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of the

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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COVER PAINTING

This Allan Brooks painting was done in 1943 for the birthday of Mrs. John A. Bishop, a family friend.

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FORTY-SECOND REPORT OF THE
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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

The format of last year's *Report* has been retained with the exception of a book review section that has been added. Readers are invited to submit reviews of books of interest to Okanagan readers. Next year the student essay contest will be re-instated and will be open to secondary and post-secondary students. A prize of one hundred and fifty dollars ($150.00) has been offered by the Okanagan Historical Society for the best essay on Okanagan history and an additional fifty dollars ($50.00) will be provided by the Vernon Branch for the best submission from that area.

I wish to express my gratitude to the editorial committees for their co-operation and to persons who have helped in other ways. These people include Molly Broderick, Dorothy Bradbeer, Angie Waterman, Juanita Needham, Audrey Jackson, Evelyn Lundy, Norma Kay and my wife, Carol Thomson.

AN APOLOGY

The article entitled "The Keremeos Grist Mill" by Carolyn Smyly which appeared in the *Forty-first Report* was reprinted with the kind permission of the magazine, *Beaver*. The omission of a statement indicating the source of the article was entirely unintentional.

The Editor.

The B. C. Provincial Museum train. Eric Sismey photo

Bridge on the Kettle Valley line east of Penticton.

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HISTORICAL PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS

OKANAGAN INDIAN LEGENDS

Editor's Note:

Randy Bouchard, a linguist and ethnographer who is now Director of the B.C. Indian Language Project in Victoria, has done extensive work on the Okanagan language and culture since 1966. He speaks the language, has developed a practical alphabet and has instructed Indian people in its use. Numerous Okanagan legends have been collected on tape under the direction of Bouchard, translated by Larry Pierre and Martin Louie and transcribed and edited at the B. C. Indian Language Project.

These legends centre around Coyote, the powerful transformer-trickster, a figure analogous to Raven in Coastal Indian mythology. They refer to that period of "time" when animals were people and had magical powers.

Upon request, Bouchard has selected five legends as representative of the oral tradition throughout the vast area where the Okanagan language is spoken, including the entire Colville Indian Reservation in north-central Washington. These legends were originally told in Okanagan: *How Coyote Got His Name and His Powers* was told by Harry Robinson of Hedley (1969); *Coyote and Raven* by Selina Timoyakin of Penticton (1969); *Coyote and Eagle* by Larry Pierre of Penticton (1966); *How Fire Was Brought To This Land* by Joe Abel of Vernon (1969) and *The War With the Frogs* by Martin Louie formerly of Inchelium, Washington; and now a resident of the Okanagan (1969). Final editorial changes were made by Bouchard on July 4, 1978.

The Okanagan Historical Society commends Bouchard and the B.C. Indian Language Project for the valuable work they are undertaking and expresses its deep satisfaction and gratitude to the Indian story-tellers who have shared their knowledge for the enjoyment of Indians and non-Indians alike.

Easter gathering at the Penticton Church, circa 1905. Photo credit — Mrs. R. B. White Collection

HOW COYOTE GOT HIS NAME AND HIS POWERS

Told by Harry Robinson

This is a legend about Coyote before he was given his Indian name, sin-ka-LEEP, and before he received his special magical powers. At this time, none of the other animal people had any special names. The animal person who came to be called sin-ka-LEEP was known as SPEEL-i-ya then.

The Great Chief travelled all over the land and summoned together all the male animal people. Everyone knew that the Great Chief was going to give out names. At that time, the animal people knew that the names sa-WA (Cougar), in-TSEE-tsin (Wolf), and WHY-looh (Fox) existed, but they did not know which of the animal people was to have each name. Sa-WA and in-TSEE-tsin were excellent hunters in those days, as they still are today. WHY-looh was small and a fast runner. As for SPEEL-i-ya, he didn't have very many special qualities at that time.

SPEEL-i-ya decided that he would like to get to the gathering place first so that he would be sure to get a good name. He wanted one of three names; if not sa-WA (Cougar), then in-TSEE-tsin (Wolf); if not in-TSEE-tsin, then WHY-looh (Fox). He thought that if he got to the gathering place early, he would be able to choose his own name from these three. SPEEL-i-ya took off at a full run; he had a long way to go.

He travelled from daylight to dark and just before daylight the next day he decided to stop and rest. SPEEL-i-ya lay down at the base of a tree, but then he realized that if he fell asleep he wouldn't get to the meeting-place on time, so he picked up two little twigs and propped his eyes open in order to stay awake. This way, he could rest without sleeping. However, he did fall asleep. When he woke up the sun was high overhead so he carried on his way.

Finally, SPEEL-i-ya arrived at the meeting-place and greeted the Great Chief saying, "I want the name sa-WA." "No," replied the Great Chief, "I have already given that name out to a person who arrived here early." "Okay," said SPEEL-i-ya, "then I want the name in-TSEE-tsin." "No," replied the Great Chief, "I have already given that name to another person who arrived here early." "Okay," said SPEEL-i-ya, "then I want the name WHY-looh." "No," said the Great Chief, "I have already given that name out to another person who arrived here early." SPEEL-i-ya was very disappointed; these were the only three names that he wanted.

Finally, the Great Chief told SPEEL-i-ya, "There are two names left; you can pick one of them, but let me tell you what each name carries along with it. The first name is QUEEL-stun. If you take this name, you will not be able to travel around; instead, you will work for me. The people will use you as their source of help, through sweat-bathing. You will be very powerful."

The Great Chief continued, "The other name that is left is sin-ka-LEEP. If you take this name, then you will travel all over the land; I will give you special power, you will never really die. When you are killed, you will be able to come back to life again. Fox will always know that you have been killed and he will always bring you back to life again by gathering together your remains and stepping over them. Your job will be to get rid of all the monsters in this land. Whenever you feel that you need help, it will come from special magical powers that I will put in your own excrement. You will be able to summon these powers by saying the words 'Pish-pish-pish kwa-TLAP.' These special magical powers will be called quas-TEEN-uk. If these powers ignore you

when you summon them, tnen you can threaten them; you can tell them that you will summon the rain to fall on them and the sun to dry them up and blow them away. This will scare them into obeying you. But remember, only use these special powers when you really need them. With quas-TEEN-uk you will be able to kill any monster and then pass judgment on it."

SPEEL-i-ya listened carefully for awhile. Finally he said, "I want to take the name sin-ka-LEEP." "Good," said the Great Chief, "henceforth, your name is sin-ka-LEEP. Now I give you your special magical powers." So sin-ka-LEEP, Coyote, left and travelled all over the land. He killed many monsters but he had one fault — he was very full of mischief.

Much, much later, when Coyote's work was all done and the land was ready for people, the Great Chief changed himself into the form of a man who met Coyote as he was travelling along. They greeted one another. "Hello, my younger brother," said the Great Chief, but Coyote replied, "I am older than you." The Great Chief replied, "No, I am older than you." Coyote answered, "No, I am older. I have been travelling around this land for a long, long time. I am a mighty man." But the Great Chief told him, "If you are so mighty, let me see you move that mountain."

Coyote nodded his head to one side and the mountain moved, but only because the Great Chief's power caused it to do so. Then the Great Chief said, "Let me see you move that mountain back to its original place and Coyote again nodded his head, but this time the Great Chief did not assist him and nothing happened. The Great Chief said, "Let me try to move it," and he caused the mountain to return to its original location.

The man, still unknown to Coyote as the Great Chief, pointed towards a nearby lake, saying, "Let me see you move that lake." Coyote nodded to the lake and it moved, but only because the Great Chief's power caused it to do so. "Now let's see you move that lake back to its original place," said the Great Chief, but this time he didn't help Coyote and the lake did not move. Then the man said, "Let me try to move it," and he caused the lake to return to its original location.

The Great Chief then told Coyote, "Now you see that I am older and more powerful than you. I am the Great Chief who gave you the name of sin-ka-LEEP. I am the one who caused you to be able to move that mountain and that lake. When you were unable to move them back, it was because I didn't help you." The Great Chief continued, "You have done many good things throughout this land, but you have also done some bad things. Because of this, I am going to put you away forever. Just before the end of time, I will bring you back to this land and you will retrace all your travels, but I will make it so that you will do this very quickly. When you have done all this, when you have retraced all your travels and all your adventures up to the point where you meet with me and I challenge you to move the mountain, then that will be the end of time. I will now put you in the middle of the ocean."

The Great Chief caused a small island to appear in the middle of the ocean and this is where he put Coyote to live. There is a fire on this island which will not go out until the end of time. Coyote is still there today. He will not come back to this land to retrace his adventures until just before the end of time.

And that is the end of this legend.

