[18] Named by Caamaño in honour of Colnett's *Prince of Wales.* On a draft chart Caamaño calls it "*Canal de Principe Real.*" Explorers frequently miswrite foreign names.

[19] *Ksidiya'ats.*

[20] Only the AHN, Mexican City copy of the journal, the one that was used by Harold Grenfell, carries any further reflections by Caamaño. As this would appear to be the earliest version, it is my belief that Caamaño did not follow up on his theory, and I have therefore excluded these aspects from this paper.

[21] Moniño is the family name of the Conde de Floridablanca, the Spanish prime minister.

[22] The area is not named Squally Channel for nothing.

[23] I am most grateful to Andrew David, who recently located this at the Admiralty Hydrographic Office in Taunton, England. The Call No. is 355/3 on Ac1.

[24] Judge Howay had edited Colnett's journal of the later, 1789-1791, voyage, published by The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1940.

The Alexandro Malaspina Research Centre
Malaspina University College, Nanaimo

IN ITALY, Spain, and Latin America there exists a lively community of public and private scholarly researchers into the thoughts, words, and deeds of Alexandro Malaspina the Italian navigator, one of many such who served the Spanish Crown. Their interests have been echoed in maritime history conferences in various parts of the English-speaking world, but it is fair to say that nowhere in Britain, Canada, the United States, or Australia is there a level of scholarly interest in Malaspina studies which rivals the intense commitment of these investigators. In an attempt to redress the balance, the Alexandro Malaspina Research Centre was created in 1999 at Malaspina University College in Nanaimo.

Not only was Alexandro Malaspina a pivotal figure in the history of European contact with First Nations peoples on the West Coast of North America, but he also made important contributions to a number of academic disciplines, including physics, applied astronomy and political philosophy. His achievements were celebrated in the naming of Malaspina University College when the institution was founded three decades ago, and in opening the Centre the institution has acknowledged the significance of Alexandro Malaspina as an explorer of the conceptual as well as of the physical world.

The interdisciplinary character of the research supported by the Centre reflects both the wide range of its subject's intellectual interests and the reputation for excellence, which the University College has gained in recent years through its own interdisciplinary degree programs. The Centre also promotes the cordial relations the University College has with contemporary members of the Malaspina family and with the corresponding centres of Malaspina Studies activity in Italy, Spain, and elsewhere.

Some readers might pause over the spelling "Alexandro" used for the navigator's first name. The standard Italian spelling is "Alessandro." The birth record in Mulazzo, Italy, uses "Allesandro," an archaic variant. He is better known by the Hispanicization "Alejandro" or "Alexandro." Malespina himself used "Alexandro," and that the spelling the Centre has decided to employ.

Activities of the Centre

The Centre has focused in the first years of its existence on activities in three areas: publishing, Web site development, and public lectures and events. They include: (1) The translation by Teresa and Don Kirschner of Dario Manfredi's biography of Malaspina, previously published in Spanish in the volume *La América Imposible*. The completed volume is awaiting publication. (2) The Centre has also published a chapbook, *Proceedings of the Inaugural Symposium, October 1999*, which, while stocks last, is available free of charge to readers of *BC Historical News* (See page 47 for further information). (3) The Centre's Web site, www.mala.bc.ca/~black/amrc/amrc.htm. contains an electronic archive of images, research materials and articles pertaining to Alexandro Malaspina and related figures, as well as news of events, publications and recent research. (4) A lecture by John Kendrick on his biography of Malaspina, in April 1999. (5) The Inaugural Symposium, in late 1999, which brought together scholars from British Columbia and overseas, First Nations and Spanish dignitaries, and members of the local community for an evening of lectures and an exhibition of photographs of artwork from the Malaspina Expedition. (See Nick Doe's report in *BC Historical News*, Vol. 33/1). (6) The Fall Lecture Series, which in 2000 welcomed John Gascoigne from Australia and Virginia González Claverán from Mexico as well as local researchers. The theme of the free public Lecture Series for 2001 is *Contact: First Voyages, First Peoples*. It begins on nineteen September with a talk by G. Douglas Inglis, Director and Research Professor of History at the Texas Tech. University Center in Sevilla, Spain, entitled "Vested Interests, an Enlightened Opinion and Royal Intervention: Imperial Reform of the Trans-Atlantic Mails."

Aside from the above activities, an important function of the Centre is the maintenance of liaison with its counterparts overseas, provincial and other archives, maritime historical societies such as the Vancouver Spanish Pacific Historical Society and the Hakluyt Society, maritime historians such as John Crosse, Robin Inglis, and John Kendrick, who have been working on Malaspina for a number of years, and the Malaspina family.

The Future

Although the Alexandro Malaspina Research Centre has been especially active over the last two years and has developed a virtual location on the Internet, it is still seeking a physical home on the campus of Malaspina University College. Its physical archive of secondary scholarship is growing, and plans are afoot for an expansion of the library, which will include a dedicated research facility.

Among a variety of future research projects is one close to my own heart: the translation and compilation of a critical edition of Malaspina's political writings, most notably the *Axiomas políticos sobre la América*. Other research associates have been discussing a parallel histories approach to the reconciliation of the perspectives of European history with First Nations oral tradition as it concerns contact on the West Coast. There is much work to be done, and a great enthusiasm for doing it!

In all its endeavours, the Centre adheres to what it considers an important principle: that historical understanding, so vital to confronting the future, is best served by collaboration between the academic world and the greater community. In order to maximize interaction between these two spheres of interest, we do our best to make the results of our work as accessible as possible.

JOHN BLACK, RESEARCH ASSOCIATE

Translating Malaspina

by Andrew David

Andrew David, retired director of the Admiralty Hydrographic Office, Taunton, Somerset, is perhaps best known here as the editor of *The Charts and Coastal Views of Captain Cook's Voyages* published by the Hakluyt Society between 1988 and 1997.

WHEN Alejandro Malaspina, an Italian-born Spanish naval officer, returned to Cádiz in the *Descubierta* on 21 September 1794 at the end of his five-year scientific, political, and hydrographic voyage to the Pacific, he was granted permission to go to Madrid to report in person to Antonio Valdés, the Minister of the Navy. On arrival in the capital Malaspina was taken by Valdés to El Escorial where he was presented to King Charles IV and Queen Maria Luisa. Malaspina then settled down in Madrid where he proceeded to draw up an ambitious plan to publish his voyage in a number of volumes, which would surpass in scope the published voyages of Cook and La Pérouse. As well as including his own journal Malaspina planned to publish the scientific results of the voyage based on the works of Antonio Pineda, the chief scientist, Tadeo Haenke, the naturalist from Prague, and Luis Née, the expedition's French born botanist. Unfortunately, while he was working on his journal, Malaspina involved himself unwisely in politics at the highest level, writing to the Queen suggesting that Manuel Godoy, the chief minister, should be dismissed. Unfortunately the letter fell into the hands of Godoy with the result that Malaspina was arrested on 22 November 1795 and tried on a charge of conspiracy. He was sentenced to imprisonment in the fortress of San Antón in the harbour of La Coruña in the north-western province of Galicia, where he remained for almost seven years until released through the intervention of Napoleon and exiled to his native Italy, where he died on 9 April 1810.

Before his arrest Malaspina had completed work on several versions of his journal but its publication was suppressed and the only one of the volumes planned by Malaspina to be published in his lifetime was *Relación del viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana en el año de 1792* the subsidiary voyage to the Strait of Juan de Fuca under the overall command of Dionisio Alcalá Galiano. This was published in Madrid in 1802, possibly in response to the publication of Vancouver's voyage in London in 1798. All mention of Malaspina by name in this account was ruthlessly struck out. However, some softening of the official attitude took place in 1809 when José Espinosa y Tello published *Memorias sobre las observaciones astronómicas hechas por los navegantes españoles en distintos lugares del globo*, which contains a number of references to Malaspina by name as well as a number of mentions of his voyage.

Museo Naval, Madrid

Alejandro Malaspina.
Pastel drawing by José Maria Galván.

In spite of the official embargo on anything to do with Malaspina, a massive archive relating to his voyage was retained in the Depósito Hidrográfico in Madrid, the forerunner of the present-day Museo Naval in the same city. In 1823 its director, Felipe Bauzá, who had served under Malaspina during the latter's voyage, himself got into political difficulties and was forced to flee to London, taking with him many documents relating to the voyage, some of which were returned to Spain on his death, others were dispersed and a few were purchased by the British Museum and are now held in the British Library. The vast majority of the Malaspina documents, however, remained in Spain.

At about this time the Russian ambassador in Madrid obtained a copy of one of the versions of Malaspina's journal, enabling the first full account of Malaspina's voyage to be published unexpectedly in St Petersburg. The editor appears to have been Admiral Krusenstern, who had himself commanded a Russian voyage to the Pacific and around the world between 1803 and 1806. It appears that the journal was first translated into French before being finally translated into Russian, when it was published in six lengthy instalments between 1824 and 1827.

The first relatively full account of the voyage in Spanish occurred with the publication in 1849 in his native Montevideo of the journal of Francisco Xavier de Viana, who had served on board the *Descubierta* during the voyage. Finally, in 1885 the Spanish naval historian Pedro Novo y Colson published in Madrid the first full account in Spanish of the voyage based primarily on one version of Malaspina's journal under the title, *Viaje político cientifico alrededor del mundo por las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida, al mando de los capitanes de navío Don Alejandro Malaspina y Don José Bustamante*.

However, the vogue for translating such voyages into English had long passed and this important voyage remained virtually unknown amongst English-speaking scholars. Thus when J. C. Beaglehole published the third edition of his *The Exploration of the Pacific* in 1966, he dismissed Malaspina's voyage in just twenty lines, while Ernest S. Dodge in his *Beyond the Capes: Pacific Exploration from Captain Cook to the Challenger (1776-1877)*, published in

1971, does not mention Malaspina at all. When the American scholar Henry R. Wagner began researching Spanish voyages to the northwest coast of America in the 1930s he included a short account of the Malaspina expedition in his influential *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, commenting rather unfairly "It cannot be said that Malaspina achieved any great success."

The Malaspina mantle was taken up in 1960 by Donald C. Cutter when he published *Malaspina in California*, the first of a number of books and articles relating to Malaspina on the northwest coast that he continues to write. In 1977 the Oregon Historical Society mounted a small exhibition relating to Malaspina on the northwest coast, borrowing a number of drawings and charts from the Museo Naval and the Museo de America in Madrid. By this time interest in Malaspina was awakened in Spain with the publication in 1982 of the pictorial record of the Malaspina expedition by Carmen Sotos Serrano in her *Los Pintores de la expedición de Alejandro Malaspina*, followed in 1984 by the publication by the Museo Universal of one of the versions of Malaspina's journal, *Viaje científico y politico a la America Meridional…en los años de 1789, 90, 91, 92, 93 y 95…por los capitanes de navío D. Alejandro Malaspina y D. José Bustamante*. The later volume was edited, with two others, by Mercedes Palau Baquero of the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (Ministry of External Affairs), who has subsequently made a number of visits to Vancouver Island in connection with her interest in Malaspina as well as writing and editing a number of other articles and books and organizing several important conferences.

This renewed interest in Malaspina did not go unnoticed in London and in particular by members of the Hakluyt Society who had been aware for some years that the lack of an English translation of this important Spanish voyage was a major gap in the Society's publications. On one occasion a proposal to publish such an edition was put forward by a Spanish scholar but he was forced to withdraw due to other commitments. Meanwhile the Museo Naval had embarked on an ambitious undertaking to publish the earliest extant version of Malaspina's journal, together with a series of volumes relating to Malaspina's scientific and political activities. The first volume was published in 1987, followed in 1990 by Malaspina's journal in two parts, with the series being completed in 1999 with volume IX, the journal of Malaspina's second-in-command José Bustamante, the series being coordinated by Maria Dolores Higueras Rodríguez, Jefe de Investigación of the Museo Naval, who edited the final volume and also a number of other articles and books and, in particular, *Catálogo crítico de los documentos de la expedición Malaspina (1789-1794) del Museo Naval*, which contains over 3,500 entries. Thus in the space of a little more than two decades a considerable corpus of books and articles relating to Malaspina has been published. The publication by the Museo Naval of the earliest known version of Malaspina's journal was also significant as far as the Hakluyt Society was concerned as it was clearly the most authentic account of the voyage. But before the Hakluyt Society could proceed they had to receive and evaluate a firm proposal.

In April 1992 Vancouver's Simon Fraser University hosted a conference to celebrate the bicentenary of Captain George Vancouver's arrival on the Pacific north west coast, attended by many scholars from around the world, a number of whom were interested in Malaspina's voyage and others who were members of the Hakluyt Society. During the conference a special meeting was convened by Professor Glyn Williams of Queen Mary College London and a vice president of the Hakluyt Society to gauge what interest and support there would be for an English edition of Malaspina's voyage. The outcome was universal support for such a proposal, if a viable proposal could be made. Later the same year the Spanish Government, under the auspices of the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, hosted a major conference on Malaspina, which attracted a number of important Malaspina scholars from around the world, followed by a smaller conference in 1993 in Mulazzo, Malaspina's birthplace in northern Italy.

The problem now facing the Hakluyt Society, which is a charitable organization, is that potential editors proposing the publication of a foreign language journal are required to translate it themselves or to edit a translation already made by someone else since the Society does not have funds to pay for such a translation. Both Professor Williams and I, who was by now also a vice-president of the Society, were eager to propose an English edition of Malaspina, but neither of us was sufficiently fluent in Spanish to undertake the translation. At this juncture an English academic, Dr Felipe Fernández-Armesto, well known for his publications on Columbus, joined the proposed editorial team. Through his Spanish contacts Dr Femández-Armesto was able to raise sufficient funds to enable the necessary translation to be undertaken, and so in 1996 the Society agreed to our proposal to publish an English translation of Malaspina. The search now began to find translators with suitable qualifications, a task which proved more difficult than was anticipated. Fortunately we were assisted in this by one of the Society's Spanish members, Carlos Novi, who had been resident in London for many years and had formerly been employed as the chief Spanish translator to the International Maritime Organization. Carlos Novi was elected to the Council of the Hakluyt Society in 1999 and shortly afterwards was invited to join the editorial team. Through his contacts Carlos Novi was able to find a number of possible translators and the task of translation began. Soon a number of translation difficulties became apparent. Letters "b" and "v" were clearly interchangeable. Certain words were found to have different meanings in nautical and astronomical contexts. Thus *cuarto de círculo* was an astronomical quadrant and not a quarter of a circle; *péndulo* was an astronomical clock, a very accurate long case clock, not simply a pendulum. Later in the voyage a pendulum was embarked for conducting gravity experiments, which was designated *péndulo simple* or *péndulo invariable*. These difficulties served to slow the translation process, but work has now been completed on the first of three volumes, which the Hakluyt Society plans to publish later this year, with the remaining two volumes, hopefully, within the next three years.

Fraudulent Bay

Spanish Explorations of Boundary Bay

by Nick Doe

I ONCE lived in White Rock, in a house on the hillside overlooking the sea, and it was here that I first developed an interest in local history. Perhaps unlike most, I can pinpoint the time this happened very precisely; it was the afternoon of Saturday, 29 July 1989. That day, the local newspaper, *The Peace Arch News*, published an article by local writer and historian Bill Hastings.

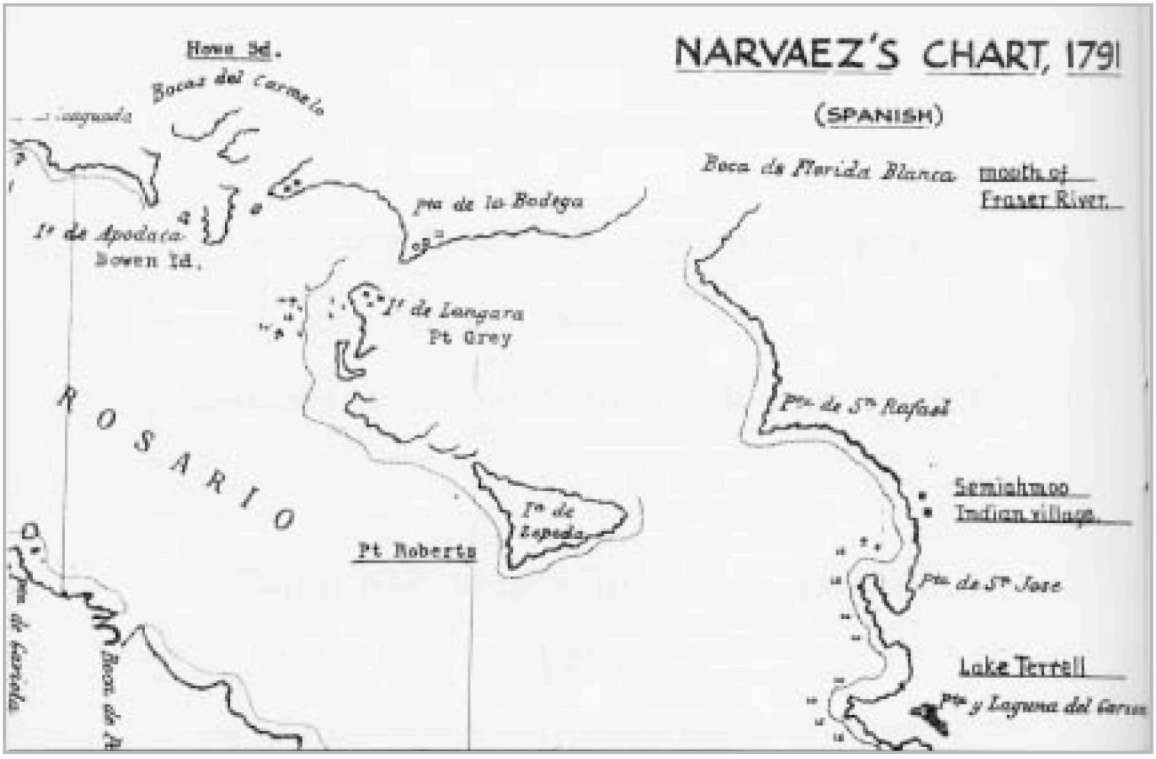
Bill's article was about the Spanish explorations of Boundary Bay and was based on the work of Major J.S. Mathews, Vancouver's one-time "crusty but loveable archivist" (as Bill put it). The article included a brief description of the "Narvaez Chart of 1791", which is the first chart ever made of the Strait of Georgia. The chart is well known among local historians, and much has been written about it over the years, but I didn't know that at the time. What particularly caught my eye that Saturday afternoon was the annotation *Boca de Florida Blanca* (see Figure 1). This, Bill explained, was the Spanish name for the estuary of the Fraser River.