COYOTE AND RAVEN

Told by Selina Timoyakin

Coyote was travelling along. He heard some strange noises and listened for awhile but didn't believe what he heard. Coyote carried on until he came upon a house situated in an open area. Seeing no signs of life he stomped his foot and coughed to attract attention. No one. Thought Coyote, "Maybe there are some women in there — I should go in and check."

He went inside. "Someone must be living here;" thought Coyote seeing all the stored food and the bones strewn around the ground, "maybe whoever lived here has died and the noises I heard were made by his or her ghost." Coyote decided to live in the house so he made a big meal and then lay down to rest.

Coyote slept and slept. Suddenly, he was awakened by the same strange noises that he had heard before. Jumping up to see what was causing the noises, Coyote found his body all covered with worms. This was their house and the strange noises were caused by their singing. Coyote jumped up and ran outside. "You and your singing!" he yelled at the worms, bumping into trees and rubbing against bushes to try to knock them all off. Hearing a trickling sound, Coyote crawled through the bushes and jumped into a small stream to wash off the worms. After rubbing himself with some special herbs he carried on his way again, disgusted.

Coyote continued travelling. Again he heard a strange noise, like the sound of an awl hitting wood. He listened again, becoming more and more curious. Going in the direction of the sounds, Coyote came across a house, but there seemed to be nobody around. He stomped and coughed to attract attention. Nothing. Coyote went inside, made himself a big meal and lay down to rest.

Coyote was suddenly wakened as if something had poked him. He jumped up to find himself being jabbed by many bone awls. This was their house. Coyote ran outside, trying to knock or shake the awls off. He managed to knock them all off with the exception of one which was poking him in the rump, so he dragged his rump along the ground and tried to knock off that awl too. He rubbed his rump until it was raw and did manage to get rid of the last awl. Coyote used some herbs to fix his raw rump and then continued on his way.

Coyote travelled along. Again he heard a strange noise — this time it was the sound of children playing. Going over to investigate, Coyote came upon two little girls, two little animal people, playing with a ball of deer fat. They were rolling the ball of fat back and forth, playing near a house. As Coyote watched, one little girl said to the other, "Yours is white and mine is black," as she rolled the ball of fat towards the other girl. The other girl said, "Yours is black and mine is white," and rolled the fat back the other way.

Watching this little game, Coyote became very hungry. He was angry with the little girls for fooling around with a nice piece of food instead of eating it. Coyote said to the girls, "Henceforth, you will both be part black and part white, just as you said in your little game." The girls looked at one another in fright. "You are black and white," said one of them. "You, too, are black and white," replied the other. The little girls stopped playing their game.

Just then, the little girls' mother came out of the house. She took one look at them and exclaimed, "You don't look like my children!" and ran back inside.

Coyote went over to pick up the ball of deer fat but was unable to do so because it had certain magical powers. The fat stuck itself to the ground. Coyote was disgusted; all the fat that he could get was just that little bit that stuck under his claws so he licked that up. "It is their mother who is doing this to me," he said, "I'll have to go in there and kill her. She must have some magical power. Nobody can make a fool of me!"

Coyote beat up the woman. He grabbed her by the hair and tossed her up into the air saying, "Henceforth, you will be known as Raven." He transformed her and she flew away, making an ugly sound. "When people kill animals for food, you will be around to scrounge for the remainder," Coyote told Raven.

Coyote went into the house to look for food. He heard the little girls crying outside so he chased them saying, "Henceforth, you will be known as Magpies. You will be noisy birds who will survive by stealing. Everyone will chase you away." The two little girls flew away as Magpies, making the sound, "AN-in, AN-in!"

And that is the end of this legend.

COYOTE AND EAGLE

Told by Larry Pierre

A long time ago Coyote was travelling along the Similkameen River heading northward, when he heard a noise — the sound that Eagle makes when he swoops down from the edge of a cliff. Coyote stopped. "What's that I hear?" He looked around but there was nothing, so he kept on travelling and again he heard the same noise. Again he stopped and looked around and again there was nothing. Coyote trotted along up the Similkameen River. Again he heard the noise; it was Eagle.

Eagle would sit there, perched on the edge of a rock cliff. He would circle around and then swoop down to the bottom of the cliff before playing all the way back to the top. "Ha-ha," chuckled Coyote, "those are my ways. Eagle is trying to imitate me." Coyote watched awhile longer and then he climbed up the edge of the cliff to Eagle's perch. Eagle realized what was going on as he watched Coyote from the other side of the valley. Coyote reached the top, sat on the edge of the cliff for awhile and looked around. Then he jumped.

Coyote fell. Half way down the cliff he realized that he couldn't fly. He tried to spread his arms as wings but that didn't work, so in desperation he whirled his tail around and around making a whirring sound. As Coyote continued falling, he became so scared that he defecated and his excrement streaked the side of the cliff. He smashed on the rocks at the bottom of the cliff and died.

At this time, Fox knew what had happened, and chuckled to himself, "That's what usually happens to Coyote!"

And that is the end of this legend.

HOW FIRE WAS BROUGHT TO THIS LAND

Told by Joe Abel

All the animal people were gathering together to discuss how to get fire. Coyote was travelling along; he, too, was going to the gathering. He came across Chickadee, who was making arrows. Coyote made fun of the arrow's small size for he had his own and they were much bigger. "That's alright," said Chickadee, "you have your arrows and I have mine." "But look at my beautiful arrows," said Coyote, "these are real but your arrows are no good — if you shot them, they would barely get past the bow before falling to the ground."

Finally Chickadee said, "I'll show you how good I am. See that distant hill? Go over there and I'll shoot you from here; that is a long way away. If I miss you, then my arrow is no good." "Alright," said Coyote, "I want to prove this for myself." He walked toward the hill but on the way there he forgot what he was doing, he was so busy thinking how important he was. Chickadee shot his arrow, which made a whistling sound. "Ah," said Coyote, "that's the sound made by the wind in the trees as I walk through the forest." But his words were cut short as Chickadee's arrow passed through his ribs, killing him.

Chickadee went over to the place where Coyote was lying. He pulled out the arrow and found it covered with excrement. This was because of Coyote's lies and foolish talk. In disgust, Chickadee laid the arrow on top of Coyote and carried on toward the gathering place.

Fox was travelling along. He knew that Coyote had been killed again and he was disgusted. He walked towards dead Coyote knowing that he was going to have to bring him back to life again but he didn't go directly to his friend. Even in death Coyote knew that Fox would bring him back to life but he was getting quite worried because Fox was taking his time in coming to help. In his thoughts, Coyote called out in desperation to his friend, but Fox ignored him. Again he called out; Fox just turned the other way. Finally after a few days, Fox went over to Coyote and brought him back to life by stepping over him.

Coyote got up, yawning. "I must have fallen asleep," he said. "No, you didn't fall asleep," replied Fox, "you got too smart with a powerful bird. You shouldn't tell lies about what happened. You are so full of lies that when Chickadee shot you, his arrow was stained with excrement." Coyote said, "No, that's not true. I found that arrow just before I went to sleep." Fox left in disgust.

After Fox left, Coyote picked up the filthy arrow and washed it in the creek. He carried on and met Chickadee again.

"Look at the arrow I found," said Coyote. "That is a lie," replied Chickadee, "this is the very arrow that you were making fun of before I shot you with it. I didn't want to take it with me because it was so filthy!" They walked along together for awhile, arguing continually about the arrow. Then Coyote suggested a contest which would consist of shooting arrows to see which one would go the farthest. Chickadee knew that Coyote would use the same arrow that he had been shot with, because it was Chickadee's fastest arrow, but still he agreed to the contest.

The contest began. Using Chickadee's own arrow, Coyote beat him and

won Chickadee's bow and arrow. Finally, Chickadee had nothing left but his clothes and his ornaments, so Coyote suggested that these things be put up as a bet against Coyote's own clothes. Chickadee agreed; he had nothing else to lose. So Coyote beat Chickadee again, winning his clothes and his ornaments. These clothes were so pretty that Coyote wore them himself and gave Chickadee his own old clothes.

Coyote went on his way with Chickadee following along behind as he could now do nothing else. They heard the sound of children playing. It was Blue Grouse's children; they had been left while their parents were away. Coyote asked the children, "Why are you having so much fun?" The children, who were half-hidden, answered, "We are cooking and eating kinnikinnick berries." They laughed and laughed.

Being full of mischief, Coyote thought of a trick to play on the children. He asked them for some berries and when they came over to give him some, he grabbed the children and threw them into a hole which he had dug beside the cooking-fire. Coyote covered the children up and the fire burned them black. After they were cooked, Coyote placed the scorched children in a circle around the cooking-fire and then left to continue on his way to the gathering.

Mother and father Blue Grouse returned to find their own children cooked. The parents cried, "What can we do?" Just at this time Chickadee came along, feeling disgusted and sorry for himself. Hearing a noise he went to investigate and came upon mother and father Blue Grouse crying over the bodies of their children. The parents looked up, "Did you do this to our children?" "No," replied Chickadee, "it was not I. It must have been Coyote. He is no good. This is the sort of thing that he does." They believed Chickadee. "But what can we do?" they asked. "Here is what to do," replied Chickadee, "go after my clothes — the ones that Coyote won from me and is wearing now. Take his clothes, which I am wearing, and give them back to him. Also bring back my bow and arrow. Meanwhile, I'll bring your children back to life. Here is what you must do to Coyote. I'll cause him to walk along the edge of a cliff. Mother Grouse, you hide near the trail where Coyote will walk. Father Grouse, you hide above the trail, at the height of Coyote's head. Coyote will walk through this area — I will cause him to do so. When he gets to you, mother Grouse, flap your wings and fly between his legs. This will scare him so that he will jump toward the edge of the cliff. At this same moment, father Grouse, flap your wings and fly at Coyote's head. This will scare him right off the edge of the cliff. While Coyote falls through the air, both of you strip him. I will fix up your children while I am waiting for you to bring me back my things."

Mother and father Blue Grouse left Chickadee to work on the children, then they went to their hiding places. No sooner had they settled down when Coyote came along, praising himself for his own importance, his new clothes and his ornaments. He went down the path where the grouse were waiting, singing, "I beat Chickadee in a game." As he sang, he used his own special name, sim-YAW. He got closer to the grouse. Suddenly he changed his song and started singing about what the grouse were going to do to him, but just as he sang this, mother Grouse flew between his legs. Coyote jumped towards the edge of the cliff. Just at this moment, father Grouse flew towards Coyote's head and Coyote fell off the edge of the cliff. Coyote fell and fell, but the two grouse were right after him. They stripped him in mid-air, before he had a

chance to hit anything and get smashed up. Coyote was so frightened as he fell through the air that his excrement streaked the side of the cliff all the way to the bottom. He smashed to pieces on some rocks. The Grouse parents returned to Chickadee and their children.

Mother and father Grouse found their children alive again and playing around. Both parents and children were happy and as payment for fixing up the children, Grouse gave Chickadee the clothes that Coyote had won from him as well as his ornaments, his bow and arrow and the special arrow that had been stained with Coyote's excrement. Chickadee and the Grouse parents thanked each other but Chickadee told them he had to be on his way.

Fox was around the area. Again he knew that Coyote had been killed, so he went over to his smashed body and stepped over it, bringing Coyote back to life again. Coyote got up and yawned, "I was just travelling through here when I lay down to sleep." "You are lying," said Fox, "you were fooling around with some very powerful people." Coyote denied this. Fox went on his way in disgust. He knew that Coyote would travel only a little way before he forgot about everything that had happened.

Chickadee travelled to the gathering place where they were going to shoot arrows into the sky in order to bring fire down to the land. This was to be done by shooting many arrows up to the upper world, end to end, forming a ladder of arrows up which the animal people could climb to get fire. The animal people shot and shot but none of them could shoot high enough although they all took turns. Chickadee took his best arrow, set it on the bow, and shot up into the air. As it went up, the arrow made a whistling sound. Chickadee shot arrow after arrow so that each one stuck to the arrow in front of it, end to end. Finally, a ladder of arrows extended to the upper world.

"Let's climb up the arrows," the animal people suggested, so all those who were able to do so climbed up. Everyone went up — even Excrement went; he was a person at that time. Coyote went up. And Grizzly Bear was the last to go up the arrow ladder, because he wanted to take along with him a good supply of wild rhubarb to eat. Grizzly collected all his wild rhubarb and started up the ladder. However, his extra weight caused the ladder of arrows to break, leaving everyone stranded in the upper world.

So all the animal people were stranded in the upper world, although they didn't know it yet. Their Chief said to them, "Let's pair off and go to search for fire. Dog and Excrement, you two can make a pair. We must find fire so that the transformed people can make use of it." They all went to look for fire. Dog and Excrement went along with Dog following Excrement, but Dog liked Excrement's smell so he started to lick him. Dog continued licking Excrement until there was nothing left of him but a small pile.

The animal people searched and searched, then gathered together again. Some of them told their Chief that they had found what they came to look for — a fire-drill, an implement to be used by the Okanagan Indians to make fire. The Chief asked Dog, "What did you find and where is your partner?" Dog hung down his head in shame. All he could say was, "I finished him," but he said this in such a way that no one could understand him. Again the Chief asked him what happened. Finally one of the other animal people spoke up and told the Chief that Dog was trying to say he had finished off his partner. Dog said, "Yes, that is true." Everyone was disgusted.

All the people went to the place where the arrow ladder was connected to

the upper world as they had found the fire-drill and were now ready to return to earth. When they arrived at the place where the arrow ladder should have been, they found nothing. The Chief told his people, "All of you try to get back to earth the best way that you can." Those animal people who had wings were able to fly back down, but all the others had to think of their own way to get back to earth.

Sucker-fish was there in the upper world and thought of a way back down to earth. "I'll use this waterfall," he said. He jumped into it and the waterfall carried him downwards, but when he landed on earth he was smashed on the rocks at the bottom of the waterfall. All Sucker-fish's bones were broken and misplaced and that is why today you find so many strange bones in the body of any Sucker-fish. When the Chief saw what had happened he said to the animal people, "Let's each donate a bone to Sucker-fish." Each of the people took a piece of one of their bones and gave it to Sucker-fish who was lying still in the water, unable to swim. "I need one more bone in my tail," Sucker-fish told them, then I'll be able to swim. But this bone must come from a pubescent girl. Such a girl was brought to Sucker-fish. He told her to lie down near his tail where the missing bone was, but as soon as she did this, Sucker-fish took off with the girl. All the people agreed that this was a bad thing for Sucker-fish to do.

Everyone who was unable to fly had to think of a way to get down to earth. Bat thought of a way. He took the blanket that he carried with him and spread it on the ground and then picked up the four corners. Down he flew, using the blanket as wings. That is why bats have such strange-shaped wings today.

Everyone had to get back down. Coyote, too, thought of a way. He turned himself into a pine needle and jumped, whirling around and around, but then the pine needle changed direction and headed straight down towards earth, gaining speed rapidly. Coyote became very worried — he thought he was going to die again! "What should I change myself into?" he thought. He transformed himself into a leaf, floated down slowly and landed softly on land in a bunch of grass. "Henceforth," said Coyote, "you Pine Needles, when you fall off a tree, will fall rapidly. Leaves, you will fall slowly and easily." Finally, everyone was able to make it back to this land.

This is how fire was brought to earth and that is the end of this legend.

THE WAR WITH THE FROGS

Told by Martin Louie

A lot of people were sitting around a place called "Big Valley," east of what is known today as Kettle Falls, Washington. These were frog people and many hundreds of them had gathered to discuss a problem. The problem was that there were too many frog people for the land. Their Chief suggested that they should go to look for another place to live and asked for three volunteers to go in search of new land. These three volunteers were instructed to climb mountains and look around for good land.

Crippled Frog volunteered to go along but the three frog volunteers said, "No, you cannot come with us; you will be in our way." They left and climbed a mountain but it was getting dark so they could not see anything. Meanwhile, Crippled Frog was following behind at a distance. By the time he got to the foot of the hill it was nearly dark, but he started climbing anyway. He climbed and climbed until he reached the top, just as daylight was breaking.

Reaching the top, Crippled Frog ran across the three sleeping volunteers. He stepped over them as he looked for new land. As he looked down over the valley facing east, Crippled Frog saw a beautiful area, but it looked very familiar. He realized that it was his own land so he turned around and faced west. He saw a different, beautiful area with rivers, swamps, valleys and streams. After seeing all this, Crippled Frog went back down the mountain.

The three frog volunteers woke up and faced east. They saw a beautiful area that looked identical to the place that they had left the day before. After admiring this area awhile, the frog volunteers decided to go back down to tell their Chief about it. They went down the mountain, passing Crippled Frog along the way. Reaching home, they gathered their people around to tell them about the area they had seen but just as they were talking, Crippled Frog arrived. "The area we saw by facing east from the mountain top looked just like our land," they told the people, but Crippled Frog interrupted, "No, they are mistaken. They saw the very place where we are right now." The Chief asked Crippled Frog, "Why are you contradicting these three people?" Crippled Frog replied, "I was also there. I turned east and saw what these three have described; I realized I was looking at my own land. Then I thought awhile and realized that my eyes are in the back of my head, so I turned westwards and saw a different area, not like our land at all. There were rivers, swamps, valleys and streams — it was a beautiful place."

The Chief asked, "Can you prove what you just said?" "Yes," replied Crippled Frog, "all of us have eyes in the back of our head. When we look at something, we are really looking behind ourselves. Chief, you stand up and face that cottonwood tree over there." The Chief stood up and looked directly at the cottonwood tree, but he couldn't see it. A few others also stood up — they couldn't see the tree either. "Now turn around," Crippled Frog told them. They could all see the tree.