Now I didn't know much Spanish then, still don't, but I knew enough to know that, loosely translated, the annotation meant "inlet of white floweriness". Being interested in the natural history of the Fraser delta, I spent the next week walking the dykes, searching in libraries, quizzing local naturalists, trying to figure out what white flowers could possibly have impressed the Spanish so.

Had we had the Internet then, the mystery wouldn't have lasted long; and maybe I never would have become interested in historical puzzles; and maybe I would never have been writing this; but I didn't have the Internet then, so it wasn't until I looked up "Floridablanca" in the Encyclopedia that the mystery was solved. By then, I was, as the former editor of *BC Historical News* would say, a "local history buff".

It turns out, as most historians know, that "Floridablanca" was just an aristocratic title—nothing at all to do with the local flora. José Moñino, conde de Floridablanca, was prime minister in Spain from 1776 until he was summarily

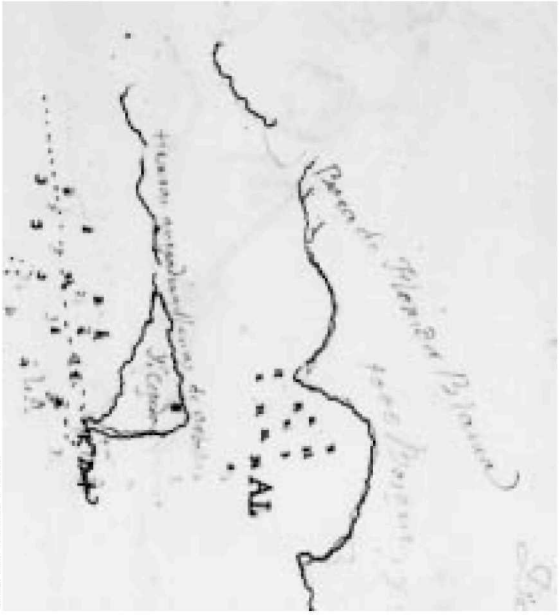
Nick Doe is the editor of *SHALE*, Journal of the Gabriola Historical & Museum Society.



Left:
Figure 1
—The Narvaez Chart annotated by Major J.S. Mathews showing Boundary Bay and the lower BC mainland. The "Semiahmoo Indian Village" is at the site of present-day White Rock. Points Roberts and Grey were perceived as islands.

Right:
Figure 2
A small segment of Galiano's copy of the Narvaez chart in his book of sketchmaps. Point Roberts (Y [Isla] Cepeda*) is on the left shown as an island. The small dark rectangular "blob" to the right of the "d" in* Cepeda *indicates a major Indian village, almost certainly the ruined one at Lily Point.*

dismissed in February 1792, in part because of his intransigent opposition to the French Revolution. Most Spanish placenames were in fact, like Captain Vancouver's, the names of important people—saints, politicians, aristocrats, viceroys, naval bureaucrats, people like that—but there are a few examples of names that are descriptive—the Ballenas Islands (islands of whales); Patos Island (island of ducks); and *Rio de las Grullas* (river of cranes, now Englishman River). Although my immediate puzzlement over the name *Florida Blanca* had been resolved, there is, as it happens, a further puzzle with the name, but that required rather more than a week to resolve and I'll come back to it later.


Courtesy Museo Naval

Boundary Bay was visited several times by European explorers before settlement in the area, which began with the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trading post at Fort Langley in the summer of 1827. The explorers who have left records of their visits include José Narváez, who came with the Eliza expedition of 1791;[1] Dionisio Alcalá Galiano who, along with Cayetano Valdés, circumnavigated Vancouver Island in the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* in 1792; Peter Puget who was with Captain Vancouver's expedition, also in 1792;[2] Francis Annance (of Annacis Island) and John Work, who were clerks on the HBC canoe expedition to the Fraser River in the winter of 1824; and furtrader Alexander McKenzie and ship's surgeon and amateur botanist Dr. John Scouler, who were aboard the HBC brig *William & Ann* when it visited Point Roberts in 1825.[3]

The Aboriginal people who lived around and frequented Boundary Bay for the most part spoke one of two languages, both with several dialects. The first is called nowadays Straits Salish, and the second Halq'eméylem. These languages are two of the five spoken by people belonging to the fairly loose cultural and linguistic grouping called Coast Salish. The year-round inhabitants of Boundary Bay were the Semiahmoo, with villages at the mouth of the little Campbell River, Drayton Harbor, Birch Bay, and probably others elsewhere. They spoke Straits Salish. The immediate neighbours of the Semiahmoo to the south, were their Straits-Salish-speaking relatives, the Lummi, and beyond them, on Samish and Guemes Islands, the Samish.

The Semiahmoo also had linguistic relatives immediately across from them on Vancouver Island, including the Sooke (*T'Sou-ke*), the Songhees in the Victoria area, the Saanich (*Wsanec*), and others. The people round the coast from the Semiahmoo were the Tsawwassen who spoke, not Straits, but the language of the people who live all along the Fraser River, Halq'eméylem. According to tradition, the Nicomekl (*Snokomish*) people, who also spoke Halq'eméylem, formerly occupied a territory extending from Boundary Bay to the Fraser River, but they were almost completely wiped out by the devastating smallpox epidemic of 1782–1783.

There once was a very large Indian village on the shores of Boundary Bay. It stood on the southeast tip of Point Roberts, known today as Lily Point. This was the site of the Wadhams cannery,[4] which was built in 1891, the same year as the Drysdale cannery on Semiahmoo Spit. The cannery has long since gone, and the site has reverted to its natural state. Attention was first drawn to the old village by Peter Puget, who records in his log that on the afternoon of 11 June 1792,

> ...we stopped to dine at a deserted village... [which] must, by its size, have formerly been the habitation of near four hundred people, but was now in perfect ruins and overrun with nettles and some bushes...[5] The body of the village consists of three rows of houses, each row divided by a narrow lane and partitioned off into four or six square houses and every one large and capacious....This frame, the only remnant of the village, must have given

[1] For those who love "interesting facts", Narváez was only 23 years old at the time. We have his chart, but not his journal.
[2] It was Puget incidentally who makes reference in his unpublished log to a "white bluff" while in Semiahmoo Bay, a reference some have taken as referring to "the hump" at White Rock. Alas for White Rockers, Puget's accompanying compass reading makes it plain that he was in fact referring to the cliffs at Point Roberts.
[3] In Morag Maclachlan's editorial introduction to *The Fort Langley Journals, 1827–30*, p. 12, a further voyage by the HBC in 1826 is mentioned. After researching the whereabouts of McKenzie and of the vessels available to him for such a trip, I'm inclined to believe there was no such voyage, and that McLoughlin's "last fall" was a slip of the pen; he meant 1825.
[4] Later the Alaska Packers Association Cannery. See *Point Roberts, USA: The History of a Canadian Enclave*, by Richard E. Clark.
[5] Deserted villages were common after smallpox had killed an estimated two-thirds of the population in 1782–1783. Which peoples lived year-round on Point Roberts before European contact is not known for certain. The historical evidence is that the

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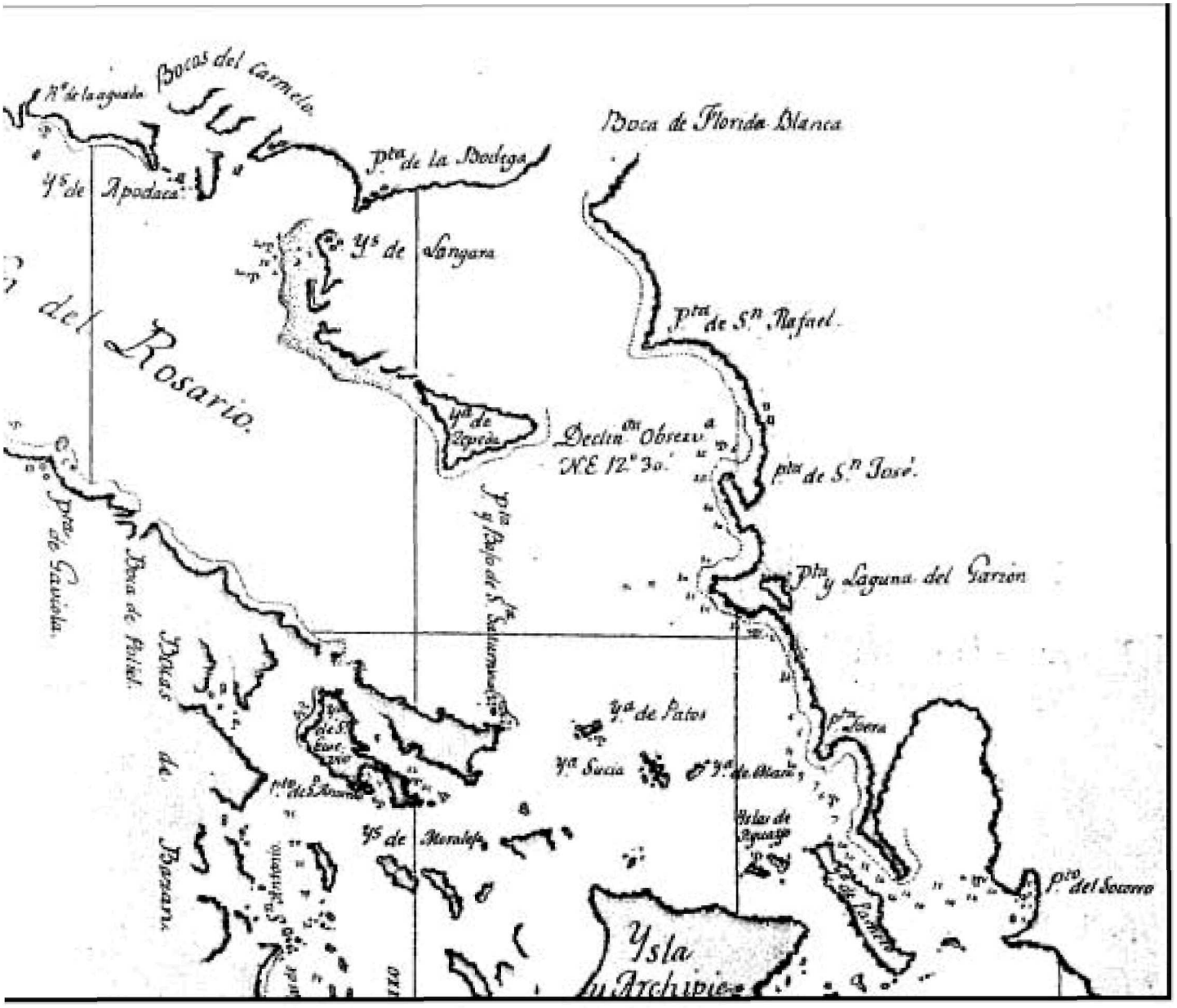
> the Native inhabitants an infinite trouble in the construction, and it still remains a mystery to me by what powers of mechanism they have been able to lift up the heavy and long logs of timber which are placed on [top of the uprights].

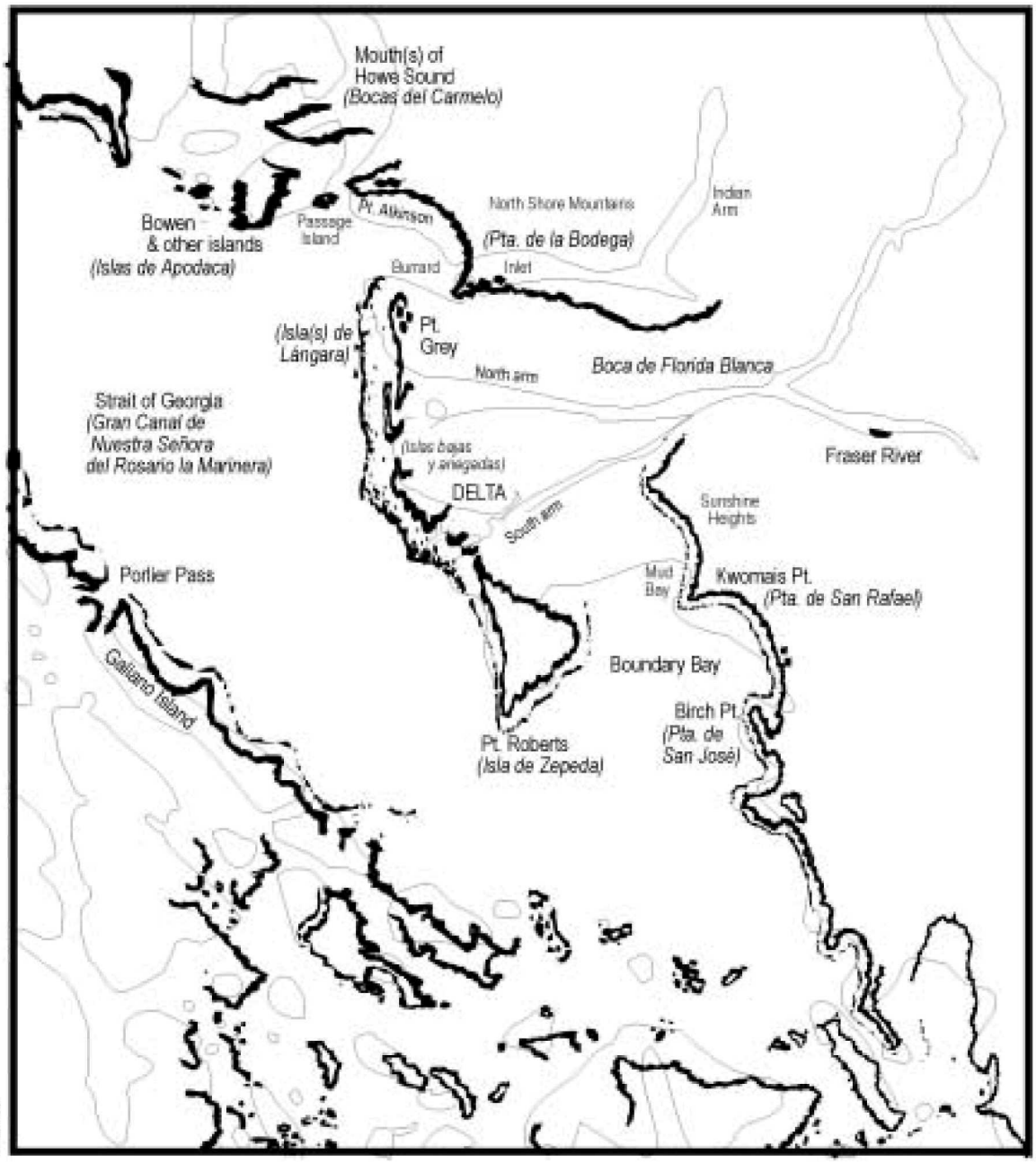
One of those trivial curiosities that tend to intrigue local historians is that, conspicuous though the ruins of the village evidently were, nowhere in any of the records of the Spanish explorations of Boundary Bay has anyone managed to find any reference to it. Both Work and Annance mention it in their 1824 journals; and when McKenzie was there in 1825, the ruined village was being used by some Saanich Indians as a temporary shelter. Well, we can now put that right. Figure 2 from a previously unpublished sketch by Galiano supplies the long sought for reference. To be sure, it is a bit obscure to those not familiar with the Spanish charts of the time, but be assured that the small rectangle on the east side of the peninsula, close to the south-eastern tip, is Galiano's usual symbol for a sizeable Native habitation. It is certainly enough to satisfy me that Galiano did indeed note the presence of the village in 1792, even though he was too preoccupied with other things to write about it.

Figure 1 is an often-reproduced segment of a larger chart (*Carta Que Comprehende...*), showing southern Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland. The segment—here annotated by Major Matthews— appears to contain what must seem to anyone not familiar with the countryside around the Fraser estuary, an appalling error in

Below:
Figure 3A
Segment of "Carta Que Comprehende," Narváez's chart, showing the BC Lower Mainland and adjacent coast in Washington State.



Right:
Figure 3B
The chart computer corrected for elementary scaling and orientation errors superposed on a modern chart (lighter lines).



Nick Doe

salmon-fishing site at Lily Point, on the southeastern tip of the peninsula, was used seasonally as a traditional right by all the Straits-Salish speakers, particularly the Semiahmoo and Lummi, and from Vancouver Island, the Saanich. Less surely, we can add to the list of those who used Lily Point, the people who used the Fraser-River fishery, that is, the Halq'eméylem-and-dialects speakers: Tsawwassen, Kwantlen, Nicomekl, and from Vancouver Island, the Nanaimo, Cowichan, and Malahat.

[6] Point Roberts itself is made up of sediments deposited in the cool wet period immediately before the last ice age.

[7] Also not adequately explained is why Narváez would want to make such a trip and, if he did, why he couldn't tell the difference between flooded fields and the open ocean. Matthews' account is nevertheless very entertaining. See *Vancouver Historical Journal*, No. 4, 1961.