Everyone realized that Crippled Frog was right. They decided that the three volunteers were wrong; they had seen only their own land. The Chief spoke to the frog people, "When you see someone at a gathering, do not be concerned with his faults. Even if he is crippled; even if he is strange in the head; even if he is pitiful, do not doubt his statements, for even the worst

person has some good points."

It was decided that the frogs would move to the new land. Packing their things, they left behind old people, women and children. Only the strong ones would go. When they arrived at this new land they began to mark off areas for each frog family. After all the land was marked off there were still frog people left over, so the Chief said, "Those of you who did not get land, go to the other side of the mountain. Look on the south side, near the place called 'Twin Peaks'."

Some volunteers were sent to the 'Twin Peaks' area. Near the south side of the mountain, they saw a beautiful valley. The frogs returned to tell their Chief what they had seen. "Go ahead and move there," he told them, so the rest of the frog people moved to this valley.

However, one part of this valley belonged to the swallow people, most of whom lived in nests in the cliffs. As they were flying around, some of the swallows noticed the frog people on the ground; they flew back to their Chief to tell him about these strangers.

Chief Swallow told a messenger to go to Chief Frog and tell him about the boundary running from the face of the cliff to the river. The frogs could come no closer than that; if they did so, this would mean war. The swallow messenger spoke to Chief Frog. Frog's reply was, "We'll see what happens when we get to that boundary." The frogs continued marking off land and when they got to the boundary they found that they needed still more land. "Go over the boundary," said Chief Frog, "we need more land." Chief Swallow sent a messenger to tell the frogs that this meant war.

All the frogs assembled for battle, stretching across the valley. This was to the swallows' advantage, for it enabled them to fly over the frogs, dropping rocks onto their backs. When the frogs retreated back over the boundary, the swallows stopped dropping rocks on them.

Chief Swallow said, "When the transformed people come to this land, frogs will be found on only one side of this boundary." Today, when you go to this area, there are many frogs on one side of the boundary established by Chief Swallow and no frogs on the other side.

And that is the end of this legend.

PETROGLYPHS OF THE MIDDLE FRASER RIVER

Doris Lundy

Editor's Note:

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There are sixteen petroglyph sites presently recorded in the British Columbia Interior. Of these sixteen, eleven are located along the Middle Fraser River, that is, that stretch of the river from Prince George in the north to around Yale in the south. While the abundant rock paintings of the province's Interior — some two hundred and seventy sites known at present — have been comprehensively studied and recorded (Teit 1896, 1900, 1906, 1918 and Corner 1968), little research had been carried out on the rock carvings.

Then, in 1976, the Laboratory of Archaeology at Cariboo College in Kamloops included a rock art survey as part of their Lillooet Archaeological Project. The survey focussed on one site, EeR1 42, in the Lillooet area and several new facts concerning distribution, style, designs and function were revealed about Middle Fraser rock art.

The sites known for this region as of 1978 are as follows:

1. FbRn 7 - This site is the most northerly of the Middle Fraser rock carvings. Found on the eastern shore of the Fraser in the vicinity of Soda Creek this is a single basalt boulder with designs consisting of vertical grooves, a rayed circle, non-outlined circle-face and other apparently indistinct curved lines. Nothing more is known about the site and the lack of specific or complete information is typical of the sparse reports generally available for this type of archaeological site.

2. EkRo 3 - This is also reported as a single boulder, first found in 1969, on the west bank of the Fraser in the vicinity of the mouth of the Chilcotin River. Although the reporter did not comment on or describe the actual carvings, he did note that the boulder was in direct association with a well-known fishing station and that it was submerged during times of high water.

3. EkRo 102 - Two boulders, "one large and one small" have been noted on the west bank of the Fraser River, also in the vicinity of the Chilcotin River mouth. No further information is known and it is quite possible that this site has been confused with EkRo 3, above.

4. EhRm 12 - In 1977 a two person survey team from the Conservation Division of the Provincial Museum sought to track down and verify the elusive Big Bar Creek petroglyphs, the existence of which had been rumoured over the years. A series of photographs in the files of the Provincial Museum taken years ago by a now-deceased local resident suggested that there were many carvings to be found in the general area. The conservators did locate and record three simply carved boulders that do not correspond at all to the designs in the early photographs. More intensive surveys in the area of Big Bar Creek may solve this problem.

5. EbRn 4 - This single, large boulder covered with many carvings was originally reported as being located about halfway between Crowe's Bar and Lone Cabin Creek on the Fraser. The boulder was removed and relocated

Some designs at EeRl 42. Note the face in the upper left and the bear track just right of centre.

Some designs at EeRl 42. There are circle-faces on the left side of the boulder and many pits across its surface.

in Vancouver in the 1920's. The many linear humans, naturalistic animals and simple geometric figures are similar to designs found at a number of the rock painting sites of the British Columbia Interior.

6. DjRi 31 - A very different type of petroglyph also occurs along the more southerly portions of the Middle Fraser. These sites consist of many "V-shaped" grooves probably made during the course of tool-making or tool-sharpening activities. At DjRi 31, near Yale townsite, there are at least thirty-seven of these grooves cut into a rocky bluff.

7. DjRi 41 - Also near Yale, on the west bank of the Fraser, there were over forty-three individual grooves recorded at this second "tool" site in 1974. It is likely that more will be discovered here since the bedrock is partially covered with moss and other vegetation.

8. EbRj 4 - No designs were described on this single boulder reported near the confluence of the Stein and Fraser Rivers. A second boulder, located a few meters away, contained four pecked holes about two and one-half to three centimeters in depth and set about fifteen centimeters apart in a single row.

9. EbRj 5 - A combination site, that is, a painted petroglyph, was reported in 1900 upstream from the mouth of the Stein River. Designs, painted in red ochre, included naturalistic deer and curvilinear and geometric figures. Some of these were illustrated in Teit, 1900.

10. DkRi 6 - A third site concerned with tool-making or tool-sharpening activities was reported and photographed in the 1920's. Located in the vicinity of Spuzzum, the many angular "V-shaped" grooves spread across some ten metres of bedrock.

11. EeRl 15 - A single basalt boulder was reported as located on the eastern shore of the Fraser River in the area of Moran Station. The large boulder is submerged for much of the year and the designs, apparently curvilinear, have not been described.

12. EeRl 42 - The Lillooet Project rock art survey of 1976 conducted for the Laboratory of Archaeology at Cariboo College resulted in the detailed recording of over ninety individual boulders making this the largest site known to date in British Columbia. The site spreads for about one kilometre along the eastern shore of the Fraser, a few kilometres north of the town of Lillooet, and extends from well above the high-water line to well below. Many of the boulders are submerged for most of the year and only appear for a brief time between late July and early August. Recorded designs include human, animal and geometric figures, but the most common design is the simple pit or pecked "hole" which is found singly, in pairs, clusters, rows or other patterns. The many curvilinear designs are similar to others found along the length of the Northwest Coast, from Alaska to Oregon but at EeRl 42 they occur alongside more typical Interior British Columbia rock art designs such as bear tracks, linear humans and rayed circles. The site has been a popular fishing place for years.

The valued salmon resources of the Middle Fraser appear to have been the major motive behind the creation of the petroglyphs of the region. There are a few reasons for suggesting this. In the first place several of the sites are located near well-known fishing places or camps. These are regions where outcrops or large rocks cause eddies in which the fish can rest during their journey upstream, where native people caught them with dipnets. FbRn 7,

Rubbing of EbRn 4 boulder. Designs include joined bear tracks, pits in rows and clusters, animals, humans and geometric figures.

EkRo 3, DjRi 31, DjRi 41, and EeRl 42 are all associated with such fishing stations. Secondly, many of the reported and recorded designs are similar or even identical to curvilinear rock art of the Northwest Coast (circle-faces, pits, etc.) where they are also concerned with fishing practices (Lundy 1974: 297-300). The Middle Fraser appears to be, in part, a continuation of many of these designs. This inland distribution of essentially coastal elements is not uncommon and has been noted on the Skeena, the Nass and the Columbia Rivers as well. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, many boulders of the Middle Fraser River are known to be submerged for most of the year appearing out of the water during late July and early August, times when the river is low and the salmon running. The appearance of the pecked boulders may have served as indicators of the coming fish runs or they may have marked individual or clan fishing places during the fishing season (Lundy 1977). It is interesting to note that the tenth moon or month in the Lillooet peoples' calendar was called "the salmon come" while the eleventh moon was called "boiling" referring to the preparation of the catch (Teit 1906:224). These tenth and eleventh moons correspond approximately to our July and August. Submerged riverine designs find another coastal parallel in that many coastal petroglyphs are intertidal.