[8] Nick Doe, "Some Anomalies in a Spanish Chart of Vancouver Island—1791, *Lighthouse, Journal of the Canadian Hydrographic Association*, 56, Fall 1997, 7-20.

that it shows a large, non-existent body of water stretching northwards from between Point Roberts (*Isla de Zepeda*) and Kwomais Point in Surrey (*Punta de San Rafael*) towards the Burrard Inlet. In fact, this is a perfectly understandable mistake by Narváez. The land between the north arm of the Fraser and Boundary Bay has been created since the end of the last ice age 10,000 years ago, and is still just a few feet above sea level. Now agricultural land, but formerly wet meadows and marshes, this land is difficult to see from any distance away from the shoreline in Boundary Bay. Explanations for Narváez's error include the lowland around Point Roberts being flooded by the Fraser, being below the horizon, being shrouded in low-lying mist, or being obscured by refraction caused by the sun drying out and heating up the air above the mudflats at low tide. All of these phenomena, except flooding, which is prevented by modern dykes, often give the high ground at Point Roberts, quite strikingly, the appearance of an island, which undoubtedly it was just a few thousand years ago.[6]

The second feature of interest in Figure 1 is the apparent continuation of the shoreline from Boundary Bay almost all the way through to the Indian Arm of Burrard Inlet (about where it says *Boca de Florida Blanca*). This distortion led the incautious Major J.S. Mathews in his account of "incidents presumed to have occurred" to go as far as to assert that the Spanish made an overland expedition to the Fraser River. This assertion is

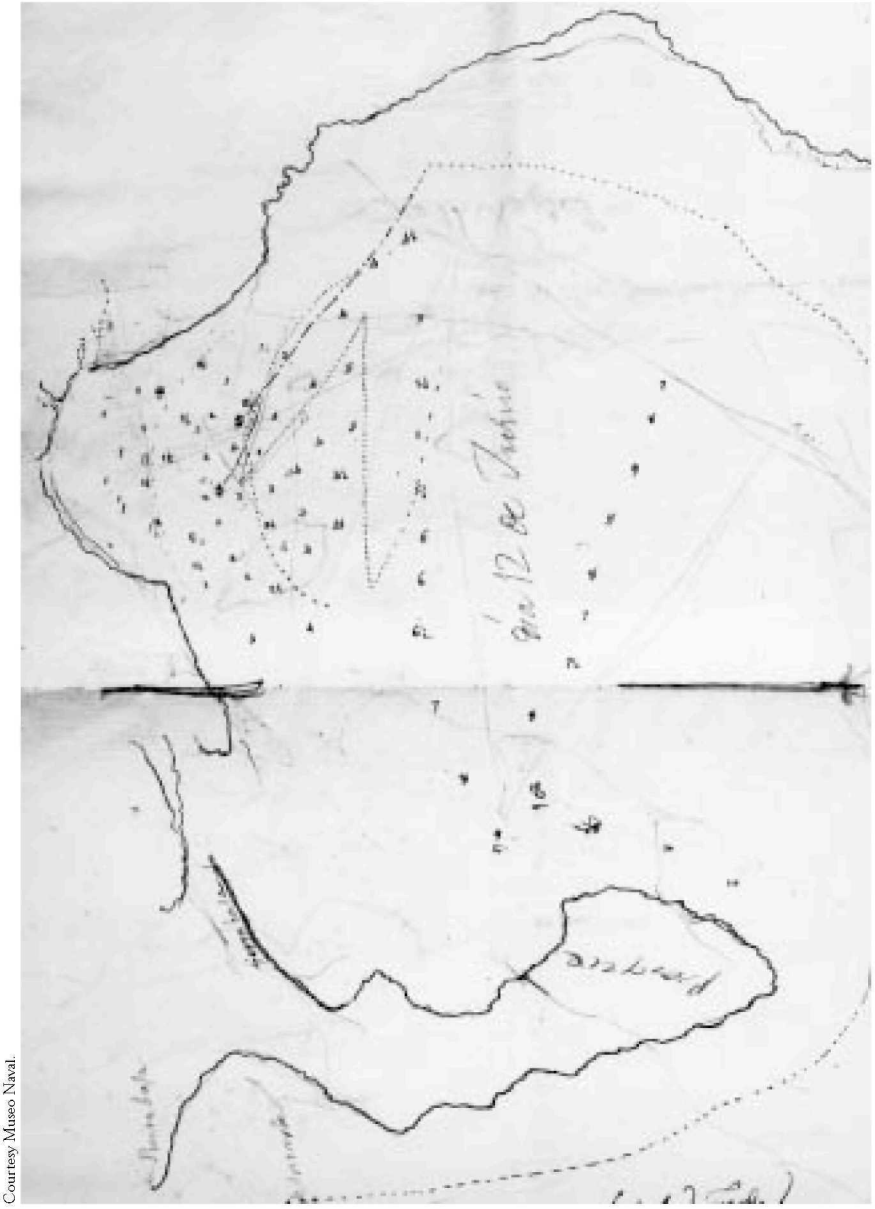
still occasionally repeated as fact in local history publications and pamphlets, but there is no hint that this might be true in any of the Spanish records.[7]

This segment of the *Carta Que Comprehende...* I find particularly interesting because it nicely demonstrates two fairly common types of cartographic error. These errors can sometimes be amusing because they cause endless controversy and speculation as to what the explorers were up to, when alas the simple truth is that some anonymous cartographer made a silly arithmetic mistake and misdrew the chart.

Charts and maps of large areas, such as Vancouver Island, had of course to be pieced together from collections of much smaller field maps. Each small map represented the work of one or two days' work by a small surveying crew. The complete chart *Carta Que Comprehende...* was made up of about eighteen segments which were rather hurriedly "pasted" together in the fall of 1791 at Nootka by Narváez, Pantoja, Verdía, and Eliza before being sent down to the Spanish naval establishment at San Blas, where Juan Carrasco made a fair copy. Although most of the individual segments that went into the chart have long been lost, some years ago I discovered that they could still be identified in the final version of the chart by scanning the chart for cartographic errors, and noting that these errors tended to occur in small patches. Each "patch" had a characteristic set of errors that differed from those of adjacent patches; and there is little doubt in my mind that these "patches" actually correspond to the original constituent segments from which the chart was assembled.

The three types of error that occur are (i) scaling, (ii) orientation, and (iii) geographic location.[8] I won't go into these in detail here, but briefly, these errors arise in the following ways. Each sketch map of a small part of the coast was likely originally drawn to its own scale; so the first task in incorporating the small sketches into a much larger map, was to redraw all the segments to the same scale. If this re-scaling was not done correctly, then we had the first type of error, a scaling error. Field maps were very often oriented to compass (or magnetic) north, which in this part of the world is about 20 degrees east of geographic (or true) north. Since it is conventional to use geographic north at the top of published charts, all the constituent segments with compass north at the top had to be twisted around clockwise by twenty degrees. A mistake here was the second type of error, an orientation error. The third type of error occurred when it came to adding the latitude and longitude grid to the final version of the chart. It was quite impractical for the surveyors to measure their geographic positions as they worked (no GPS in those days!)—even a rough longitude determination required many careful celestial observations to be made. What was done therefore was to establish the latitude and longitude of just one place on the chart, and then use the distances, measured by dead reckoning, to construct the rest of the grid. The problem here was that sometimes the geographic coordinates of two points on the chart were known and because of errors in both distance measurements and coordinate determinations, the two did not agree. This was

Below:
Figure 4
A sketch from Galiano's book of sketchmaps showing the soundings made in the fruitless search for the Boca de Florida Blanca in Boundary and Mud Bays. Point Roberts is on the left. The annotations are references to low wooded country.



Courtesy Museo Naval.

sometimes rectified by changing the scaling of the map in the east-west direction until it agreed with the longitudes; and similarly scaling in a north–south direction until it agreed with the latitudes. Such independent east–west and north–south scaling distorts the shape of the land if done incorrectly, as it often was because longitude and latitude were not easily measured with great accuracy, and such distortion constitutes the third type of cartographic error.

Figures 3A and 3B show the original chart together with the corrected version. The segment from Bellingham Bay up to Mud Bay has simply been drawn fifty percent too large, a common mistake.[9] The segment representing the North Shore Mountains has simply been drawn with compass, not geographic north at the top—the second kind of error. The segment showing the land between Point Roberts and Point Grey has also been drawn with the incorrect orientation. This segment also shows an asymmetric scaling error, which might be a type-three error; or which might be a simple error in measuring the distance between the two points. That there was some confusion over orientation is suggested by the inscription inserted in Boundary Bay that reads *Declin.on Observ.a N.E. 12°30'*. This figure is quite wrong. Although the compass variation, or declination as it is called here (the difference between compass and true north), does vary by a few degrees over long periods, there is no evidence that in historical times it fell to as little as 12°30'E.

As Figure 3B shows, the extended coastline heading for Indian Arm actually represents the border between the 300-feet (90-m) high Sunshine Heights (or Hills) in the District of Delta and the adjacent Fraser lowland, a natural boundary to suppose that existed between the land and the sea when seen from a distance to the south in a small boat.

These simple errors evidently engendered some excitement when the 1791 expedition reported them to their superiors in Mexico,[10] just as in a later century they were to do among the local historians in Vancouver. The *Boca de Florida Blanca* was evidently in reality no more than a very vague indication of the perceived presence of the Fraser Valley, yet in the uncorrected chart it looked like it might be a significant entrance to the interior of the continent. In all of the surviving reports and journals of the 1791 expedition there is little or no reference to this inlet. A point at the entrance (probably Stanley Park) was given the name *Punta de la Bodega*, after Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, the then commandant of the naval station at San Blas, an important person without doubt, but nowhere near the rank of the prime minister of Spain. Somebody at the top clearly considered this *boca* to be of the utmost importance.

The rest of the story is really history—in 1792, the Galiano and Valdés expedition arrived in Boundary Bay and, with great anticipation headed northward between Point Roberts (*Punta de Cepeda*) and Kwomais Point (*Punta de San Rafael*). In no time at all, their boat found itself in shallower and shallower water. "In addition…", their report states, "…we did not see any opening at the end of the bay; only that it terminates in low land subject to flooding and covered with trees."

The soundings on Galiano's sketchmap (Figure 4) wonderfully illustrates Galiano's comment "…our imagination had been so coloured by the configuration on the map, and by the word we had received of the expedition of the previous year, that we could not shake off the belief that [the inlet] reached far into the continent…"[11] It was at this juncture no doubt that the disappointed Galiano gave Boundary Bay the name *Ensenada del Engaño*, "the bay of deceit," and, probably with much lessened optimism, directed that his ships look elsewhere for the hoped-for northwest passage.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Figures 2 and 4 are two of a series by Galiano contained in a hand-sewn book covering the passage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* (11–14 June 1792) from *Isla de San Vicente* (Cypress Island) to Entrance Island, Gabriola Island, immediately before *Cala del Descanso* (Pilot Bay, Gabriola). The sketches were originally in pencil, but someone, probably in the distant past, has gone over them in ink and in places the ink has bled through the page. The book is held by the Museo Naval in Madrid (Borradores, MS 2456) and is not currently catalogued. Local historians, including myself, are very grateful to John Crosse of Vancouver who first brought this delightful little book to our attention. A photographic copy, courtesy of John Crosse, is now held by the Malaspina Research Centre at Malaspina University-College in Nanaimo under the direction of Dr. John Black.[12] I would like to thank the Museo Naval in Madrid for their anticipated consent to further publish these sketchmaps here.

[9] Possibly the oversizing is related to the fact that one nautical mile is almost exactly 50 percent more that one minute of longitude at these latitudes. About a third of all the 18 segments of the chart exhibit this error.

[10] Tomàs Bartroli, *Genesis of Vancouver City: Explorations of its Site 1791, 1792 & 1808*, Vancouver, 161-163.

[11] John Kendrick, *The Voyage of Sutil and Mexicana: 1792*, Spokane 1991, 112.

[12] The Gabriola Island sketches are discussed in detail in Nick Doe, *"Acalá [sic] Galiano's sketchmaps of Gabriola," SHALE*, Journal of the Gabriola Historical & Museum Society, v. 1, November 2000, 12-21.

Reports

A Brief Chronology of the Re-establishment of a Historical Relationship

During the summer fest at Yuquot, in August 2000, Señora Mercedes Palau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Spain presented to the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nations, on behalf of the Spanish Government, a special photographic display of drawings of Yuquot.

The photographs are primarily of the works of the artists Tomás Suria and José Cardero, members of the expeditions visiting Yuquot and the waters of Nootka Sound in 1791 and 1792. They include an image of the famous Suria drawing of Chief Maquinna. The original work comes from collections housed in the Museo Naval and the Museo de America, both in Madrid. The presentation of this exhibition to Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nations by the Government of Spain recognizes the re-establishment of a historical relationship.

This re-establishment started in 1991, when a delegation of Spanish scholars, in Vancouver for a symposium on Spanish explorers and the opening of the exhibition "Enlightened Voyages" was invited by then Chief Ambrose Maquinna to visit Yuquot. A year later, the Spanish Ambassador to Canada participated in the commemoration of the 1792 meeting of Maquinna, Bodega y Quadra, and Vancouver.

In the fall of 1999, the First Nations welcomed another Spanish delegation which included Señora Mercedes Palau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Dr. Alex Malaspina, a member of the family of Alexandro Malaspina, whose expedition, in 1791, brought artists, map makers, and scientists to Nootka.

In March 2000, Chief Mike Maquinna, accompanied by his daughter Marsha, gave a presentation on Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nations' culture and heritage in Madrid on the occasion of a major exhibition of historical and contemporary Northwest Coast art.

In 1998, Chief Mike Maquinna was the guest of the Spanish and participated at the opening of an exhibition about Nootka and the Spanish presence on the west coast of Vancouver Island at the end of the eighteenth century at the Museum of Ethnology in Barcelona. After that the exhibition, *Nootka regreso a una historia olvidada* (Nootka: return to a forgotten history) toured through Spain.

It was this collection of photographs that was donated to the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nations. Bob Eberele's narrative talks about its installation at Yuquot.

Information supplied by
Margarita James, Director of Cultural & Heritage Resources,
Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nations

A Narrative from Friendly Cove

by Robert Eberle

THE MOWACHAHT, a band in the Nuu-chah-nulth Nation, have occupied the village of Yuquot for at least 4,300 years. Located on a narrow spit of land on the southern tip of Nootka Island, the village sat between two crescent beaches. The houses faced the calm waters of Friendly Cove with their backs turned to the inhospitable winds that pound the outer shore. Yuquot was the Mowachaht's summer home. The band sought refuge from the winter storms by moving the entire village to the protected waters of Tahsis. The Mowachaht still retains ownership of the original village site with each family owning their historic house sites.

During the late 1700s Spanish explorers spent years charting the northwest coastal waters of North America. Here they made contact with the local populations, drew maps of the coastline, kept informative diaries, and sketched the people and their habitat. Two artists who accompanied the Spanish explorers, Tomás de Suria and José Cardero created the original drawings of the First Nations village of Yuquot.

More than two hundred years after the last Spanish ships sailed from these waters, the government of Spain and the Museum of Ethnology in Barcelona donated an exhibit of photographic reproductions of the work of de Suria and Cardero as a gift to the Mowachaht people. After leaving Spain the exhibit had toured through Mexico and North America before it arrived in Vancouver. Robin Inglis, director of the North Vancouver Museum and president of the Vancouver Spanish Pacific Historical Society was asked to deliver the reproductions to the Mowachaht/Muchalaht, descendants of the principle subjects of the drawings, and to set up the exhibit, packed in three heavy crates, in the abandoned church at Yuquot.

I was excited to be going to Yuquot with Robin to install the exhibit. At last I would see Yuquot, home of Chief Maquinna and the Mowachaht. Yuquot, "where the wind blows from all directions." Yuquot—known as Friendly Cove by the overseas visitors—at the entrance to the Muchalaht Inlet and Nootka Sound, close to Resolution Cove, the site of Captain Cook's first landing on the North West Coast. Yuquot, the place of first contact, first European settlement, site of the first Spanish fort, first garden, the meeting place of Captain George Vancouver and Captain Juan de la Bodega y Quadra. The place of the sea otter traders, the sinking of the ship *Boston*, the captivity of John Jewitt, and British Columbia's first national historic site.

On Monday 26 June 2000, driving west from Gold River to the dock we met the coastal supply ship, the *Uchuck III*, to arrange transport of the crates to Friendly Cove. The *Uchuck*, "Healing Waters" in Nuu-chah-nulth, would depart the next morning and was expected to arrive at Yuquot sometime around noon. She has served the coastal area for 40 years. Built in 1942 as an American minesweeper, she has been totally refitted with a coffee shop and comfortable lounge. Today she carries up to a hundred passengers and a good quantity of freight. Yuquot was an unscheduled stop for the *Uchuck* on its way to Tahsis, but the owners of the vessel were anxious to help delivering the exhibit. For our own personal transportation Margarita James, Director of Cultural and Heritage resources for the Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nations, arranged transportation with Jim, fishing guide, owner, operator and captain of a small open fibreglass boat.

After a backbreaking ride over the choppy waters we were not welcomed by a group of canoes, but still, my first sight of the pebbled crescent of Friendly

Cove was a thrill. As Jim slowed the boat I felt that we should be paddling to the shore. I could see that the magic and charm still remained, despite the fact that only two houses occupied the beach where once the longhouses stood. A modern lighthouse is now perched on Pig Island, called *Isla de los Cerdos* by the Spanish as this was where they had kept their pigs. On the adjacent San Miguel Island, now an extension of Pig Island, the Spanish once established for a few years a defensive battery. At that time the beach was lined with the buildings of the Spanish garrison. Where the Spanish commandant's home had once dominated the village, a new two-storey house stood. Further behind the tall midden-shore that fringed the beach—witness of the long-time occupation of this site—stood the gleaming white church, complete with belfry and spire. Beyond the beach, the shore, and the church stretched another shore, with its pebble beach, the Pacific Ocean, and a long white bank of fog.

We were met by Ray Williams; he and his wife Teresa are the only remaining members of the band residing full time at Yuquot. In 1967 the Federal Government moved the inhabitants of the village to the mainland village of Ahaminaquuis, at the end of Muchalaht Inlet where we started our journey on the water, and later to Tsaxana near Gold River. The main source of employment at Yuquot, the cannery, had closed, as had the school, forcing the band to relocate. Ray and Teresa Williams live in a small two-room house while they are building the larger two-storey dwelling beside it. The remaining structures were torn down leaving only the Williams's houses and the church.

The church, a tall wooden structure, is located on a prominent site seen from the water on both sides of the narrow isthmus. The first church, constructed in 1889 by Father Augustin Brabant, burned down in 1954. The existing 1956 building is no longer used as church; it serves as cultural centre and museum. The building shows signs of recent maintenance, notably a new roof and a new coat of paint. We climbed the stairs to the front door and found that from the top of the stairs one gets a wonderful view of the cove with the coastal mountains rising in the background.