It is possible too that the pit designs found so frequently along the Middle Fraser may have been made for a second reason. These simple designs may have been made during puberty rituals of the type noted in Teit (1900: 320) as being performed by a Thompson youth:

> He made round holes in rocks or boulders with a jadeite adze, which was held in the hand. Every night he worked at these until the holes were two or three inches deep. When making them he prayed, 'May I have strength of arm, may my arm never get tired - from thee O stone'. This was believed to make the arm tireless and the hand dextrous in making stone implements of any kind.

According to Teit (1918), puberty rituals and resulting records accounted for a great many of the rock paintings of the British Columbia Interior as well.

In summary, it seems that the overlooked petroglyphs of the Middle Fraser River are providing to be both complex and extensive. This report will, hopefully, indicate the need for more and better information on these and other as yet unknown sites. Future survey work might benefit from research at EeRl 42 since it may well be useless to search for Fraser River petroglyphs much of the year. It may be that one reason this area is so little known is simply that fieldwork was not done during low water when sites are more likely to be visible.

Because of this relative inaccessibility these carved sites have not suffered from vandalism or other human-inflicted damage as is so commonly encountered at most rock art sites. They can with few exceptions, be viewed and studied as and where they were meant to be seen.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much of the information used in this report came from a 1976 survey of Lillooet area rock art instigated by Dr. Arnoud Stryd of the Laboratory of Archaeology of Cariboo College, Kamloops. Other data was provided courtesy of the Archaeology Division of the British Columbia Provincial Museum. The map was drawn by Desmond Lundy and indicates the approximate locations of all presently known Interior petroglyph sites. This report is a condensed version of a paper given during the Fourth Biennial Conference of the Canadian Rock Art Research Associates, held at the British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria, from October 27th to 30th, 1977.

Map indicating the approximate locations of all petroglyph sites presently known in the Interior of British Columbia.

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THE QUATERNARY HISTORY OF THE OKANAGAN

Adrian C. Kershaw

Introduction

The Quaternary period is marked off from the preceding Tertiary period by the development of the ice sheets which have done so much to alter the landscape of North America. The commencement of the Quaternary in British Columbia is a little difficult to pin-point but it probably began about 1.8 million years ago. The Quaternary itself has been subdivided into two epochs — the Pleistocene and the Holocene — with the end of the Pleistocene being marked by the disappearance of the ice sheets which occupied much of Canada. Some parts of the Prairies were ice free 15,000 years ago but the Okanagan was not finally ice free until approximately 9,000 years ago.

The last major ice advance during the Pleistocene has become known as the Wisconsin Glaciation. This last glaciation was itself marked by a series of advances and retreats, most of which affected Southern British Columbia. These ice masses pushing south down the Okanagan and across the Okanagan Highlands have left a complex series of erosional and depositional landforms which are still under active investigation. Nevertheless, these investigations, and similar activities concerning the events during the Holocene, have enabled the broad outlines of the history of the Quaternary to be sketched. This paper briefly discusses the pre-Quaternary geology and landscape in order to place the Pleistocene glaciations in a temporal and spatial setting. It then passes on to a discussion of Pleistocene chronology outlining what is known of the sequence of events in British Columbia and the Okanagan during the Wisconsin Glaciation. Consideration is then given to both the final retreat, or stagnation, of the ice and to the climatic, vegetative and geomorphic phenomena of the Holocene. A comprehensive bibliography is included for those readers who may wish to pursue certain aspects of the account in greater detail.

Pre-Quaternary Geology and Physiography

In general terms the oldest rocks in the Okanagan, comprising metamorphosed sedimentary rocks, are found on the east side of the valley. The original sediments were probably deposited under marine conditions during the Middle Proterozoic to Upper Paleozoic Eras, between 1,600 million years Before Present and 375 m.y. B.P. (Nelson, 1970; Ressor & Moore, 1971). The sedimentary material was furnished by rivers flowing off the continental mass which occupied much of what is now the Prairies and the Laurentian Shield. These sedimentary rocks were then metamorphosed to form the gneisses, schists and granitoid rocks of the Monashee Group (Jones, 1959; Little, 1961). In the Shuswap-Thompson area Okulitch (1973; 1974) reports radiometric dates of 366 m.y. and 354 m.y. B.P. which probably mark the beginning of the metamorphic events. The regional metamorphism appears to have terminated about 100 m.y. ago.

These older, metasedimentary, rocks are separated from relatively younger rocks on the west side of the valley by a series of zig-zag faults running the length of the Okanagan. Chert, quartzite, basalt and andesite were laid down and extruded during the Middle Carboniferous (325 m.y. B.P.) and

subsequently metamorphosed and folded during the Late Carboniferous and Permian (290-225 m.y. B.P.)[1] During the Mesozoic Era (225-65 m.y. B.P.) the pre-existing rocks on the west side of the valley were intruded by granite, granodiorite, and syenite and were metamorphosed at the same time as the rocks to the east.

At the beginning of the Tertiary (65 m.y. B.P.) the Okanagan region probably had a relatively low relief, the valley itself being much wider than it is today and flanked by low rolling hills.[2] During the Eocene epoch (57-38 m.y. B.P.) the entire area saw the deposition of lake and stream sediments and some coal. At the same time there was considerable volcanic activity to the west and south west and this furnished the Okanagan with large amounts of basalt, andesite and volcanic ash.[3] During the Miocene (25-10 m.y. B.P.) a short period of volcanic activity occurred and the entire area was covered by considerable thicknesses of "plateau basalts." The basalt was uplifted and dissected during the Pliocene (10-2 m.y. B.P.) to form, in a general sense, the present land surface. The late Tertiary landscape of the Okanagan was thus one of relatively high hills flanking a valley with slopes of moderate angle. The valley bottom appears to have been occupied by a large river. It was this landscape which was subjected to a period of refrigeration during the Pleistocene.

Quaternary Geology

1) Pleistocene Chronology

The Pleistocene in North American began about 1.8 million years ago and was marked by four major periods of glaciation (the Nebraskan, Kansan, Illinoian, and Wisconsin Glaciations). These glacial events were separated by periods of relatively warm, mild weather called interglacials during which time the great ice sheets either shrank considerably or totally disappeared. In turn each of the glacial episodes was marked by short periods of climatic amelioration in which the ice fronts retreated to a greater or lesser degree.[4]

The ice which pushed south over the Prairies and eastern Canada originated in a number of areas in the North and in Greenland. The ice lobe which occupied Alberta originated in what is now the District of Keewatin in the Northwest Territories. The events associated with the Keewatin ice movement during the Wisconsin Glaciation have been fairly well documented and correlated with events further east. However, little success has been had in correlating the advances and retreats of the Cordilleran ice sheet, which occupied British Columbia, with ice movements on the Prairies. Indeed, because of the relatively complex topography of British Columbia, and the consequent effects this had upon the complexity of ice sheet development and subsequent ice movement, there have been few attempts to correlate glacial events even within the Province.

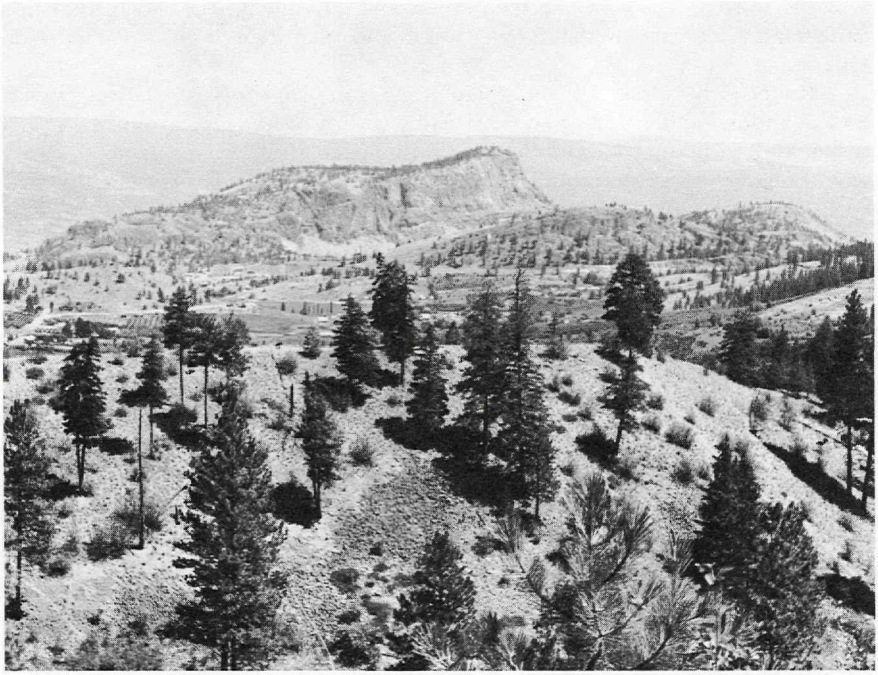
Easterbrook (1976) has identified three glacial episodes in the Puget Lowland during the Early and Middle Pleistocene comprising the Orting Glaciation, the Stuck Glaciation and the Salmon Springs Glaciation. These were separated by the Alderton and Puyallup Interglacials. The Okanagan underwent a similar sequence of events since it is probable that the whole of British Columbia was affected by the same climatic variations and, hence, the same fluctuations of ice masses. Moreover, the Puget Lowland received part of its ice from the South-Central Interior (via the Fraser Valley) which was

also the source of ice for the Okanagan and it is likely, therefore, that advances and retreats in the former region were mirrored by events in the Okanagan.

Ryder (1972) has indicated that the Salmon Springs Glaciation, which ended about 40,000 years ago, correlates with a major glaciation in the Interior and with the onset of the Wisconsin Glaciation on the Prairies. This would seem to be reasonable in light of Fulton's more recent statements concerning the date of the lower glacial drift found at Okanagan Centre. Fulton (1975) argues that this drift is at least 43,800 years old and has dubbed the glacial event which deposited the material the "Okanagan Centre Glaciation." Beneath this drift are still older, fossil-beds at Westwold and sands and gravels at Okanagan Centre which represent material laid down in a preceding, fairly lengthy, nonglacial period. This latter nonglacial period may correlate with the Puyallup Interglacial of the Puget Lowland.

The most recent glacial event in British Columbia, the Fraser Glaciation, was preceded by a long ice-free period called the Olympic Interglacial. Sediments deposited by this interglacial were first recognized by Armstrong et al (1965) in the Puget Lowland-Georgia Straits region. In the Southern Interior the Olympic Interglacial appears to have begun about 44,000 years ago (Fulton, 1975). Radiocarbon dates indicated that this nonglacial period lasted until 19,100 y. B.P. (Fulton, 1971). During the Olympic Interglacial, large lakes, which were gradually being infilled, occupied the Okanagan and the topography probably looked much as it does today. Some remnants of these sediments can still be seen here and there in the Okanagan underlying material laid down during the Fraser Glaciation (Fulton, 1975).

Using evidence from studies of the Quadra Sand in the Georgia Straits Clague (1977) indicates that the onset of the Fraser Glaciation in the Coast Mountains took place about 28,800 y. B.P. However, there is little doubt that the last major glacial episode to affect the Southern Interior did not commence until about 19,000 years ago. Also, the sequence of events in the Interior during this period of climatic deterioration appear to be simpler than those in the Fraser Valley-Georgia Straits-Puget Lowland area (Table 1). Armstrong et al (1965) have divided the Fraser Glaciation into three stades (periods of ice advance) and one interstade whereas in the Interior only one undifferentiated time unit has been recognized by Fulton (1975). Support for Fulton's views comes from an examination of the moraine laid down by the Okanogan Lobe in Washington State (Easterbrook, 1976; Flint, 1935). The Winthrow Moraine, lying 150 Km south of the 49th Parallel, stretches from Lake Chelan to Grand Coulee and is 5 to 9 Km wide and 30 to 70 m high. The size of this terminal moraine indicates a lengthy period of standstill during which the ice moving down the Okanagan and off the eastern Cascades dumped large amounts of material at its terminus. The Okanogan Lobe appears to have been active but stationary between 18,000 y. B.P. and about 12,500 y. B.P. This implies that the Okanogan Lobe, and hence its major ice source in the Southern Interior of British Columbia, reached its maximum extent during the Vashon Stade and was not influenced to any great extent by the smaller Evans Creek and Sumas Stades which affected the Puget Lowland-Georgia Straits region. Indeed, the onset of the Everson Interstade about 13,000 y. B.P. appears to have presaged the end of the Fraser Glaciation in the Interior. In the Okanagan Valley, north of the International Border, the



Moraine Ridge at the head of Prairie Creek Valley, Summerland. This was deposited by a tongue of ice pushing up Prairie Creek Valley from the Okanagan Valley. This moraine ridge has caused Trout Creek to be diverted to its present course.

Kettled outwash due west of Summerland in Trout Creek Valley.

Fraser Deglaciation probably began about 11,000 y. B.P. and had ended by 9,000 y. B.P. (Fulton, 1975).

2) Ice Sheet Development

Unlike eastern and central Canada topographic interference with ice sheet development was a major factor in British Columbia. While the rest of Canada was glaciated by relatively simple ice masses originating in areas of low relief in the Northwest Territories and in Labrador, the Cordilleran Ice Sheet represented the coalescing of a complex of small ice masses which developed in mountainous terrain. A four stage model has been proposed by Kerr (1934), and later modified by Davis and Mathews (1944), which illustrates the processes of ice development in British Columbia. This model comprises the Alpine Stage, the Intense Alpine Stage, the Mountain Ice Sheet Stage and, finally, the Continental Ice Sheet Stage. Although the model was developed to explain the sequence of events during the Fraser Glaciation it is probable that it can be applied also to earlier ice advances.

a) Alpine Stage

At the beginning of the Fraser Glaciation snow and ice began to accumulate in the mountainous areas of the province. Small alpine glaciers occupied cirques with some of the larger ones flowing out to form valley glaciers. It is probable that present glacial conditions are analagous to this alpine stage of glaciation. It is likely that at this stage a few small cirque and valley glaciers were to be found in the higher mountains to the immediate east of the Okanagan.

b) Intense Alpine Stage

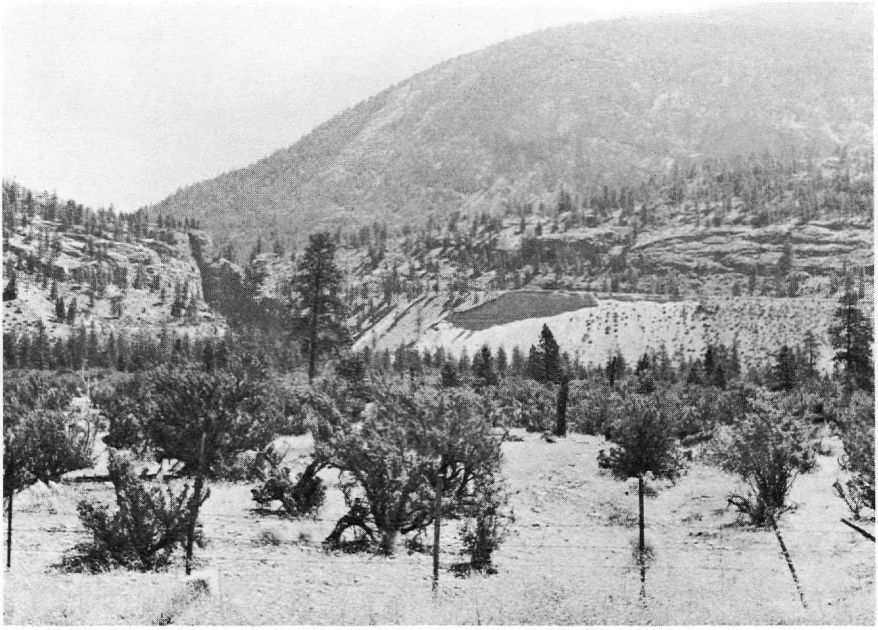
At the present time this stage is best represented by the few extensive ice fields which are found in those areas of the province where high precipitation is combined with high elevation. Examples of these conditions can be found in the Homathko Icefield in the Coast Range and in the Columbia Icefield in the Rockies.

In these higher, wetter regions a mass of valley glaciers coalesced to form quite extensive icefields from which flowed large valley glaciers. Probably at this time the small cirque glaciers which were developing during the Alpine Stage in the Monashees became larger and formed valley glaciers.

c) Mountain Ice Sheet Stage

In the Mountain Ice Sheet Stage the Columbia Mountains to the east and the Coast Range and Cascades to the west of the Okanagan were probably capped by very large ice sheets. Ice flowed outwards from the central core or axis of the mountain range with the direction of ice movement being dictated by topography only where the ice became thin and distant from the main ice source. It is likely that ice first entered the Okanagan at this time moving down such valleys as Mission Creek, Coldstream Creek, Shuswap River and Eagle River. In the Central and Northern Interior of British Columbia the tongues of ice moving out from the mountain ranges formed fan-like piedmont glaciers.

MacAulay and Hobson (1972) have indicated considerable overdeepening of the bedrock by glacial action; indeed at a point approximately three kilometres south west of Armstrong bedrock was encountered 191 m (620 ft.) below sea level. The soft Tertiary rocks and some of the metamorphic, volcanic and igenous rocks which occupied the Okanagan have been removed by



In the foreground can be seen Holocene alluvial material with abandoned stream channels. In the middle background a pronounced delta of late glacial age has been laid down by Vaseaux Creek and later dissected by post-glacial run-off.