On the walls of the vestibule a small display of photos and newspaper clippings greeted us and provided an historical introduction. Going through the main door we were met with patterns of coloured light from the stained glass windows on either side; gifts from the Spanish government. One window depicts the meeting of Vancouver and Bodega y Quadra, with a few Mowachaht looking on. The other window shows Spanish Father Catala preaching.

The inside came as a surprise: a high-arched ceiling, freshly painted bright white; simple, stained-glass windows emitted a soft, yellow light. The altar, pulpit, and other signs of its former life as a Catholic church had been removed and were replaced with two very striking and colourful totem poles mounted against the wall where the altar had been. A look back to the choir loft over the entrance revealed two Maquinna house poles standing on either side of the doorway with a thunderbird mounted above creating an archway. The effect of these large, brightly coloured figures dominating the traditional western church structure was quite stunning. The band was clearly transforming the building into its own space. Robin suggested using the choir loft for the Spanish exhibit, and that is where we worked for three days on its installation.

Photos by Bob Eberle

Top: *Margarita James, director of cultural & heritage resources of the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nations and Robin Inglis, president of the Spanish Pacific Historical Society showing images of eighteenth-century residents on the dock at Yuquot.*

Middle: *Robin Inglis putting the finishing touches on the exhibit.*

Bottom: *The former church at Yuquot is used as cultural centre and museum.*

Marsha Maquinna, daughter of Mike Maquinna, the current chief, stayed for a short time at Yuquot in the former priests' living quarters at the far end of the church. She was in charge of six rental cabins that the band had constructed.

The cabins, modest two-room Panabode structures, are located on a narrow stretch of land between the ocean and Spirit Lake, better known as Jewitt Lake after John R. Jewitt, the English blacksmith who survived the capture and sinking of the American trading ship *Boston*. Jewitt, who was held captive for more than two years from 1803 to 1805 by Chief Maquinna, kept a well-known journal of his stay at Yuquot which was published soon after his return to Boston in 1817.

Photos by Bob Eberle

Left: *The old Henry Jack pole at rest.*
Top right: *Pebble beach on the other side of the landspit.*
Bottom right: *The* UCHUCK *III alongside the dock at Friendly Cove. In the background the lighthouse on Pig Island and to the left San Miguel where the Spanish at one time built a battery.*

A small island at the far end of Jewitt Lake blends into the shore. This was the location of the Mowachaht's sacred Whalers' Shrine. The shrine was a well-kept secret to Yuquot's many foreign residents including John McKay, the surgeon from James Strange's trading ship, who lived in Yuquot between 1786 and 1787, John Meares who built a ship here in 1788, the soldiers in the Spanish establishment between 1789-1795, and John Jewitt. The first published reports about the shrine's existence appeared in 1817 when the French explorer Roquefeuil visited the area.

The Nootka Whalers' Washing House has been described as one of the most significant cultural sites in Canada. Here the whalers would prepare for the dangerous and demanding whale hunt. The surrounding lake was used for cleansing the body while the shrine with its numerous carvings and human skulls prepared the spirit. In 1904, during the absence of most of the Mowachaht chiefs, the shrine was "collected" for a small fee by "salvage anthropologists" and sold to the American Museum of Natural History in New York. The assembly is so large and complex that it has never been put on display. People who have recently visited the artifacts report that it has enormous power. The community at Yuquot has requested that it be returned, although many seem happy to leave it where it is.

Along the beach, past Ray Williams's house, lies an old totem pole now buried in the grass. This pole was the last one erected at Yuquot. It was carved by Chief Henry Jack and set in place in 1929. The event was witnessed by Canada's Governor General, Lord Willingdon. The pole fell down in the early 1990s during a winter storm. After much debate it was allowed to return to the earth as all the poles had before. This left the village with no totems poles, just like Cook and the Spanish had first found it. The old Henry Jack pole lies here, slowly disintegrating, covered by ferns and long grass, some growing through its finely carved features.

We were delighted to find a new pole under construction in front of the Williams's house. Ray's son Sanford had recently returned to Yuquot from Hazelton where he worked on nine poles as an apprentice and on two of his own as a master. He makes his living as a carver selling masks in Tofino and Campbell River. Ray was delighted to see the first new totem pole being carved since the Chief Henry Jack's pole 70 years ago. Sanford told us that he had asked his grandmother to select the family images for the new work.

We went to see the 100-foot high lighthouse on Pig Island to sign the guest book. The Nootka light station is one of the last on the coast to still have a keeper and has been cared for by Ed and Pat Kidder for 30 years. The beam of the light can be seen for 25 kilometres. Signing the book and reading the entries was a lot of fun. Most visitors were sailors who sounded happy and sometimes fortunate to be back on land.

For thousands of years the Muchalaht people occupied this land. Viewing the cove from the lighthouse it was easy to imagine the arrival of the sailing ships, mainly under the flags of Spain and England, entering and occupying the protected waters of the harbour. For a brief moment Nootka became the centre stage in a dispute between Spain and Britain. Those years brought together some remarkable personalities, whose voices are still echoing today in oral tradition and written history, and in the drawings of the artists who came along. But most of those who were here are now forgotten. The original inhabitants and the travellers from foreign shores who were here only for a brief stay or for a few years were just absorbed back into the earth; like that overgrown fallen pole will be one day soon.

Book Reviews

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

Daniel W. Clayton
Islands of Truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island,
reviewed by Phyllis Reeve.

Betty C. Keller
Pender Harbour Cowboy: The Many Lives of Bertrand Sinclair,
reviewed by Richard J. Lane.

Karen Piffko
The Life and Times of Texas Fosbery: The Cariboo and Beyond,
reviewed by Donna Jean MacKinnon.

Gordon Hak
Turning Trees into Dollars: The British Columbia Coastal Lumber Industry, 1858 to 1913,
reviewed by Ken Drushka.

Richard Somerset Mackie
Island Timber: A Social History of the Comox Logging Company, Vancouver Island,
reviewed by Ken Drushka.

Sandra Djwa
Professing English at UBC: The Legacy of Roy Daniells and Garnett Sedgwick; the 1999 Garnett Sedgwick Memorial Lecture,
reviewed by Phyllis Reeve.

Chris Yorath
A Measure of Value: The Story of the D'Arcy Island Leper Colony,
reviewed by Marie Elliott.

Frank Porter Patterson
The Cutting Edge: Reminiscences of Surgery at the Vancouver General Hospital and the University of British Columbia,
reviewed by Phyllis Reeve.

Irene Stangoe
History and Happenings in the Cariboo–Chilcotin: Pioneer Memories,
reviewed by Esther Darlington.

Joyce and Peter McCart
On the Road with David Thompson,
reviewed by R.J. (Ron) Welwood.

Walter Guppy
A Place for Gold,
reviewed by Werner Kaschel.

Douglas Cole
Franz Boas: The Early Years, 1858–1906,
reviewed by Brian Gobbett.

E.C. Coleman
Captain Vancouver, North-West Navigator,
reviewed by J.E. Roberts

Islands of Truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island

Daniel W. Clayton. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000. 330 pp., maps. $85 hardcover, $29.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY PHYLLIS REEVE.

In 1924 UBC historian Walter Sage reported to the British Columbia Historical Association on a ceremonial journey to Friendly Cove and the unveiling of a cairn commemorating Cook's 1778 discovery of Nootka Sound. A recent issue of the *British Columbia Historical News* (Vol. 33/1 Winter 1999/2000) carried two reports of commemorative visits to the same area, in November 1998 by the Society for the History of Discoveries and in October 1999 by participants in the Inaugural Symposium of the Alexandro Malaspina Research Centre. In 1978 and 1992 academic conferences marked the bicentenaries of Cook's and Vancouver's arrival on the British Columbia coast. What exactly do we keep on celebrating?

Daniel Clayton looks at the 1924 ceremony and leads from it into a new kind of history, by way of an intensive, complex, and breathtaking examination of what, who, why, and whether we celebrate. But before I alienate my friends who are members of the worthy bodies mentioned above, be assured that this is not simplistic or trendy revisionism. Clayton, who is a "geographer" rather than a "historian", does not demand our repudiation of familiar historical narratives as wrong, wicked, or politically incorrect. He does want us to unroll those narratives, shake them thoroughly, and refuse to return them to their accustomed pigeonholes.

Now a teacher in the School of Geography and Geosciences at St. Andrew's University, Scotland, Clayton studied at the University of British Columbia under the mentorship of Derek Gregory and Cole Harris. He works "out of the critical field of vision developed by Michel Foucault and Edward Said." But even a "post-colonial" study begins with narrative, and Clayton is a skilled narrator. He discusses events we thought we knew: Cook's visit to Nootka Sound; the Spanish presence and Vancouver's circumnavigation of Vancouver Island; and the Oregon boundary dispute with the United States. While unravelling rich historical tales in their labyrinthine contexts, he critiques the narrators, from Cook and Vancouver and their contemporaries to Alan Moorehead, Robin Fisher, and Marshall Sahlins, and finds that historians too, and history itself, are within, and contributors to, the contexts. After a few chapters Clayton announces "there is no original or definitive Cook."

But this is not the "end of history" so much as the beginning of an endless and fascinating investigation in which investigators are part of what must be investigated. Identifying preconceptions, mythologies, agendas, and oversights, Clayton does not consign them to oblivion. To trash others' agendas would be to impose his own.

As a geographer, Clayton directs attention to the maps made by explorers, traders, admirals, and diplomats. Outlines and spaces include and exclude; and what they more and more excluded as navigators became discoverers and discoverers became developers, was evidence of the peoples and cultures already inhabiting the "new" land.

That evidence still existed for Cook, whose investigations as a matter of course included cross-cultural encounters and interaction. Yet even he, by drawing a map, imposed his own order on the fluidities of human contact. By the time Vancouver arrived, the "invigorating hand of commerce" was pushing the Native people literally off the map. His cartography reinvented the island as empty space at the disposal of imperial and mercantile initiative.

The clash of Spaniards and Britons at Nootka in 1790 had more to do with European politics and revolutions than it did with Nootka itself. By 1820 Native land title went unnoticed and irrelevant; Britain and the United States "constructed the Oregon Territory as an exclusively Anglo-American space of geopolitical dispute." Their visions of permanent occupation allowed no room for the suggestion that the territory was already occupied. The territory was "emptied of its prior significations."

Maps of Vancouver Island indicated places on the coastal outline fringing the unknown interior occupied only by wild animals and wild men, by Native peoples who "underutilized" what was already thought of as "Crown" land.

Clayton concludes: "When I worked through Cook's sojourn at Nootka Sound and discovered a diverse field of interaction and representation a judge's handling of historical evidence came to mind and led me towards a wider methodological discussion of how British Columbians have narrated their relationship with the land." It is important to "open up different sides of the past from different cultural and geographical positions" and to "simultaneously evaluate the past and unsettle its implications for the present."

This book does unsettle, and stimulate, inform, excite. Research and documentation are impressive. When Clayton takes issue with other geographers or historians, he does so without polemic and as part of his wider methodological discussion. His publisher could have served him better by backing Spell-Check with human readers capable of retrieving missing prepositions and correcting typos. A pity.

Reviewer Phyllis Reeve is a librarian and bookseller who reads Edward Said.

Pender Harbour Cowboy: The Many Lives Of Bertrand Sinclair.

Betty C. Keller. Victoria: TouchWood, 2000. 224 pp. Illus. $18.95 paperback

REVIEWED BY RICHARD J. LANE

He wrote popular novels and short stories set in British Columbia that in the main sold extremely well and are still cherished by collectors today; he left his name attached to the Sunshine Coast and the memories of some of the people who live there; his papers are deposited at The University of British Columbia Special Collections Division where he has been studied by literary critics, biographers, and historians; and yet it will still come as a surprise to some readers to learn that his name is Bertrand William Sinclair. Who? For a long time, the best place to find an answer to that question was Laurie Ricou's *Dictionary of Literary Biography* entry (Gale Research, 1990); also a number of other academic papers have been published about Sinclair (see *BC Historical News* 32/3, for more details). Ricou's *Dictionary of Literary Biography* entry, while informative, well researched, well written, and as fast-paced as a piece of pulp fiction, may have left the reader asking for more. Now Betty C. Keller has expanded the available literature on Sinclair considerably with her new biography, *Pender Harbour Cowboy: The Many Lives of Bertrand Sinclair*. The reference to multiple lives in the title is important, since Sinclair brought to his fiction writing diverse experiences born of an innate restlessness, his love of the "wild west," the British Columbian coast, and his attempts to live and learn of the industries situated in BC that formed more than the back-drop to his novels (although his novels can be called "romances" such industries are also what those novels are fundamentally about).

Drawing mainly from correspondence held at UBC Special Collections Division, as well as referring at times in some depth to the novels and short stories, Keller starts and ends with "Sinclair Bay" on the Sunshine Coast, probably the place where Sinclair was most at home. The latter may be disputed, given his love of the "wild west", but as Keller notes he had "...arrived on the Montana range just as it was ceasing to be The Old West...it would be a few years before he realized that he had come too late." (p15) Keller fills in the background to these years, covering the main players in the region, first with the ranch owners and notorious ranch hands, the rugged environment, the myths and legends of the range, and then with the more literary representation of that environment, with Sinclair's exasperated response to texts such as Owen Wister's *The Virginian* in the form of his own short stories, starting with "The N-Bar Freak" published in the *Argonaut* in 1902. Keller moves on to two main aspects of Sinclair's literary development: the powerful relationship between Sinclair and Bertha Bower (who would become an extremely successful western writer) as well as his peripatetic studies, auditing classes at The University of Washington and Stanford University. Chapter Two of the biography is aptly titled "Writing the Range," covering Sinclair's transformation into full-time pulp-fiction author, and his relationships with "cowboy-artist" Charles Russell, and Bertha Bower who had by this time left her husband (Sinclair and Bower were married in 1905). Keller touches upon some of the strengths of the relationship with Bower, as well as the rivalries (her publications were fast making profits that exceeded Sinclair's) and the eventual breakdown of the marriage, but for a fuller account of this period, additional research may be needed at the forthcoming B.M. Bower Archive (which will be a part of the Western History Collections at The University of Oklahoma, in Norman, OK). Eventually, after Sinclair's affair with Bower's cousin Ruth, the marriage was over; Sinclair and Ruth headed for Vancouver. The next six chapters of the biography deal with Sinclair's long and adventurous life in British Columbia; this would be the place where his most successful novels would be written, such as *North of Fifty-Three* (1915) and *Poor Man's Rock* (1920); this was also where he would eventually find two simultaneously permanent homes: in his cabin at Pender Harbour, and on his boat the *Hoo Hoo*. Keller explores Sinclair's Vancouver life, starting with his arrival in 1911, and his increasing output of westerns in the form of short stories and "novelettes"; important early sales included silent-film rights, as well as material to *Popular*. The novelette *North of Fifty-Three* eventually became a best selling novel, and Sinclair used his time well at Harrison Hot Springs researching the industry that would become an integral part of his next novel, *Big Timber* (1916). Both novels were turned into films. While Europe and its dependencies were going to war, the socialist-leaning Sinclair was falling in love with a boat! Although an idyllic lifestyle of cruising, exploring and trolling followed, Sinclair's anti-war sentiments caused him problems with the manuscript of *Burned Bridges*, eventually published in 1919. Keller does well exploring the intersecting tensions in Sinclair's life from this point; his marriage to Ruth was deeply problematic due to personality clashes, and later her illness and move to Livermore Sanatorium; his friendship with daughter Cherry grew ever stronger as she loved the lifestyle he sought, especially with their move to Pender Harbour, and all the time there was the pressure and contradictions inherent in Sinclair's desire to write literature with the overriding need to make money from romances and pulp fiction. As Keller notes, the decision Sinclair made was to "...write wolf-chasers for *Popular* and literary novels for Little, Brown." (p.99) What followed was research into the fishing industry for *Poor Man's Rock*, another anti-war novel, *The Hidden Places* (1922), and the socialist critique of *The Inverted Pyramid* (1924); sales of the last two novels were poor in comparison to Sinclair's formula fiction. Financial pressures

had increased with Ruth's stay at Livermore and the break-up of the marriage was some time coming. The return to successful literary models was inevitable, thus *Wild West* (1926) was born. Keller turns to the Depression years, the loss of publishing income and a series of personal disasters, which Sinclair responded to in an unusual way: he became a salmon troller. The last sections of the biography are taken up with this unusual, but somehow characteristic move of Sinclair's, along with his new marriage and later companionship after the death of his third wife, his immense feats of strength as he continued trolling to the age of 83, and then the final, long years of decline.

Keller's biography works well, recovering this "lost" or forgotten author: his complex personal relationships, his development as a writer across genres and in relation to different environments that make him a "western" writer in more ways than one, the contradictions and tensions in his work. But if we are to take seriously Sinclair's place as a British Columbian writer then a more comprehensive biography may be called for which takes these claims more fully into account. Maybe all that is needed is some further critical apparatus, such as a more comprehensive bibliography of Sinclair's publications, e.g., the novels and selected short-stories (which were published in America, Canada and the UK), a comprehensive bibliography of critical works either about, or which mention in significant ways, Sinclair (for example, Jean Barman refers to Sinclair in her *History of BC, The West Beyond The West* [1991), and perhaps a guide to the Sinclair archival holdings at UBC, which are of a fairly extensive nature. Of course, as with many other obscure or "forgotten" authors, new material is constantly coming to light and forthcoming work on B.M. Bower (including a forthcoming biography by Kate Baird Anderson) may add to the Sinclair stockpile as well as providing a different perspective on Sinclair's personal and professional relationships. But it would be foolhardy to criticize a biography for what might become available or what might be written in the future. I for one would like to see either an expanded edition of Keller's biography, and a collection of critical essays written by historians, geographers, literary critics, and so on, who may have an interest in Sinclair and the way in which the man and his writings have become part of the very fabric of British Columbia.

Note: for more information on the B.M. Bower Archive, which will be a part of the Western History Collections at The University of Oklahoma, please contact: Donald L. DeWitt, Curator, Western History Collections, Monet Hall Room 452, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019. Telephone 405-325-3641 or 405-325-2611
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I would like to thank Reed Doke for providing me with this information and for permission to share it in this review.