Squally Point from the highway above Greta Ranch. Two canyons can be seen cutting through the bedrock; these canyons carried meltwater around the edge of a mass of stagnant ice which filled the lake at this point.

ice moving down the valley during the Mountain and Continental Ice Sheet Stages. However, the Fraser Glaciation appears to have been responsible for little of this bedrock erosion. The presence of considerable thicknesses of unconsolidated interglacial fill from at least three major nonglacial periods in most of the North Okanagan (Fulton, 1972) indicates that the bulk of the bedrock removal was accomplished by an earlier glaciation. Nevertheless, the Fraser Glaciation may have been responsible for the removal of pre-existing unconsolidated material, and even bedrock, where very active tributary ice streams entered the main valley and where the unconsolidated material was relatively thin. These conditions may have brought about the overdeepening of such basins as Kalamalka Lake.

d) Continental Ice Sheet Stage

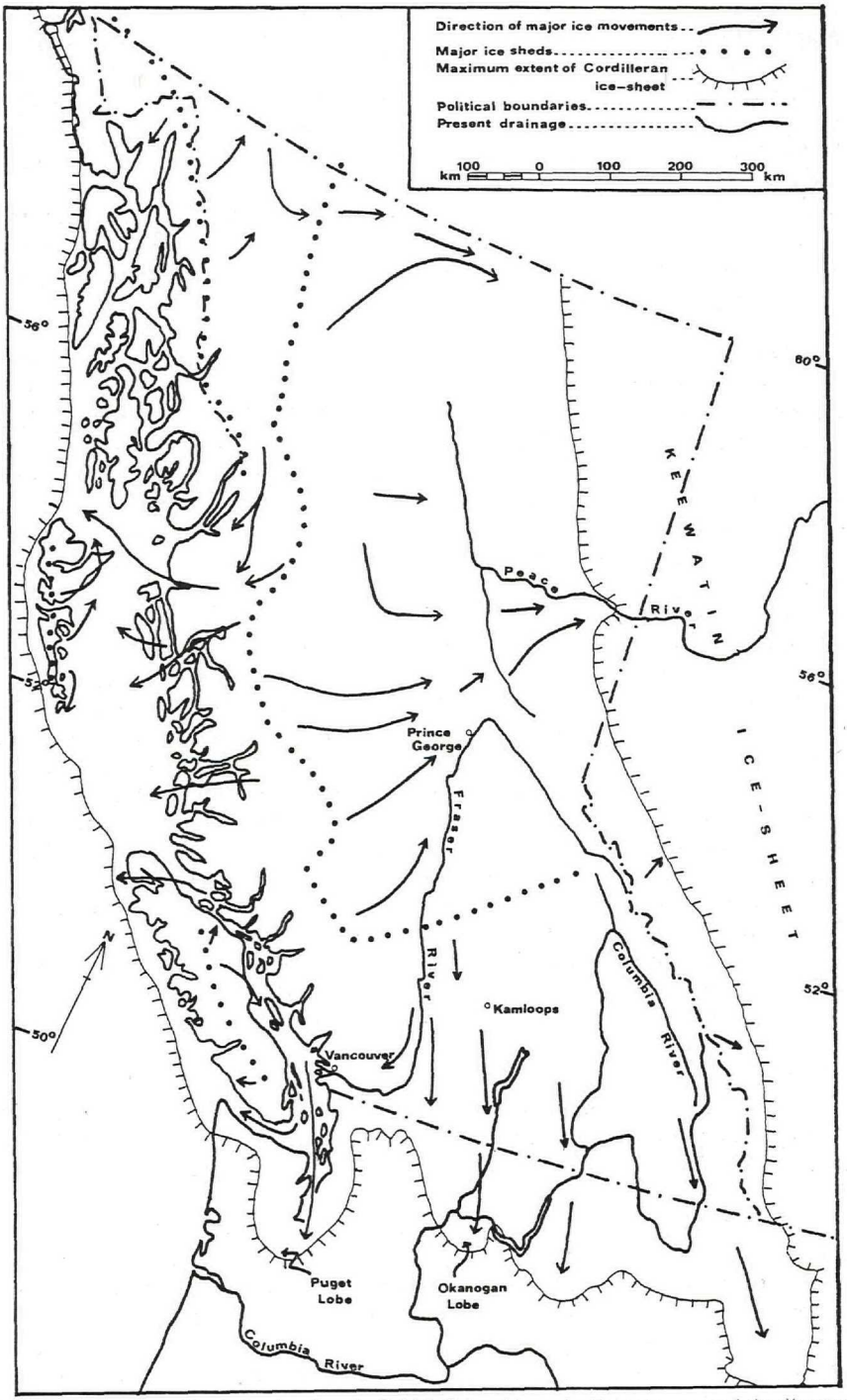
During this last stage of the advance of the Fraser ice sheets the piedmont glaciers coalesced to form a single ice mass called the Cordilleran Ice Mass. Fulton (1975) suggests that in southern British Columbia this ice mass formed a dome shape with ice flowing through and across the mountains to the east and west of the Okanagan as well as southwards towards the 49th Parallel. However, Tipper (1971) argues that this condition obtained only in the northern regions of the province and states that "there is no evidence to indicate development of an ice sheet domed over the Interior Plateau from which the ice flowed east or west or radially."

Whatever the gross profile of the Cordilleran Ice Sheet during the Fraser Glaciation there is little doubt about the regional ice flow patterns (Fig. 1). A major ice shed or ice divide developed along the crest of the Coast Range with ice flowing west down the many fjords and east into the Interior. This interior ice was then joined by ice from the Columbia and Rocky Mountains in the south and the Rocky, Omineca and Cassiar Mountains in the north. A further ice shed arose running roughly east-west along the latitude of Williams Lake (52nd Parallel) from which ice moved north and south. This ice pushed south through, and over, the Okanagan to its maximum extent in northern Washington State (Prest, 1969). In the Central and Northern Interior the ice moved out to join the Keewatin Ice Sheet through the Peace River and Liard River gaps (Chapman, et al, 1956; Prest, et al, 1967).

The maximum depth of ice over the Okanagan is not known since the whole area was covered in ice. However, Prest (1970) indicates that in the Okanagan Range of the Cascade Mountains south of Keremeos, Pre-Fraser ice reached to 2,600 m (8,500 ft.) above sea level while during the Fraser glaciation it did not reach over 2,300 m (7,500 ft.) above sea level. In the North Okanagan Fulton (1975) shows that during the Fraser Glaciation the Nicola-Vernon area was covered by ice to a depth of at least 2,098 m (6,993 ft.).

3) Fraser Retreat

As already indicated the disappearance of the Fraser Ice Sheet from the Okanagan region probably took place relatively quickly over the period 11,000 to 9,000 years B.P. However, the nature of the retreat has proved somewhat contentious. Nasmith (1962), Mathews (1944) and Fulton (1967) envisage that the Okanagan was deglaciated primarily through a process of downwasting of stagnant ice masses. This view has been elaborated upon by Fulton (1967) who developed a four phase model of deglaciation based upon the phases of ice advance proposed by Davis and Mathews (1944). The first of



Extent of the Fraser Glaciation ice sheet in British Columbia and adjacent areas and the direction of major ice movements.

Fulton's phases of deglaciation — the active ice phase — was characterized by the thinning of ice over the uplands to the east and west of the Okanagan Valley. Ice still covered these areas to a considerable depth and was moving south since fresh ice was still being supplied by an ice dome located in the vicinity of the 52nd Parallel. The Transitional Upland Phase is marked by the appearance through the ice of the higher parts of the uplands. The Okanagan Valley was still occupied by active ice moving south at this time. The third or Stagnant Ice Phase saw the uplands ice free and dividing the once extensive ice sheet into a number of stagnant, practically inert, ice tongues occupying the Okanagan and its tributary valleys. The final, Dead-ice, phase was one in which blocks of inert ice occupied only the deeper parts of the valley.