Reviewer Richard J. Lane lives and teaches in England.

The Life and Times of Texas Fosbery: The Cariboo and Beyond

Karen Piffko. Surrey: Heritage House Publishing, 2000. 189 pp. Illus., maps. $16.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY DONNA JEAN MACKINNON.

This true-life recollection of a kind of quintessential British Columbian takes the reader from one man's earliest working days as a cowboy in the Cariboo to prospecting with his father after the Second World War in the Yukon, to "driving cat" (Caterpillar) as an independent contractor in different parts of the province for the rest of his life.

"You might say the Cariboo is in my blood," Fosbery is quoted as saying early in this book, as the often rambling reminiscences fill the pages with his travels and work-a-day migrations to numerous BC locations including Westbank, Big Creek, Stewart River, Fort Selkirk, Hell's Gate, and Dawson City, Yukon.

Interspersed with details of working conditions are recollections of cold winters, of moving from one town to another, of accidents and injuries (including a hair-raising boating accident), and of encounters with wildlife. Along with the inevitable tribulations come unique highlights of living and working in remote environments. Fosbery speaks with awe of the times he saw the northern lights and the thrill of travelling in the Yukon on the "Top of the World" highway.

This book will appeal to those who've lived in the northern and interior parts of the province, or who worked in some of the same occupations as Fosbery. For those unfamiliar with the time and place, the writing could use a tighter edit to clarify and give the reader a sense of being guided from one point to the next. Even if you miss some of the details, however, it is hard not to be caught up in the life of this adventurer who has obviously carved his place in the life and work of rural British Columbia.

Reviewer Donna Jean MacKinnon is archivist for the BC Teachers Federation.

Turning Trees Into Dollars: The British Columbia Coastal Lumber Industry, 1858 to 1913.

Gordon Hak. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 239 pp. Map. $22.95 paperback. $65.00 hardcover.

Island Timber: A Social History of the Comox Logging Company, Vancouver Island.

Richard Somerset Mackie, Victoria, Sono Nis Press, 309 pp. Illus., map. $39.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY KEN DRUSHKA.

After decades of neglect, British Columbia forest history is finally coming into its own. This is important, not just because the forest sector is still the primary driver of the provincial economy, but because BC is almost entirely forested and the use or misuse of these forests is a matter of great interest to most citizens. Unfortunately, most of those citizens have little or no knowledge of the history of their forests and of how they have been used. This is in the process of being remedied. These two recent books by professional historians, amid a flood of other publications on the subject, are worthy of special regard.

Hak's book is remarkable for the scope of its subject matter. He is a history professor at Malaspina College in Nanaimo, but unlike most academics does not limit himself to a dry recitation of laboriously unearthed historical information acquired through orthodox research methodologies.

He does that task too, of course, and includes some important new information on the development of early forest policies, the corporate structures of the period, and other contextual material. But he also includes well researched and written sections on the logging and sawmilling sectors, which give the book a more fully rounded character.

Also, by limiting himself to a brief but historically important period, Hak has provided a clear portrayal of an era that can

be grasped and understood by a wide audience. This is one of those rare species: an academically sound book that can be read and enjoyed equally by readers ranging from professional historians to loggers and mill workers.

Having said this, it should be noted Hak's book is not without its problems. His critique of the forest industry, and the policies that underlie it, is characterized by a trait common to most mainstream contemporary Canadian historians. With rare exceptions, they have adopted an off-the-shelf left-wing political perspective that colours their historical understanding. In Hak's case, this has led him to give undue attention to a few marginal forest-sector critics of the period his book covers, and to ignore some of its major figures. His book entirely ignores two prominent North American conservationists who resided in BC during this period and who had a profound influence on the development of forest policies in this province. Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière, who was Lieutenant-Governor of BC from 1900 to 1906, and Judson Clark, BC's first professional forester, were far harsher critics of forest policies up to that time, and far more influential in changing those policies, than any of the anti-capitalist critics mentioned.

Nevertheless, Hak's book is only marginally weakened by such shortcomings and it is hoped he will produce further volumes on succeeding periods.

Richard Mackie is one of those rare individuals holding a doctorate in history who chooses to work outside the academic world as a historian and writer. He is a skilled researcher and author, and his book on Comox Logging is the most thorough and engaging of its kind. This is no ordinary coffee-table history of what, in the final analysis, is merely a local forest company and its evolution. Mackie's research is exhaustive and innovative. He has culled every archival source imaginable and interviewed about 150 people, some of them several times. As well, he has brought together a marvellous collection of photographs that add texture and clarity to his story.

Comox Logging and its predecessor companies operated in the rich eastern Vancouver Island forests around Courtenay from about 1900 until it was absorbed into a larger integrated company 50 years later. This period encompassed what has been called the Glory Days of coastal logging, when giant trees were logged, first by hand, then with monstrous steam-powered machinery and, finally, with modern logging equipment.

Mackie's story is much more than just an account of this company, however. He has successfully woven this story into the broader account of the region's social and economic history. His book shows how the Comox Logging company was central to the lives of all the people in the Comox region and how, in turn, these people influenced the fortunes of the company. The advantage of working outside the often-stifling requirements of academic publishing is very evident in *Island Timber*. It is an eclectic mix of well-written text, photographs with informative captions, sidebars, and oral history excerpts. They are skilfully blended together (and for this the book's designer, Jim Bennett, deserves credit) into an intriguing whole.

The book consists of a corporate history, a detailed account of how the logging and sawmilling ends of the operation worked, a history of the Comox Valley, and personal histories of a large portion of the community's residents. All these elements have been brought together into a captivating and compelling account. No wonder this book jumped to the head of the BC best-seller list, surpassing even the year's blockbuster *Encyclopedia of BC*. Its publisher, Sono Nis Press, is to be commended for producing such a unique book.

Ken Drushka is the author of several books on the B.C. forest industry and writes a weekly column on forestry for the Vancouver Sun.

Professing English at UBC: the Legacy of Roy Daniells and Garnett Sedgwick; the 1999 Garnett Sedgewick Memorial Lecture.

Sandra Djwa. Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2000. 32 pages. Illus. paperback.
REVIEWED BY PHYLLIS REEVE.

From 1920, two years after its founding, until 1948, the Department of English at the University of British Columbia was headed by Garnett Sedgwick, followed from 1948 to 1966 by another distinguished teacher and memorable personality, Roy Daniells. During the Department's eightieth anniversary year 1998-9, Sandra Djwa became the first woman scholar to give the Sedgwick Memorial Lecture, the text of which is published in this little book.

Despite the commanding cover photo of Sedgwick, the discussion has more to say about Daniells than about Sedgwick, and more to say about academic politics than about anything human. No reader will be overwhelmed by nostalgia. But if you want to know what happened at UBC in the summer of 1953 while Daniells visited New Zealand as a visiting lecturer, this is your opportunity.

Reviewer Phyllis Reeve received her MA in English from UBC in 1965.

A Measure of Value, the Story of the D'Arcy Island Leper Colony

Chris Yorath. Victoria: Touchwood Editions, 2000. 176 pp. Illus. $17.95 paperback.
REVIEWED BY MARIE ELLIOTT.

Until the twentieth Century, leprosy had been the scourge of mankind, its victims doomed to a life of poverty and isolation. Norwegian physician Gerhard Hansen identified the bacillus in 1874, hence the name "Hansen's disease," but humane medical care took several decades to develop in the western world.

Chris Yorath presents a thoroughly researched history of how British Columbia treated victims of leprosy from the 1890s to 1924. Most of the sufferers were Chinese males, although there was one Caucasian, and a teenage Chinese girl was detained until her friends could raise enough money to send her back to China. Yorath provides medical descriptions of the disease, and examines the politics of public medicine that required municipal, provincial, and federal co-operation. The city of Victoria initially carried the financial burden of providing care but Vancouver soon took responsibility for its victims. Although the dominion government fully supported the only other lazaretto in Canada, at Trincadi, New Brunswick, it did not take over British Columbia's facility until 1906.

The first victims discovered in Victoria were transported to D'Arcy Island, located in Haro Strait, between Victoria and Sidney. The city built accommodation and provided medical care and food and clothing. Supplies were transported to the island every three months and a medical doctor made infrequent visits. Victims soon arrived from elsewhere in the province. D'Arcy was used as a lazaretto from 1891 until 1924, when new accommodation was built on Bentinck Island, located offshore from the William Head quarantine station near Victoria.

In attempting to give "A Measure of Value" to the victims, and to make their story more dramatic, Yorath created scenarios and dialogue. This was not necessary. The photographs and medical descriptions suffice to impress most readers. Yorath attempts a middle road between apologism and anger, but the latter dominates his vivid descriptions of the suffering that the men endured.

This is a small book, one of the first in an attractive new series of Touchwood Editions, an imprint of Horsdal & Schubart Publishers Ltd. It is a welcome addition to British Columbia's local history, and especially to its sparse medical history.

Historian Marie Elliott writes profusely on BC history.

The Cutting Edge: Reminiscences of Surgery at the Vancouver General Hospital and the University of British Columbia 1915-1985

Frank Porter Patterson, M.D. Vancouver: Hatzic Publishing, 2000. 235 pp. Illus., appendices. $44.00 hardcover.
REVIEWED BY PHYLLIS REEVE.

Dr. Patterson's book reminds us that, despite the increasing and distasteful politicization of medicine and education, the dual purpose of our hospitals and universities is to mend bodies and to train new generations of better menders. Its message will therefore have importance and meaning for others besides the health care professionals (and health care spouses, such as this reviewer), who will inevitably be its first readers.

Frank Porter Patterson was the second of that name to practise orthopaedic surgery with distinction in British Columbia. His father, after pioneering in his profession, became leader of the provincial Conservative Party and leader of the opposition during the premiership of T.D. Pattullo.

As Head of Orthopaedics from the beginning of the UBC Medical School, and Head of the Department of Surgery 1973–1981, Dr. Patterson the Second developed innovative training programs and fostered new specialties within his discipline. According to a note on the jacket and a newspaper clipping reproduced at the end at the narrative, he was the originator of joint reconstruction. But he refers to his personal life and accomplishments only as they contribute to the story of surgery at the teaching hospitals of Vancouver. Within each decade, he chronicles the surgical specialties and the outstanding surgeons within each specialty. He points with pride to the growth of quality medical training—and therefore of quality health care—through intern and residency programs, examinations, certification, and fellowships. Three institutions matter particularly in the story: the medical school at the University of British Columbia, the Vancouver General Hospital (and other teaching hospitals), and the British Columbia Medical Association.

This is not a gossipy book, and only as Dr. Patterson introduces us to one after another after another do we recognize the pride, respect, and affection he is revealing for his colleagues and protégés. He remembers and reminds us who did what, and when. When he refers to the province's first kidney transplant in 1968, he tells us that the man holding the knife on that particular cutting edge was the "friendly, conscientious, concerned" Patrick Moloney, remembered, not always fondly, for "making ward rounds in the middle of the night." Of Peter Allen, who did much of the pioneering research in cardiac surgery at VGH, we are told: "His major asset, I think, is his infectious enthusiasm."

The list is impressive, all the more so when we recall that this is only part of the story. We shall have to look to another writer to document the non-surgical members of the medical team.

The only woman given significant attention is Mrs. Gladys Bealing, first secretary and subsequent administrative assistant of the Department of Surgery, 1949–1978. But that seems to have been the way it was. Women who trained as surgeons did not then stay to work at VGH or UBC.

Obstetricians do not enter into the history, because their specialty was not part of the Department of Surgery. Ironically, Dr. Patterson's field, orthopaedics, has since his retirement acquired its own academic department and would therefore be ineligible for inclusion.

Political problems within the medical administration receive only the most unavoidable and briefest mention. Dr. Patterson's book, like his life, testifies to generations of energies, talents, and personalities dedicated to medicine, medical research, and medical education.

Reviewer Phyllis Reeve is a librarian who lives on Gabriola Island.

History and Happenings in the Cariboo-Chilcotin: Pioneer Memories

Irene Stangoe. Surrey: Heritage House, 2000. 159 pp. Illus., maps. $14.95 paperback.
REVIEWED BY ESTHER DARLINGTON.

Irene Stangoe's third publication, *History and Happenings in the Cariboo-Chilcotin*, promises more in the title than it delivers in the text. The book should more appropriately be considered footnotes on some of the history and events in an area of British Columbia that has become a legendary country romanced by numerous writers over the past half century.

Irene Stangoe knows her region as well as the back of her hand. She has probably a mountain of material from which to select her subject matter. But the production of a paperback history requires of necessity some strenuous selectivity.

It is scarcely possible to begin a history of the Cariboo-Chilcotin without at least a recap of the salient facts about the gold rush of 1858. Irene Stangoe's sections on the gold rush begin interestingly enough, and a few pages on the pioneer photographer Frederick Dally seems infinitely appropriate. Dally was the Matthew Brady of BC interior history. His pictures reflect more about the colour and the character of the time than much of the material that has been produced by numerous writers. Dally left a legacy of haunting images of the Cariboo during those formative years.

One would have thought the gold rush and events around it would have been contained in a single section of the book. But this is not the case. The story of the gold rush is dispersed between sections on Chief Anahim by Benny Jack, and the Bayliff family of Redstone, who were early ranchers. There is also a vignette on Fort Chilcotin. The gold rush theme is then resumed with the section titled Barkerville Days. I found this breakup of theme and geography—and this occurs throughout the book—makes for a rather disjointed presentation of the region's history.

Sections dealing with stopping houses such as 150 Mile House Hotel, the stopping house at Beaver Lake, and hotels in Williams Lake, and notes on the pioneer operators of these enterprises make for a good start on interesting subject matter, particularly those around Williams Lake, where the author and her husband Clive produced a very popular newspaper, the *Williams Lake Tribune*. But again, the subject matter is interrupted by a

section not applicable to the area covered, and a story about the train robberies at Mission, BC, and Ducks, near Kamloops, quite outside the Cariboo-Chilcotin region, breaks the narrative.

The laying out of a manuscript of a regional history that includes a large number of pictures as *History and Happenings in the Cariboo-Chilcotin* does, complete with a wide variety of subject matter, is never a straightforward business. Very often the juxtaposition of pictures and text requires some artful juggling. Nevertheless, the sheer variety of the subject matter with its necessarily brief treatment leaves the impression of a revolving Lazy Susan of goodies moving too fast for convenient fingering.

I felt the sections on Cariboo families like the Bayliffs, a Chilcotin family who came from England with all the British genteel finesse in a wilderness outback, would have deserved more attention than they received. Likewise, the Felker family of Blue Tent fame is a family worthy of a book in itself; few Cariboo Chilcotin families can compare with the Felkers for color, character, tragedy—you name it. Also mentioned with little more than encyclopaedic information, are the Hamiltons of Beaver Lake, Lord Cecil Martin and his religious community at 100 Mile House, the Farwells of the Riske Creek area, and finally, the Durrells of the Chilcotin River valley. I think these illustrious families would have been served better if their brief histories had run one after the other, rather than to have been broken up by other unrelated material dealing with the growth and development of the town of Williams Lake.

There are maps, an index, a lengthy narrative poem by Gwen Pharis Ringwood—a regional playwright who made an extremely valuable contribution to the cultural life of Williams Lake when the town was little more than a dusty village—and there is a tribute to Cariboo landscape artist, Sonia Cornwall, all combining to give the reader a lively and useful guide to the region.

Regional histories like Stangoe's generally have limited appeal. Visiting tourists and of course the residents of the Cariboo-Chilcotin themselves, some of whom will have family members mentioned in the book, are the likely readers. As a research source however, pocket book histories seldom convey much fresh material. Very often there is a rehash of old material. But there is undoubtedly growing appeal for regional histories, or the publishers wouldn't be printing them. One hopes that the standards of the publication of these pocketbooks relating to layout and photo reproductions will only improve with time.

Reviewer Esther Darlington is a resident of Cache Creek

On the Road with David Thompson

Joyce and Peter McCart. Calgary, AB: Fifth House Ltd., 2000. 260pp. Illus., maps. $18.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY R.J. (RON) WELWOOD.

Just over two centuries ago David Thompson began his renowned series of ventures into the Pacific Northwest. Thompson's detailed journals together with his accurate maps provide an outstanding exploration and observation record of the British Columbia, Alberta, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon landscape.

However, until now there has been no connection drawn between Thompson's travels and today's network of roads. *On the Road with David Thompson* makes that connection. As the authors state in their introduction, "We've written it for travellers who tour the northwest by car, motorhome, bicycle, or even on foot, in the hope that they might enjoy the company of a man who walked, rode, and canoed the same routes two centuries ago. For the benefit of the armchair travellers, we've included descriptions of the passing scene—both in Thompson's words and our own."

This book has certainly achieved that goal and more. The McCarts have combined their talents to produce an excellent publication that is well organized and informative. Joyce's experience as an editor and technical writing instructor, and Peter's background in biology research and field work are evident.

On the Road covers David Thompson's exploits on behalf of the North West Company between 1800 and 1811. There is consistency throughout the book. Each of the thirteen chapters begins with a cameo-shaped landscape photograph and an abstract. On the verso of this page is a map outlining the watercourses, communities and roads in close proximity to Thompson's route(s)—a detailed road map is recommended to supplement this general map. The text is well written, fluid, informative and sprinkled with appropriate Thompson quotations gleaned from either his journals or narrative. Endnotes, a comprehensive bibliography, and a good index are also included.

However, the most impressive ingredient in this book is the authors' scrupulous, empirical analysis of Thompson's records. Nineteenth-century locations are precisely identified on a twentieth-century map. This in itself must have been a daunting task considering the way man has so drastically altered the landscape with roads, bridges, dams, and other large-scale projects. By methodically retracing Thompson's footsteps and critically analyzing his records, the McCarts have even managed to correct some well-known historians who did not, or could not, do on-site analysis.

This work provides an excellent template for an *On the Road* series about long forgotten explorers of western Canada. *On the Road with David Thompson* serves both as a functional travel guide and, more importantly, as a valuable history book about David Thompson.

Reviewer R.J. (Ron) Welwood is a past president of the British Columbia Historical Federation.

A Place for Gold

Walter Guppy. Tofino: Grassroots Publication, 2000. 164 pp. Map. $15.95 plus mailing, paperback. Available from Walter Guppy, PO Box 94, Tofino, BC VOR 2Z0

REVIEWED BY WERNER KASCHEL.

Walter Guppy's book, A Place for Gold, provides the readers with a grassroots perspective of the placer- and hard-rock mining history in Vancouver Island from the 1860s to the present day. The author focuses on all major metal mining explorations and operations (gold, silver, copper and iron) found on the island. The book in large part is a culmination of Guppy's personal experiences in the mining field that started in the Bedwell River area in the late 1930s and some primary research.

The author starts with the small albeit important placer gold rushes on Vancouver Island, such as Leech River, China Creek, and the Bedwell River area. He continues with hard-rock metal mining on the island, which started in the 1890s, with copper being discovered on Mount Sicker in the Cowichan region. Guppy argues that the mining industry has been very instrumental in community development and growth on the island, especially with such mines as the Privateer discovered during the depression

in Zeballos, the Brynnor Iron Mines of the 1960s, and the Island Copper Mine. The author recounts one of the most important was the Western Mines, located within Strathcona Park, which later became Westmin Resources. Numerous other companies (see Appendix I on page 160-63 for listing of mining companies, years of operation, and production of metal ores) were influential in the economy and development of Vancouver Island as well as certain individuals that promoted and helped foster the mining industry—to name a few are John Buttle, Sam Craig, and Dr. Franc Joubin. Throughout the mining history, the industry employed thousands of people from many parts of Vancouver Island and had great economic spin-offs. Guppy states that many communities both directly and indirectly, such as Zeballos, Tofino, Ucluelet, and Port Hardy, may not have developed as early or as significantly as they did if it were not for the mining industry.

A recurring theme in the book is the controversy that emerges and develops as time progresses between the environmentalists and the mining community, especially in and around Strathcona Park, after its creation in 1911. He discusses the evolution of new park acts and legislation affecting mining in Strathcona Park (see page 97 for an informative chart describing the additions and deletions to the park). Being a mining advocate it is evident to see Guppy's dislike towards the special interest groups that formed to protest against mining activities within the park's boundaries (i.e., the Wilderness Advisory Committee, Friends of Strathcona Park, and the Strathcona Park Advisory Committee). Starting in the 1960s and up to now, environmentalists have been protesting with the use of road blocks and rallies against logging and mining, concerned about a scarred and barren landscape, polluted water, and a destroyed habitat for animals. Guppy believes that the economic and recreational benefits far outweighed any minor problems created by the mines. He states that environmental awareness increased with access to BC's wilderness. This access to recreational sites in Strathcona Park and in other regions was provided by the roads made by mining and logging companies.

Historically, the provincial governments in British Columbia have supported mining, especially in the development of roads and trails to mines. Guppy asserts that increased mining fees and strict mining legislation (red tape) introduced by the Barrett, Van der Zalm, and Harcourt governments restricted and hindered the development of the mining industry. As well, special interest groups, such as the many environmental organizations existing today and First Nation land claims, have an influence on what the government imposes in these resource-based industries. He deplores that mining activities are disappearing as mining in some cases in BC is relegated to the "sidelines." He explains the reasons for this are high extraction costs coupled with low metal prices, and special interest groups with political clout influencing provincial governments who no longer support this industry. In this hostile climate, the author states, mining in the province has no future. Guppy believes that BC's governments should have provided more support to an industry that has historically been part of the economic backbone of this province. He asserts that the governments should provide some assistance to these mining companies and employees since they were so influential in the province's heritage and economy. Yet, he sees the revival of mining as a vicious circle where the provincial government may support the opening or restructuring of mines, then special interest groups respond by protesting these developments, thus influencing the government's final decision. He suggests that one method to assist existing mines in peril could consist of subsidizing some of the operation costs.

The shortcomings of the book are: several punctuation and spelling errors and unnecessary repetition of information throughout the book; too many quotes were used in the first eight chapters, some being a page in length. The author does not mention the source of the historic maps that he analyzed for the report on the Strathcona Park boundary survey conducted by Mr. R. Thomson (p 38). A bibliography should have been included for reference of maps, letters, and other primary documents used. The author does however cite on some occasions the source of his information such as book titles, dates of newspapers, and years of mining reports. Because geography is an important factor in mining, it is disappointing to find no mining maps in the book. Topographical or more detailed copies of the old mining maps of the various mining camps or regions of the island would have been a great visual aid to this literature, especially when describing the rich and vibrant mining history of Vancouver Island. More information could have been added to the early placer mining such as the Leech River and China Creek gold discoveries. *A Place for Gold* presents interesting arguments about the rise and demise of the metal mining industry on Vancouver Island, but the strength lies in the stories and evolution of mining in and around Strathcona Provincial Park.

Reviewer Werner Kaschel teaches Social Studies in Surrey.

Franz Boas: The Early Years, 1858-1906
Douglas Cole. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre/Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999. 360 pp. Illus. $45 hardcover.
REVIEWED BY BRIAN GOBBETT.

Franz Boas was one of the seminal figures in the early development of North American anthropology. His output was prodigious: even as a young scholar he could rightly claim "that no one here [in North America] has accomplished as much as I have (p 167)," and his early influence was felt in projects such as the anthropological exhibit at the Chicago World's Fair, the Jesup Expedition, and the American Museum of Natural History, as well as in the establishment of several prominent academic journals. Perhaps as important, he supervised a cadre of graduate students (mostly after 1906), several of whom achieved enormous prominence within the anthropological community and beyond. However, in spite of this obvious and significant role in American anthropology, there has been no adequate Boas biography, a failing that the late Doug Cole long recognized and lamented. In the first of what was to become a two-volume study, Franz Boas: The Early Years is a significant contribution in filling that void.

Boas's rise to prominence within American anthropology was not inevitable of course. Unable to find a university post in Germany, Boas turned to North America and the emerging discipline of anthropology in his search for an academic position. Despite his scholarly achievements, the theme of failure was prominent prior to his permanent appointment at Columbia: early positions at Science, Clark University, and the Chicago Fair proved ephemeral, his first lectures in English were utter failures, and his near-ten-year association with the American Museum of Natural History ended in an unsatisfying fashion. Likewise, in contrast to Edward Sapir, Margaret Mead, and a host of other successful

protégées, Boas's first PhD student, A.F. Chamberlain, a Canadian, proved to be decidedly mediocre. Though his wife Marie wrote in loneliness and frustration that she did "often wish there never had been an Indian (p 219)," Boas was indefatigable in his avocation of professional anthropology and his status within it. The driven nature of the mature anthropologist becomes more understandable in light of the enormous struggle and sacrifice that Boas and his family underwent in his early career.

Doug Cole was one of the principal interpreters of the intellectual and cultural history of the Pacific Northwest. His greatest scholarly contribution, as a recent issue of BC Studies dedicated to him makes clear, was as a historian of anthropology, and previous studies on the potlatch law (with Ira Chaikin) and the curio trade were notable for their massive amounts of research, readable style, and sometimes controversial conclusions. Franz Boas: The Early Years continues in this vein and, in Boasian fashion, shows the effects of years of meticulous research on both sides of the Atlantic. Like Boas, Professor Cole's influence also lives on in his students: Ira Chaikin and Alex Long, two former graduate students, obviously laboured diligently to ensure that this volume reached publication. The result is a superb biography of Franz Boas's early life and career by one of the outstanding historians of our era.

Reviewer Brian Gobbett, just graduated from the University of Alberta, now teaches history in Saskatchewan

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Captain Vancouver, North-West Navigator
E.C. Coleman. Whitby, North Yorkshire: Caedmon of Whitby, Upgang Lane, YO21 3JJ, England. 152 pp. Illus. £20
REVIEWED BY J.E. ROBERTS

During over fifty years of study and research into the life and work of Captain George Vancouver, your reviewer held the fervent hope that one day, someone with a knowledge of, and experience in, the Royal Navy would undertake to write a book on the great surveyor's life which would be devoid of the purple prose that has infected much of what has been published to date.

This work, by Lt. E.C. Coleman RN, (Retd.) has achieved my fondest wish and stands as the best single-volume work on Vancouver to date. Lt. Coleman brings an understanding of eighteenth-century naval matters that has as its genesis first-hand experience in today's navy and from actually partaking in Arctic exploration. In the course of four trips to the Arctic he has followed the trail of the Franklin Expedition and has uncovered previously hidden traces of their encampments on the fatal trek to find an escape.

At first glance, the lack of endnotes and an index would suggest that the author was not serious about telling the story of Vancouver's life and work, but this is immediately put to rest when one gets into reading Coleman's text. What would have ended up in countless end notes has been skillfully incorporated into the narrative to heighten one's interest into knowing what is coming next. Once one starts reading, it is hard to put the book down.

The omission of an index and a more extensive bibliography resulted from cost-cutting measures by the publisher over the author's objections. It is to be hoped that a Canadian publisher can be found to produce a paper-back edition that should be able to be marketed at less than half its present cost. Taking today's rate of exchange and adding sea postage the cost amounts to around $50; by air the cost is about $58, which places it out of the range of the average buyer, no matter how interested he, or she, may be in the subject.

I could find only one error of substance and that was the author's designation of the village at Cape Mudge as being of Kwakiutl origin. This is a common error made by many writers on Vancouver, including Dr. Lamb. Other errors are mainly on points of interpretation that enliven discussions between authors and do not detract from an enjoyment of adding to one's knowledge by the reading of a fine piece of literature on what is often considered such a dry and boring subject as history.

If one was looking for a scholarly work one would be better advised to try to obtain the Hakluyt Society's four-volume work *The Voyage of George Vancouver 1791-1795*, edited by Dr. Kaye Lamb, which is without question the finest work done on George Vancouver. Lt. Coleman has distilled 1,752 pages of this opus into 152 pages of readable and informative text on Vancouver's life and his *Captain Vancouver, North-West Navigator* is a must read for anyone wishing to learn the particulars of our maritime heritage.

Reviewer Ted Roberts is one of Captain Vancouver's best friends.

Newsworthy

Books listed here may be reviewed at a later date. For further information on any title, please consult book review editor Anne Yandle.

Captain Cook's World: Maps of the Life and Voyages of James Cook, R.N. John Robson. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2000. $59.95

Captain McNeil and His Wife the Nishga Chief. Robin Percival Smith. Surrey, Hancock House, 2001. $14.95

High Grade & Hot Springs: A History of Ainsworth Camp. Edward L. Affleck. Ainsworth Hot Springs Historical Society, 2001. Available from Marco Polo Books, 3450 West 20th Ave., Vancouver, BC V6S 1E4 $22

Naming Canada: Stories about Canadian Place Names. Alan Rayburn. University of Toronto Press, 2001. $24.95 paperback.

On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871. Adele Perry. University of Toronto Press, 2001. $24.95 paperback.

Princeton, our Valley. Princeton History Book Committee, 2000. Available from Box 670, Princeton, BC VOX 1WO $80

School Leadership: Essays on the B.C. Experience, 1872-1995. Thomas Fleming, ed. Mill Bay, BC, Bendall Books, 2001. $34

Ships of Steel. T.A..McLaren and Vickie Jensen. Madeira Park, Harbour Publishing, 2000. $39.95 hardcover

Steele's Scouts: Samuel Benfield Steele and the North-West Rebellion. Wayne F. Brown. Surrey, Heritage House, 2001. $16.95 paperback.

Tom Wright: Recollections of a Pioneer Forester and Tree Farmer. John Parminter. Forest History Association of BC, 2000. $15 paperback.

Family History

by Brenda L. Smith

Trapped in Amber or Placed on the Pyre: Will researchers ever see original post-1901 Canada Census data?

In the next issue Brenda Smith will start with a column dedicated to family history. Brenda's experience includes time as Community Editor of the *Quesnel Cariboo Observer*. Presently, she lives in Maple Ridge, where she edits the *Maple Ridge Historical Society – Family History Newsletter.* Brenda presents lectures and classes on family history research at institutions throughout the Fraser Valley.

"CENSUS RECORDS are the bedrock of research for those historians and genealogists who use population data...." asserts National Archivist, Ian E. Wilson. According to Wilson "Census records underlie our country's notion of democracy and portray a vision of Canadians to Canadians." He declares: "Census records are an essential tool for creating not only a sense of personal identity but also for forming connections with their country as the stories of their ancestors move across the expanse of time."

Canadians stand to lose the opportunity to learn about their progress through the twentieth century in the way that we have used the data of nineteenth century census records to learn about the creation of our country.

Statistics Canada—originally the Census Bureau created by Wilfred Laurier's government in 1905—is the agency charged with responsibility for collecting census material. The agency, in accordance with the Statistics Act, uses the census and resulting survey information to shed light on emerging social and economic issues in the form of selected aggregate reports. These interpretations inform the established entitlements of citizens to government programs and services, parliamentary representation, and the sharing of tax revenues with provinces.

Traditionally, after holding the data for 92 years, Statistics Canada surrendered the full census record to the National Archives for general release. The 1901 Canada Census primary record was released for public use, as anticipated, in 1993. Previous releases of these census enumerator's schedules suggested that in 1998 researchers would see the release of the 1906 western census, and in 2003 we would be able to gain new perspective on our nation from the 1911 Canada Census. However, to date Statistics Canada declines to transfer control to the National Archives of all post-1901 census material on the strength of one section of the Statistics Act that seems to override the "notwithstanding any other Act of Parliament" clause of the Access to Information Act. Section 17 has been interpreted by privacy advocates to place a blanket of secrecy over all post-1901 nominative census records.

The National Archives keeps paper and microfilm returns from the 1825 to 1871 censuses, and all the censuses up to and including 1901 are freely available. The paper returns for censuses after 1901, from 1906 up to 1991, were destroyed after being microfilmed. These films remain under the control of Statistics Canada and are stored by the National Archives. And the paper records for the most recent 1991 census have not been filmed.

Knowledge is power. The Canadian government alone controls and interprets the information that we Canadians are compelled to reveal to census enumerators, and therefore reserves for itself the power to determine our view of the past.

FACETS OF THE CONTROVERSY

There are three aspects of the conflict that drives the present government's inaction on the question of post-1901 census release. Senator Lowell Murray expressed the view for non-release when he said "...we should be on guard against the apparent attempts by some historians, social scientists and journalists to persuade us that the right to collect and disseminate information should trump every other right in the book. ...I cheerfully acknowledge that what we have here is a conflict or a clash between two legitimate principles, one having to do with access to information and the other having to do with privacy."

The clash goes to the heart of the relationship between government and governed. At the highest levels we find power struggles between the intent of the government in office to maintain secrecy surrounding its decisions and actions, and Canadian citizens' right to disclosure. In "The Government Waffles," the Ontario Genealogical Society urged its members to contact Brian Tobin, the present federal Minister of Industry, responsible for Statistics Canada. Tobin was not in Parliament during the last session, and "therefore may not be aware of the level of concern this item generated." However, Tobin's press release of 15 December 2000 certainly articulated the government's concerns regarding release, including the issue of whether respondents to the 1911 census had been promised perpetual confidentiality, the need for further consultation, and the government's "deep commitment to privacy."

Information Commissioner, the Honourable John M. Reid, in his 1999-2000 Report to Parliament, challenged the "commitment to privacy", calling it obstruction in his 16 October 2000 press release: "This year I'm sending out an SOS. Hostility in government against the public's right to know is stronger than ever before. In this regard the report singles out the PMO (Prime Minister's Office), PCO (Privy Council Office), Treasury Board and Justice for consideration."

In his report regarding implementation of the Access to Information Act, Reid detailed many concerns about the relationship between the dynamics of the government in power and his responsibility to facilitate access to government-held information by Canadians. He cites the issue of release of census material as "...a good illustration of a situation where the legitimate need for some secrecy (to protect individual privacy) has not been adequately balanced against the legitimate interests in having census records made available for public use and consultation.

The balance Reid identifies lies between the right of access to information the government holds about Canadian citizens, and the right to privacy of individuals and institutions. The Canadian government position is revealed in the words of former Privacy Commissioner Bruce Phillips. Phillips stated, while he was charged with implementation of the Privacy Act, that he was intent on suppressing, in perpetuity, all post-1901 census data. Indeed, he advocated "...my position today is consistent with what I have said in the past. The information in census returns is collected for a specific, stated purpose. ...once that purpose has been achieved, the information should be destroyed."

Conflict arises between the promise—implied or otherwise—that what individuals tell census enumerators remains private forever, and on the other hand, the stated intention that census records will be preserved for the use of future generations. Senator Murray's comments exemplify the view for restricting access: "...I certainly would not want [historians] Michael Bliss or Ramsay Cook pawing over all that information and coming to their own tendentious and highly prejudicial interpretations of the data. I say long live Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Bruce Phillips and to hell with these historians."

In October 2000, Phillips was replaced as Privacy Commissioner by George Radwinski. In response to questions from the Senate Committee of the Whole he summarized his position as a "compromise that the census data would be made available to qualified genealogists, or bona fide historians, for purposes that have been peer reviewed as being legitimate research....it is permitting the release only for very specific and constrained purposes for individuals who...have to be sworn to secrecy."

Expert Panel on Access to Historical Census Records

In November 1999, as part of his response to the volumes of mail received by Members of Parliament expressing support for the release of the 1911 Canada Census, former Minister of Industry John Manley created the Expert Panel on Access to Historical Census Records. In May 2000, the Expert panel, chaired by Dr. Richard Van Loon, President of Carleton University, presented to Minister Manley its comprehensive report regarding the implications of providing access to historical census records. The Panel's scope of consideration was the public release of historical census records, excluding the public release of survey and administrative data records, and including "the release of records for all census periods including the future." The two issues it examined were: (1) What are the elements of the difference of opinions between Canadians who would seek to maintain the protection of personal information and those who would like to examine personal or community histories? (2) What options exist to provide access to historical census records?

On 15 December 2000, "...day 89 of the 90-day period within which the government was required by law to release the report because of my access to information request," co-chair of the Canada Census Committee, Gordon A. Watts, secured public release of the Expert Panel's report. The recommendations of the Expert Panel fully support the continued timely release of full census data. In part: "...the Panel is firmly convinced of the benefits of the release of historical census records. The Panel is of the view that with the passage of time, the privacy implications of the release of information diminish and that the passage of 92 years is sufficient to deal with such concerns."

Canadian Historical Association (CHA) President Irving Abella and CHA

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Smith, Brenda L. ed. "Census Caught in the Bind" in *Maple Ridge Historical Society Family History Newsletter*, January 2001. In the January 2001 issue readers were urged to contact their Members of Parliament to express concern for the implications of suppressing the scheduled release of censuses.

Watts, Gordon A. "The Post-1901 Census Project" in *Global Gazette Online Family History Magazine*, Volume V, No. 01, 4 January 2001. Downloaded 19 March 2001: www.globalgenealogy.com/Census/

Wilson, Ian E. 9 February 2000. The Census Records, Submission to the Expert Panel on Access to Historical Censuses. Downloaded 19 March 2001: www.statcan.ca/english.census96.archive.htm

Archives Committee Chair Bill Waiser, in their submission to the Expert Panel, asserted that examination of primary census data is an important exercise of democratic rights, facilitating the understanding of "the past lives of everyday people who made up the fabric of this country." In the CHA presentation, Abella and Waiser spoke on behalf of the Institute d'Histoire de l'Amerique Francaise, the Writers' Union of Canada, the Association of Canadian Archives and genealogical, archival and heritage organizations. They urged amendment of Section 17 of the Statistics Act to make it consistent with existing legislation.

Whether the present parliament will acknowledge the concerns of Canadians who have petitioned actively for timely release remains in doubt. According to advocate Gordon Watts, the Government of Canada has received at least five reports recommending public access to census records since the early 1970s. But in the House of Commons, the only discussion that has resulted in a vote sidesteps the issue of release of the primary census records created after 1901.

In January 2001, Hugh Coleopy, member of the Maple Ridge Historical Society wrote to his Member of Parliament, Grant McNally, expressing his concerns regarding suppression of census data. Coleopy forwarded copies of his letter to Minister Tobin and to Lorna Milne, the Canadian Senator who has demonstrated vigorous support for the release. In February, McNally replied to Coleopy that, in the last Parliament, he had supported a Canadian Alliance Private Member's motion passed in amended form (26 September 2000). The amended bill read: "That, in the opinion of this House, the government should consider taking all necessary steps to release the 1911 census records once they have been deposited in the National Archives in 2003." McNally went on to say that the "Liberals have made no indication that they will release such information."

How to become an advocate

As historians, we use primary census data to develop portraits of our ancestors and their community relationships. The census enumerators' schedules are snapshots of individual families, neighbourhoods, and our nation on the recording day. Since 1998, the Government of Canada has released no historic census material. So far, the Expert Panel's clear recommendations for release have been ignored. And if Statistics Canada and the Privacy Commissioner have their way, no new primary Canadian census material will be released, the information could be destroyed or at least access severely limited.

As on-going beneficiaries of the rich collection of raw census data, we have the opportunity to continue to press the government for amendment of Section 17 of the Statistics Act to make the Act consistent with existing access and privacy legislation.

We need to add our voices to convince the government that its need for secrecy is outweighed by our right to information about ourselves. We can: (1) Accept that the campaign for release of future census data has returned to starting position, and that we must renew advocacy for the timely release of all post 1901 primary census data; (2) Sign and promote the new petitions to the House of Commons and Senate of Canada. (3) Write letters to Industry Minister Brian Tobin, Heritage Minister Sheila Copps, Justice Minister Anne McLellan, Senator Lorna Milne, your Member of Parliament, and other Members of Parliament who have not committed to support release of future censuses.

As of 1 August 2001, one hundred twenty-seven Members of Parliament supported release, eight were opposed, sixty-six are non-committal, and 100 had failed to respond. Of ninety-six Canadian Senators, ten are in favour of release, two are opposed, four are non-committal, and eighty have failed to respond. To determine which MPs and Senators can be applauded for supporting release, and which need convincing check the Parliamentary and Senate Score Boards at www.globalgenealogy.com/Census/Index6.

Models for the letters and petitions are available on the "Post 1901 Census Project" Web site at http://globalgenealogy.com/census. You can also find the petition at some public libraries, and by contacting local family history societies. The Report of the Expert Panel on Access to Historical Census Records may be obtained from Industry Minister Brian Tobin's office, Attention: Heidi Bonnell, Press Secretary.

One more action that you should take is to keep a personal record of the information your household submitted on the May 2001 Census. Even if a gap develops in the national record, we can all take responsibility for keeping our own stories.

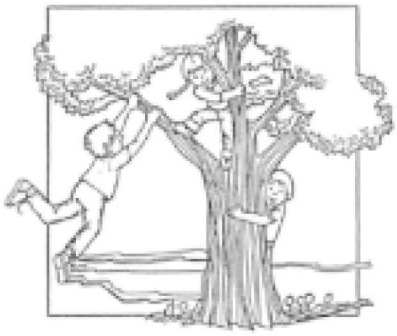
Further reading

Sager, Eric W. "Census Days, Past and Present." *The Beaver,* April/May 2001.

Smith, Brenda L. ed. "Census Caught in the Bind" in *Maple Ridge Historical Society Family History Newsletter,* January 2001.

Waring, Marilyn. (1999) *Counting For Nothing: What Men Value And What Women Are Worth.* Toronto: University Of Toronto Press.

Comments and questions about the release of post-1901 census records can be found on an international list by emailing Canada-Census-Campaign-L@rootsweb.com with the word "subscribe" in the subject line.



Archives and Archivists

Editor Frances Gundry

British Columbia's Moving Past, Preserved

by Dennis J. Duffy, Archivist, Access Service, British Columbia Archives

ONE of the lesser-known aspects of the British Columbia Archives is its moving image collection. Established in 1979 with an initial deposit of about 200 items, the collection grew by leaps and bounds throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. Although the pace of acquisition has slowed in recent years, the archives remains a key repository for British Columbia's film and video heritage. Its holdings now include more than 2,500 titles, in a variety of formats, spanning the first century of film history.

When people talk about filmmaking in British Columbia, they tend to focus on the "Hollywood North" phenomenon—the high-profile production of feature films and television series. While the archives has very few feature films, it does hold a rich selection of other films made in the province. These include travelogues, industrial and promotional films, documentaries, newsreels, educational films, dramatic and experimental shorts, and family home movies. They were produced by ministries and agencies of the provincial and federal governments, crown and private corporations, television stations, and local production companies, as well as freelance and amateur cinematographers.

Since the British Columbia Archives is the principal repository for BC government records, government productions form the backbone of the collection. Major government accessions include material from the departments or ministries of Agriculture, the Environment, Forests, Fisheries, Highways, Lands, Recreation and Conservation, and Tourism, as well as the BC Government Travel Bureau and the BC Provincial Museum. A number of provincial crown corporations are also represented—notably, the BC Hydro and Power Authority, BC Rail, and the Expo 86 Corporation. Many more government productions from the 1980s and 1990s exist in unprocessed accessions.

The BC Archives also has substantial holdings of non-government productions. Major collections include films sponsored by the BC Electric Company, BC Packers, MacMillan Bloedel, Okanagan Helicopters, and Seaspan International. These films reflect the work of industrial producers like Leon Shelly and Lew Parry, whose efforts fostered the development of BC's film industry from the 1930s to the 1960s. Talented amateur cinematographers like F. J. Barrow, Alfred Booth, Carleton P. Browning, Dorothy and Oscar Burritt, and Stanley Fox captured many lesser-seen aspects of the province.

VHS reference copies exist for a small percentage of these film and video items, and may be viewed in the reference room during regular service hours. Although some collection-level inventories are available in-house, no moving image catalogues, indexes or finding aids are yet accessible via the BC Archives Web site. However, the Archives' Emerging and Applied Information Technologies group is now in the process of converting legacy data about the holdings into an electronic format, which they hope to make available online by mid-2002.

For now, though, there are two published filmographies that list films made in British Columbia before 1966, including many items in the archives' collection. The books can be found in many public and university libraries.

BC Archives I-61555

Above: *A Vancouver Motion Pictures crew on location for the film* Beautiful British Columbia, *sponsored by the BC Government Travel Bureau. This image is a frame enlargement from another Travel Bureau production,* Tourism: a British Columbian Industry *(1940) which was shot by Clarence Ferris and depicts the operations of the bureau.*

Motion Picture Production in British Columbia, 1898-1940: A Brief Historical Background and Catalogue, by Colin Browne. British Columbia Provincial Museum Heritage Record No. 6. Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1979.

Camera West: British Columbia on Film, 1941-1965, by Dennis J. Duffy. Victoria: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1986. This book includes a supplement with updated information on pre-1940 films.

The Archives' collection includes some of the first footage shot in BC in 1899, as well as glimpses of the first years of the twentieth century. However, it is the era from 1935 to 1985 that is most strongly documented. This was a period of tremendous change—not just in terms of industrial development, but in the domestic and working lives of British Columbians, in their farms and factories, their large cities and isolated communities. These facets of BC history, often captured in no other way, are uniquely documented in the moving image collection of the British Columbia Archives.

Sometime this winter Dennis Duffy will give a talk on the BC Archives film collection and show representative film to the Friends of the BC Archives. If you are interested in joining the Friends for the lecture or as a member please call Frances Gundry or Ron Greene. Their addresses and phone numbers can be found on the inside cover.

Token History: Two Dairies

by Ronald Greene

Arthur Graham Lambrick and Gordon Head Dairy

Arthur Graham Lambrick was born in Cornwall in 1892. In 1911 as a young man he came to Victoria. He first worked at the Foundation Shipyard and then as a teamster for the City of Victoria. He told me that he bought himself a cow in 1913 because he did not care for the milk that was available in Victoria—his father had a dairy in the old country and Arthur knew good milk. He gradually entered the business as more and more of his neighbours started asking for milk.

In either 1923 or 1924 Mr. Lambrick moved from Kings and Shelbourne out to Torquay Drive in the Gordon Head district of Saanich where he purchased 44 acres of good farm land. There he had as many as 60 producing head and was the largest dairy selling raw (unpasteurized) milk in the Greater Victoria area. He had a passion for the taste and quality of milk and intensely disliked pasteurized milk. He called it "paralyzed milk" and complained of its lack of taste. Mr. Lambrick was a strong opponent of the movement for compulsory pasteurization and a list that he compiled in mid-1935 of producer-vendors to aid in his fight against this process showed almost 130 producer-vendors and another dozen vendors operating in Victoria.

Lambrick was also a public spirited man. He served several terms on Saanich council including two terms as reeve. He retired from the dairy in February 1966, selling off his herd and equipment at auction. He wanted Saanich to have his property for public and recreational use and sold it to the municipality for less than he would have received if he had subdivided it for housing. Today his name is commemorated in Lambrick Park Secondary School and Lambrick Park, both of which are situated on his old farm. The old farm house was one of the first houses designated as a heritage structure by Saanich. Arthur Graham Lambrick passed away in October 1967, age 75, leaving Clara, his wife of 53 years, three sons and two daughters.

Mr. Lambrick started using aluminum tokens about 1930 and continued using them until 1952 when he replaced them with plastic tokens. The plastic tokens have the name Gordon Head Dairy on them, the name under which he had been operating since 1940.

The Mayland Dairy of Saanich

James (Jimmy) Filmer started the dairy in 1912 or 1913 at which time he held a job building the Douglas Street extension. At first he operated the dairy before and after his regular job, thus working up to 16 hours a day. Later on the dairy became his only work and he had as many as 40 head, plus some 2,000 chickens. Mr. Filmer retired in 1942 and had a long retirement, passing away in 1982 at the age of 93. Filmer Road, off Maplewood in Victoria, where he lived for many years, was named after him.

In the days of door-to-door delivery there were several advantages for a dairy to use tokens. The first was that the dairy could get their money upfront, which always helped the cash flow. Secondly, tokens were less likely to be stolen from the milk bottles than cash was. Paper tickets were also used, but printing was a recurring expense and the tickets tended to stick inside the bottle.

Jimmy Filmer's tokens read "good for one pint of milk." Two tokens could be used for a quart.

Web-site Forays

by Gwen Szychter

I'VE BEEN a historian now for over a decade. In the several years that I've been exploring the Internet, I've found an ever-increasing number of Web sites that claim to contribute to our understanding of our own history, some of which fail to deliver. However, one that I've found unfailingly useful is Hugh Armstrong's Web site, for which the URL is http://www.rootsweb.com/~canbc/bc.htm. Although some might consider it primarily a genealogical site, I find lots of historical gems that fill gaps in my own research on Delta, BC.

Others no doubt might think that the site is too bare-bones plain, as in "just the facts, ma'am." Since I've already declared myself as not being a fan of frills, animation and songs to surf by, the plainness suits me just fine. If anything, it makes the information more readily accessible.

What can we find on this site? A page of lists, extracted from various documents created by the Provincial Government, including the *Sessional Papers of British Columbia*, (a highly under-rated resource, in my opinion) and the *British Columbia Gazette* (equally under-rated).

Some of these entries may appear at first glance to be merely a list of names that primarily genealogists and family historians would find helpful. I disagree. For example, in scrolling through the list contained in "Teachers and Trustees, 1888-90", I found an entry for Delta (what we now think of as "East Delta"). That particular item helped settle a discussion I'd been having only a few days earlier as to the existence of a school in East Delta in the late 1880s.

Other reports of interest include "Report of Select Committee on Ogden Point Lands" (now Ross Bay Cemetery, Victoria, BC) and "Places of Interest In and Around Victoria" from *Lynch's Ready Guide to Victoria and B.C., 1892*. This latter reference was enough of a tease that I'll have to look up the book itself to find out what Lynch had to say about other parts of British Columbia.

Hugh Armstrong's Web site has been around a while, and many readers may be familiar with it. However, one of its many commendable features is the fact that its owner adds new lists periodically. For instance, in July a searchable database for the 1901 Census for Victoria appeared at the top of the index, with red lettering to indicate "New". If you haven't visited in a while, it may be time to have another look. In this he has included not only the census information that we would expect to find, but some additional bonuses, such as the list of streets in Victoria at the time of the census, an FAQ page and other relevant lists.

In addition, Hugh Armstrong has a genealogy site, with information of a more national scope. The URL for that site is http://members.home.net/hughlarmstrong/index.htm. I have made use of it also, and had only one tiny "spot of bother". There is a page entitled "Canadian Parliamentary Divorces, 1826–1946" relating to divorces granted by the Dominion Government during that period. In this province, divorce petitions were heard and granted by the Supreme Court of British Columbia, but there is no direction as to where this information might be available.

If you have comments on this Web site or my review of it, please contact me at gwens@dccnet.com. Feedback is always welcome.

Innovation & Imagination

Celebrating the Spirit of Education in British Columbia, 2001-2002

THE 2001–2002 academic year will be a banner year for education and for history in British Columbia. We'll be marking the 100th anniversary of advanced education (1901-2001) and the 150th anniversary of public education (1852-2002). We're also marking 65 years of provincial vocational programs and 20 years of public educational television.

I'm working with the provincial government on activities and programs to mark these milestones. We're planning an interactive, year-long campaign called "Innovation and Imagination: Celebrating the Spirit of Education in British Columbia."

My intention here is to alert readers of the *British Columbia Historical News* to these anniversaries and to encourage local and regional societies affiliated with the British Columbia Historical Federation to organize anniversary events in their communities.

The Innovation and Imagination campaign will revolve around two themes—"Achievement" and "Exploration." We want to look back in history, to acknowledge the contributions of those who have built our education system (parents, teachers, trustees, administrators, and others); and we want to look forward to the future, to consider how our education system and how our communities might develop in the years ahead.

During the campaign, we'll be emphasizing the fact that British Columbia has a tradition of innovation: we were trailblazers in the use of educational technologies (from school radio broadcasts in the 1930s to computers in the 1960s) and we were pioneers in the fields of adult education and distance education. British Columbia also led the way in establishing links between home and school. The first Parent-Teacher Association in Western Canada was organized at Craigflower School, near Victoria, in 1915.

We have lots to celebrate during the 2001/2002 school year! And we're planning lots of celebratory events, including classrooms of the past at the Royal BC Museum and regional museums, and classrooms of the future at Science World in Vancouver.

Additional information about anniversary events is posted on The Homeroom: British Columbia's History of Education Web site: http://www.mala.bc.ca/homeroom/

We intend to create an anniversaries bulletin board, where people can share ideas and suggestions for local events and activities. Meantime, please feel free to contact me about the campaign and about the milestones we're celebrating.

Patrick A. Dunae
Innovation & Imagination, "Achievements" Coordinator
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phone: 250.380.1633 (Victoria)
250.741.2130 (Nanaimo)

Manuscripts dealing with the history of our education for publication in *BC Historical News* are particularly welcome in this year of celebration!

News and Notes

Please send information to be published in News and Notes to the editor in Whonnock before 15 August, 15 November, 15 February, and 15 May .

B Wark

Harris Ridge Designated

R.C. "Bob" Harris, 1922–1998, was an engineer who loved the outdoors. He retraced, mapped, and wrote about many historic trails, contributing many articles to *BC Historical News* in the 1970s and 1980s. Harris also planned and conducted summer camps for the Natural History Society. This year, two one-week camps for the Vancouver Natural History group were held in early August in the Cinnabar Basin in the South Chilcotin. (see *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, Summer 2001). At that time Bob's widow dedicated a nearby ridge as "Harris Ridge" and a plaque was set in Camel Pass at a viewpoint beside a major trail.

—Naomi Miller

Procter: Kootenay Storytelling Festival

Procter, a village of three hundred on the West Arm of Kootenay Lake, hosted its third annual storytelling festival in July. Members of its local historical society planned and organized the festival to share and showcase Kootenay history using the old schoolhouse and an old church. The villagers worked very hard to present a welcoming face that weekend. Gardens and boulevards were groomed; volunteers directed the parking of cars; food services were arranged under two big tents; children's programs were going on adjacent to the venues; musicians filled the break times with pleasant tunes; a bookshop and an art display were set up for browsing and buying. Procter, at the end of a spur road off Highway 3A, throbbed with friendly activity for the festival weekend.

Guest speakers—each allowed twenty minutes—presented a variety of topics from Kootenay history. Each spoke three times a day, in different rooms. Three leading storytellers from the first festival were back with new stories. Joe Pierre, a young Ktunaxa, charmed audiences with his "Two Teenage Warriors." Susan Hulland, of Crawford Bay, fascinated listeners with "The Risky Life of Henry Rose," and Carolyn McTaggart followed her fictitious "Gunpowder Gertie" with the tale of real life photographer, pioneer mine cook, mother, and traveller Mattie Gunterman. Carolyn has also participated in storytelling festivals in Whitehorse and San Francisco and given workshops for would-be storytellers in the Kootenays.

Other speakers from across the Kootenays were Anne Edwards of Moyie, Lillian Corriveau of Kimberley, Naomi Miller of Wasa, Hank Hastings of Sandon, Mike Halleran of Meadow Creek, Buddy Devito (former mayor) of Trail, David Miller of Procter, and Marilyn James, spokesperson for the Sinixt people.

Procter found a wonderful way to present local history to approximately seven hundred people per weekend.—Naomi Miller

Comments from Readers

Robert Allen's article on Frank Dwight Rice (*BC Historical News* 34/3) triggered reactions from Greg Nesteroff and Ted Affleck, keen to set the record straight.

Greg Nesteroff writes (slightly shortened): "In the otherwise excellent article on Frank Dwight Rice, the last sentence of the first paragraph states: 'The booming community of Greenwood, where he ended his journey, was named after Mr. Green, the then mayor, and Frank Rice's uncle, Robert Wood.' But Greenwood never had a mayor named Green. In fact, it was Robert Wood who was mayor at the time (1898). According to the Akriggs in *British Columbia Place Names*,... 'Greenwood was named after another mining camp, Greenwood in Colorado.' The 1958 Boundary Historical Report says that Greenwood was '[c]alled Greenwood by C. Scott Galloway, one of the founders of the town, owing to the green nature of the forest which composed and surrounded the new townsite.' In his book on the tokens of Greenwood and Phoenix, Ron Greene writes 'Greenwood grew out of the vision of Robert Wood.... The city name derived from the green wooded hills around the townsite [but] at least one source indicates that the "wood" part arose from Robert Wood's name.'"

Ted Affleck, an expert on BC's steamboats, commented that in September 1898, Frank Wright could not have boarded the *Sicamous* at Okanagan Landing, because that vessel was not comissioned till the summer of 1914.

Astute readers like these two keep your editor on his toes. History writers and their editors should question their sources relentlessly; even if they are primary sources. The information used by Robert Allen came from Frank Rice's personal papers!—FB

Albert Oliver 1911-2001

Kimberley lost one of its charter members of its heritage society and volunteer host at its museum with the death of Albert Oliver. Albert and his wife were also charter members of the East Kootenay Historical Association who worked hard conducting tours, preserving rural cemeteries, hosting two BCHF conferences, and more. Albert concentrated on saving the first mine schoolhouse then numerous pieces of mine machinery that had been discarded in the bush as his "retirement" project. He worked on these restoration projects as long as his health permitted.—Naomi Miller

Terry Reksten 1942–2001

Just before the official publication date on British Columbia Day of perhaps her best book, *The Illustrated History of British Columbia*, Terry Reksten died. She came to Vancouver's West End in 1947 and graduated from UBC (History and English) in 1963. She moved to Oak Bay in 1969 and became active in local politics and heritage preservation. Through numerous articles on heritage and history and through presentations she helped popularize heritage and local history in the Victoria area and beyond. Her books found a wide readership. Terry Reksten's first book—on Francis Mawson Rattenbury—published in 1978, received the BC Book Award. Several other books followed, including books on the Dunsmuirs and the Empress Hotel. Terry Reksten offered an afternoon workshop at the 1997 BCHF Conference in Nelson. She did "...a fantastic job on short notice. She combined the assignment on 'Researching' with 'Writing local history'...[and] spoke with enthusiasm imparting her experience and expertise." (*BC Historical News* 30/3)—FB

RBCM PN16351

Above: *Detail of a 1991 photograph showing Chief Ambrose Maquinna and his son, the present Chief Michael Maquinna, standing next to the image of their eighteenth-century ancestor.*

Chief Ambrose Maquinna 1928-2001

CHIEF AMBROSE MAQUINNA passed away suddenly at the age of 73 on 13 July 2001.

Chief Maquinna was a hereditary chief of the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation. He was the seventh generation to carry the chiefly name Maquinna, and held the Tyee Hawiih position (number one chief) in the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation until he passed it on to his eldest son, Michael. three years ago at a ceremony at Yuquot.

Chief Maquinna worked all his life in the fishing and forestry industry on the west coast of Vancouver Island. He retired twelve years ago, but remained active in political life for his community. Chief Maquinna was a strong advocate for Yuquot (Friendly Cove), a place that he held dear to his heart. He was instrumental in attaining the redesignation of Yuquot as a national historic site by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in 1997, to recognize the thousands of years of Mowachaht history and the significant role the Mowachaht played in the fur trade and international politics of the area during the late eighteenth century.

As part of his work for recognition of Yuquot, Chief Maquinna encouraged re-establishing international relations with Spain and Great Britain. He strongly supported the Yuquot celebration, now in its ninth year, where the Mowachaht/Muchalaht people annually host dignitaries and guests from around the world. He also opened the international exhibit. "Enlightened Voyages: Malaspina and Galiano on the Northwest Coast" at the Maritime Museum in Vancouver in 1991.

Chief Maquinna was a respected leader who was dedicated to his people. He will be deeply missed by all who knew him.

—RICHARD INGLIS

RANALD MACDONALD DAY

On 4 August 2001, in Curlew, ten miles south of the USA border at Grand Forks, members of the Boundary Historical Society joined the Ferry County Historical Society for the celebration of Ranald MacDonald Day. Near Curlew is the gravesite of Ranald MacDonald. Ranald was the son of Archibald MacDonald (McDonald) and Raven, daughter of Chief Concomly of the Chinooks (Flathead Indians). The adventurous Ranald spent almost a year (1848-1849) as a prisoner in Nagasaki, Japan. During this time he taught English to a few Japanese students. Later, in 1854, some of these students were interpreters when Commodore Perry landed in Japan.

It was wonderful that several representatives from Rishiri Island in Japan joined in the celebrations, showing the esteem they still have for this first teacher of English in Japan. Rishiri Island is where Ranald came ashore in 1848.

The narrative of Ranald MacDonald's life, published in 1923, has been reprinted with a foreword and afterword by Jean Cole. Jean Cole is a great-great-granddaughter of Archibald McDonald and author of *Exile in the Wilderness, a Biography of Archibald McDonald*, and *This Blessed Wilderness, Archibald McDonald's Letters from the Columbia, 1822–4.* (See also *BC Historical News* 32/4).

Also part of the Ranald Macdonald Day in Curlew was a seminar dealing with the social and economic forces that influenced the personality and career of Ranald MacDonald. Those who participated included historian Jean Cole; Eiji Nushiya, director of the Rishiri Museum in Japan; Fredrick Schodt, Japanese translator from San Francisco; Atsumi Tsukimori, TV personality for the Spokane Japanese channel; and Wyman MacDonald from Clarkston, Idaho. Mary Waring, president of the Ferry County Historical Society was the moderator. Other events were the Thompson Brigade demonstrating skills of the fur trader, and members of the Colville Confederated Tribes performing their drumming and dancing.—ALICE GLANVILLE

PROCEEDINGS—FREE FOR OUR READERS

The *Proceedings of the Inaugural Symposium of the Alexandro Malaspina Research Centre,* containing articles on the Malaspina Expedition and its historical legacy, is made available free of charge to the readers of *BC Historical News.* For information contact John Black, at Malaspina University College, 900 Fifth Street, Nanaimo BC V9R 5S5, by e-mail: black@mala.bc.ca, or by phone: 250.753-3245, local 2171.

VANCOUVER SPANISH PACIFIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Vancouver Spanish Pacific Historical Society is dedicated to the promotion of interest in the activities of Spanish explorers in the North Pacific at the end of the eighteenth century.

Simon Fraser University and the Society co-sponsor the "Malaspina Lectures'" with support by the Embassy of Spain in Ottawa. This year's Malaspina Lecture is to be held on Tuesday, 18 September 2001, at 7:30 P.M at Simon Fraser University Harbour Centre Campus. Lecturer is Dr. Douglas Inglis from Seville, Spain, an expert on communications within the Spanish Empire. The lecture is open to everyone free of charge. (See page 20 for information on the Nanaimo lecture.)

The Society sponsors the presentation of the exhibition of photographs of work from artists on the Spanish expeditions. The next showing will be at the Vancouver Museum at the end of January 2002.

For further information visit www.vanspan.org or contact the Society by e-mail at vanspan@aol.com or send a letter to the Vancouver Spanish Pacific Historical Society, 209 West 4th Street, North Vancouver, BC V7M 1H8. Memberships cost $10 per year.

Federation News

Revelstoke 2002

REVELSTOKE Museum and Archives is looking forward to hosting the conference of the British Columbia Historical Federation on the weekend 9-11 May 2002.

Our theme, "Revelstoke–History & Heritage," is taken from the title of Ruby Nobb's 1998 book on Revelstoke's history. We will be showing delegates why Revelstoke is now considered a heritage- and cultural- tourism destination. We will be working with the Revelstoke Railway Museum, Revelstoke Heritage Advisory Committee, Mt. Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks, Revelstoke Dam, the newly established B.C. Interior Forestry Museum, and other organizations, to showcase the best that Revelstoke has to offer. We plan having a panel discussion on different aspects of Revelstoke's development and future vision as well as sessions highlighting Revelstoke's fascinating history. Tours will include the National Parks (depending on the snow!), Revelstoke Dam, Railway Museum, walking & driving heritage tours, cemetery tours, and several other possibilities that we are still investigating. We are very much looking forward to inviting you to Revelstoke in May 2002.

We will leave you with a question, the answer to which we will publish in the December issue of *BC Historical News*: A member of the Palliser expedition of the 1860s returned as a visitor to this area in 1903 with his son. The son became ill while at Glacier House and was brought to Revelstoke, where he died. The son was buried in Revelstoke and a large memorial stone was erected in his memory. What is the name of the Palliser expedition member?

–CATHY ENGLISH, CONFERERENCE CO-ORDINATOR

Below: *Recently President Wayne Desrochers travelled to Revelstoke to personally pass on "The Measure" to our 2002-conference host, the Revelstoke and District Historical Association. Wayne is shown here handing over "The Measure" to Cathy English, Conference Coordinator. A rejoicing witness is standing behind him.*

Courtesy Wayne Desrochers

MANUSCRIPTS submitted for publication should be sent to the Editor of *BC Historical News* in Whonnock. Submissions should preferably not exceed 3,500 words. Please send a hard copy and if possible a disk copy of the manuscript by ordinary mail. Submission by e-mail of the manuscript and illustrations is also welcome. All illustrations should have a caption and source information. It is understood that manuscripts published in *BC Historical News* will also appear in any electronic version of the journal. Authors publishing a feature article in the *BC Historical News* for the first time will receive a one-year complimentary subscription to the journal.

W. KAYE LAMB Essay Scholarships

Deadline 15 May 2002

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

To apply for the scholarship, candidates must submit (1) a letter of application; (2) an essay of 1500-3000 words on a topic relating to the history of British Columbia; (3) a letter of recommendation from the professor for whom the essay was written.

Applications should be submitted before 15 May 2002 to: Frances Gundry, Chair BC Historical Federation Scholarship Committee, PO Box 5254, Station B, Victoria, BC V8R 6N4.

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

BC History Web Site Prize

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

Nominations for the BC History Web Site Prize for 2001 must be made to the British Columbia Historical Federation, Web Site Prize Committee, prior to 31 December 2001. Web site creators and authors may nominate their own sites.

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

Best Article Award

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

British Columbia Historical Federation

Organized 31 October 1922

Affiliated Groups

Archives Association of British Columbia
British Columbia Genealogical Society

Member Societies

Alberni District Historical Society
PO Box 284, Port Alberni, BC V9Y 7M7
Anderson Lake Historical Society
PO Box 40, D'Arcy BC V0N 1L0
Arrow Lakes Historical Society
PO Box 819, Nakusp BC V0G 1R0
Atlin Historical Society
PO Box 111, Atlin BC V0W 1A0
Boundary Historical Society
PO Box 1687, Grand Forks BC V0H 1H0
Bowen Island Historians
PO Box 97. Bowen Island, BC V0N 1G0
Bulckley Valley Historical & Museum Society
Box 2615, Smithers BC V0J 2N0
Burnaby Historical Society
6501 Deer Lake Avenue, Burnaby BC V5G 3T6
Chemainus Valley Historical Society
PO Box 172, Chemainus BC V0R 1K0
Cowichan Historical Society
PO Box 1014, Duncan BC V9L 3Y2
District 69 Historical Society
PO Box 1452, Parksville BC V9P 2H4
East Kootenay Historical Association
PO Box 74, Cranbrook BC V1C 4H6
Finn Slough Heritage & Wetland Society
9480 Dyke Road, Richmond BC V7A 2L5
Galiano Museum Society
20625 Porlier Pass Drive
Galiano Island BC V0N 1P0
Gulf Islands Branch BCHF
c/o A. Loveridge S22, C11, RR # 1
Galiano Island BC V0N 1P0
Hedley Heritage Society
PO Box 218, Hedley BC V0X 1K0
Jewish Historical Society of BC
206-950 West 41st Avenue,
Vancouver BC V5Z 2N7
Kamloops Museum Association
207 Seymour Street, Kamloops BC V2C 2E7
Koksilah School Historical Society
5213 Trans Canada Highway,
Koksilah, BC V0R 2C0
Kootenay Lake Historical Society
PO Box 1262, Kaslo BC V0G 1M0
Langley Centennial Museum
PO Box 800, Fort Langley BC V1M 2S2
Lantzville Historical Society
c/o Box 274, Lantzville BC V0R 2H0
London Heritage Farm Society
6511 Dyke Road, Richmond BC V7E 3R3
Maple Ridge Historical Society
22520 116th Ave., Maple Ridge, BC V2X 0S4
Nanaimo & District Museum Society
100 Cameron Road, Nanaimo BC V9R 2X1
Nanaimo Historical Society
PO Box 933, Nanaimo BC V9R 5N2
Nelson Museum
402 Anderson Street, Nelson BC V1L 3Y3
Nicola Valley Museum Archives Association
PO Box 1262, Merritt BC V1K 1B8
North Shore Historical Society
c/o 1541 Merlynn Crescent,
North Vancouver BC V7J 2X9
North Shuswap Historical Society
Box 317, Celista BC V0E 1L0
Okanagan Historical Society
PO Box 313, Vernon BC V1T 6M3
Princeton & District Museum & Archives
Box 281, Princeton BC V0X 1W0
Qualicum Beach Historical Society
587 Beach Road,
Qualicum Beach BC V9K 1K7
Revelstoke & District Historical Association
Box 1908, Revelstoke BC V0E 2S0
Richmond Museum Society
Minoru Park Plaza, 7700 Minoru Gate,
Richmond BC V6Y 7M7
Salt Spring Island Historical Society
129 McPhillips Avenue,
Salt Spring Island BC V8K 2T6
Silvery Slocan Historical Society
Box 301, New Denver BC V0G 1S0
Surrey Historical Society
Box 34003 17790 #10 Hwy. Surrey BC V3S 8C4
Terrace Regional Historical Society
PO Box 246, Terrace BC V8G 4A6
Texada Island Heritage Society
Box 122, Van Anda BC V0N 3K0
Trail Historical Society
PO Box 405, Trail BC V1R 4L7
Union Bay Historical Society
Box 448, Union Bay, BC V0R 3B0
Vancouver Historical Society
PO Box 3071, Vancouver BC V6B 3X6
Victoria Historical Society
PO Box 43035, Victoria North
Victoria BC V8X 3G2
Yellowhead Museum
Box 1778, RR# 1, Clearwater BC V0E 1N0

Application for membership received from:
Lions Bay Historical Society
Box 571, Lions Bay BC V0N 2E0

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

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

Affiliated Groups are organizations with specialized interests or objects of a historical nature.

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

Questions about membership should be directed to:
Terry Simpson,
Membership Secretary,
BC Historical Federation,
193 Bird Sanctuary,
Nanaimo BC V9R 6G8
Phone: 250.754.5697
terryroy@nanaimo.ark.com

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BC Historical News welcomes your letters and manuscripts on subjects dealing with the history of British Columbia and British Columbians.

Please send stories or essays on any aspect of the rich past of our province to the Editor, *BC Historical News*, Fred Braches, PO Box 130, Whonnock BC, V2W 1V9.
Phone: 604.462.8942
E-mail: braches@netcom.ca

Send books for review and book reviews directly to the Book Review Editor, *BC Historical News*, Anne Yandle, 3450 West 20th Avenue, Vancouver BC V6S 1E4,
Phone: 604.733.6484
E-mail: yandle@interchange.ubc.ca

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THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL FEDERATION INVITES SUBMISSIONS OF BOOKS FOR THE 19TH ANNUAL COMPETITION FOR WRITERS OF BC HISTORY.

Any book presenting any facet of BC history, published in 2001, is eligible. This may be a community history, biography, record of a project or an organization, or personal recollections giving a glimpse of the past. Names, dates and places, with relevant maps or pictures, turn a story into "history." Note that reprints or revisions of books are not eligible.

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

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

Winners will receive a Certificate of Merit, a monetary award and an invitation to the BCHF annual conference to be held in Revelstoke May 2002.

SUBMISSION REQUIREMENTS: All books must have been published in 2001 and should be submitted as soon as possible after publication. Two copies of each book should be submitted. Books entered become property of the BC Historical Federation. Please state name, address and telephone number of sender, the selling price of all editions of the book, and, if the reader has to shop by mail, the address from which it may be purchased, including applicable shipping and handling costs.

SEND TO: BC Historical Federation Writing Competition
c/o Shirley Cuthbertson
#306-225 Belleville Street Victoria BC V8V 4T9

DEADLINE: 31 December 2001