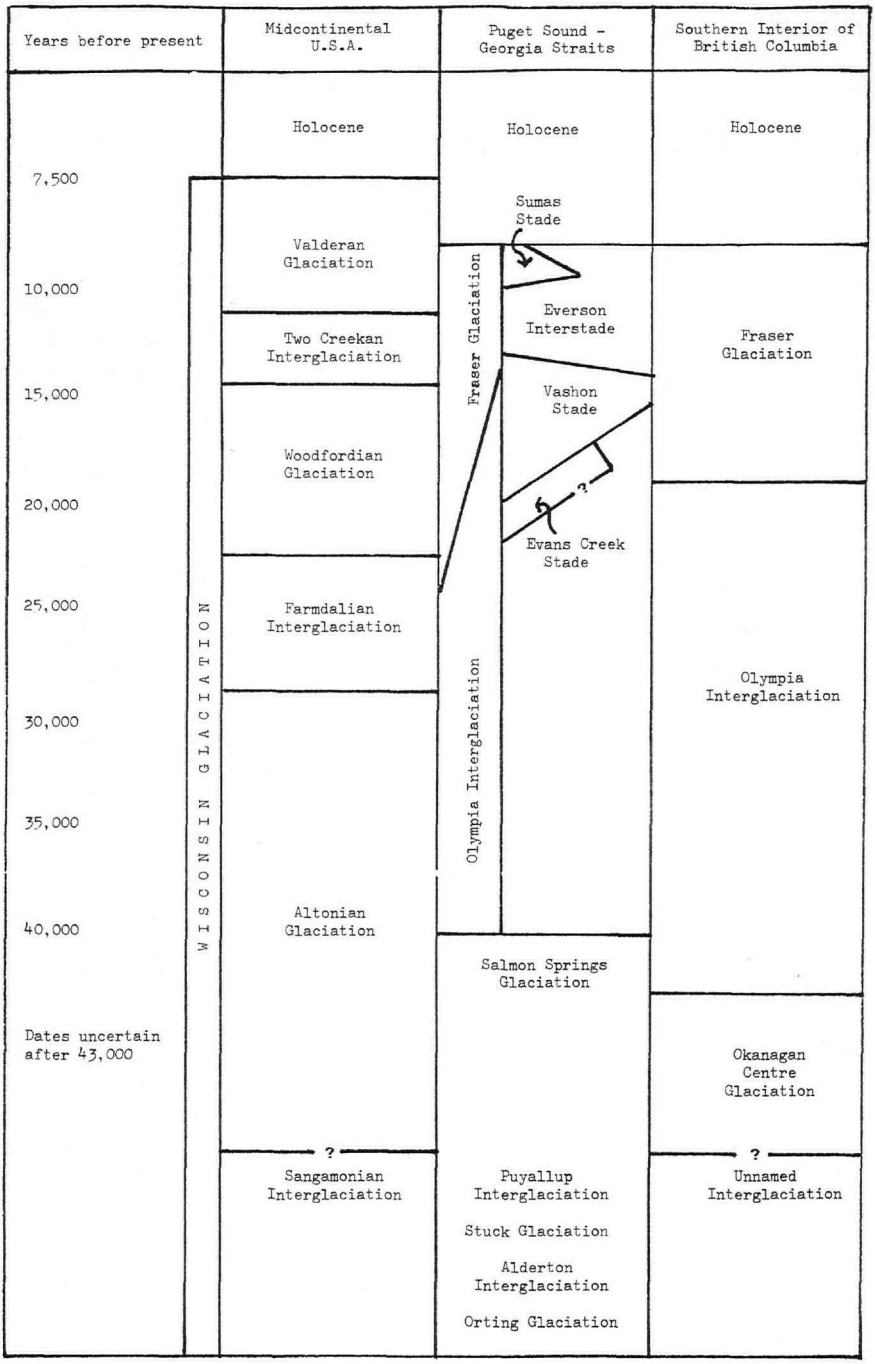
An alternative view of the events of the Fraser Deglaciation has been put forward by Tipper (1971). With respect to Central British Columbia, Tipper argues that an ice dome stagnating in situ as envisaged by Fulton did not exist but rather that there was a complex process of ice retreat, the regional details of which were conditioned by topography. However, he suggests that several large ice masses were left stranded as the active ice front rapidly retreated and that these separated blocks wasted away independently. If Tipper's interpretation is correct then the Okanagan/Shuswap district would have been occupied by one of these large, stagnant ice masses.

It is difficult to assess the relative merits of these two models of deglaciation since little comparative work has been done to date and the question of the possible presence of an ice dome over the southern and central Interior has not yet been settled. Kvill (1976), in his study of the glacial history of the Trout Creek Basin near Summerland, appears to be the only worker who has made any attempt, using field data, to assess the relative applicability to the Okanagan to these two models. Unfortunately, Kvill found no evidence which would clearly favour one model over the other. It is obvious, then, that the resolution of this problem will have to await further study.

Whatever the nature of the ice retreat there is no doubt that in its later stages it was associated with the development of glacial lakes along the edge, and in front, of the retreating or stagnant ice. In the Oliver-Osoyoos area Nasmith (1962) recognized silts and sandy silts laid down in Glacial Lake Oliver. The size and shape of Lake Oliver appears not to have been fixed, rather, it originated as ponds along the sides of the ice near the International Border and spread north and south of this line as the surface of the stagnant ice melted down.

Further north a blockage developed, possibly at McIntyre Bluff, which allowed the development of Glacial Lake Penticton. This glacial lake eventually extended northwards to unite with Glacial Lakes Shuswap and Thompson (Fulton, 1969; Mathews, 1944). It was in Glacial Lake Penticton that the layered silts (varved clays) found in many areas of Okanagan Valley, but perhaps best developed in the Naramata-Penticton-Summerland area, were laid down.[5] Where a sufficiently high enough outcrop is encountered it can be seen that there is a gradual fining upwards of the thickness of the annually deposited varves from 6 m (20 ft.) at the base to 2.5 cm (1 in.) at the top. This reflects the gradual decrease in sedimentation rates which resulted from a reduction in sediment availability as the ice wasted away northwards and eastwards.

Fulton (1975), Kvill (1976), Nasmith (1962) and Shaw (1975), amongst



Chronology of events during the Wisconsin Glaciation.

(Source: Armstrong et al., 1965; Fulton, 1975; Frye et al., 1965; Ryder, 1972)

others, have identified a wide range of depositional landforms and sediments in addition to the varved clays alluded to above. Much of the outwash material, kame terraces and deltas, kettled outwash and so on which cloak the bedrock of the Okanagan Valley were laid down during the Fraser Deglaciation. Erosional landforms associated with deglaciation were confined to the effects of the large amounts of meltwater that accompanied the wasting away of the Fraser Ice Sheet. Numerous meltwater channels, often with characteristic flat floors and steep sides, can be found on the middle and upper slopes of the valley and on the uplands surrounding the Okanagan.

The deglaciation phenomena mentioned above are much more common in the Okanagan than are the phenomena associated with glaciation. Apart from the gross alterations of the Tertiary cross section of the valley, the only other obvious glacially eroded features to be found include marked lineations of bedrock, such as in the vicinity of Squally Point on Okanagan Lake and local glacial polishing and rasping of bedrock.

4) Holocene

The boundary between the Pleistocene and the Holocene epochs in the Okanagan can probably be placed somewhat earlier than 8,400 years B.P. Alley has found evidence of a pollen assemblage, comprising pine, fir, spruce and western hemlock, in lake sediments underlying bog deposits north of Kelowna. The bog material was deposited 8,400 ± 100 y. B.P. (Alley, 1976). The presence of a variety of arboreal pollen means that the valley sides and uplands were colonized by vegetation at an earlier date, probably by the time Glacial Lake Penticton had drained, which, according to Fulton, had occurred by 8,900 y. B.P.

In the short period (a matter of a few hundred years) between deglaciation and colonization of the valley sides and uplands by vegetation, rates of erosion and sedimentation were probably much higher than those of present day. Mass wasting and fluvial and wind erosion were very active and the forms of the deposits laid down during glacial and late glacial times were considerably altered. The landforms which resulted from the deposition of the newly eroded material included large alluvial fans and deltas (Penticton, Kelowna and Vernon are in part situated on some of this material). Scattered along the floor of the Okanagan were accumulations of windblown silts and sands, and dunes. It would appear that by 6,000 y. B.P. this aeolian activity had ceased and the dunes and pockets of windblown material had become stabilized by vegetation (Alley, 1976).

Once vegetation had covered most of the glacial and postglacial deposits and slopes had been stabilized, erosion and deposition were probably slowed to rates approximating those of today. The Holocene also saw the developing of deposits of alluvium, rich in peat, in some of the moister, poorly drained sites. Saline salts and clays also developed, particularly in areas of internal drainage (these deposits are still forming in the southern part of the valley and good examples can be seen in the Richter Pass area northwest of Osoyoos).

More recently the effects of man as a geomorphic agent have become increasingly apparent. The waterproofing of large areas of the valley floor and sides by housing, tarmac and concrete have promoted increases in local rates of erosion and deposition. The rill and gully erosion which often result from this waterproofing process is becoming problematic. Increases in local water

percolation due to waterproofing and irrigation have also promoted mass wasting. Road and house construction has destablized many slopes and the resulting small scale landslips and slumps are both damaging and expensive. Finally man's irrigation of the varved glaciolacustrine sediments is causing a phenomenon called "piping erosion" which is creating increasing difficulties in the Naramata and Summerland areas (Fulton, 1975; Parker, 1963). These silts and clays become destabilized when wet and preferred underground drainage routes then develop. These pipes become enlarged and eventually the surface above the pipe collapses leaving a sinkhole. These sinkholes often coalesce over the years to form the kinds of large gullys which can be seen traversing the varved clays in the southern Okanagan.

Just as rates of erosion and deposition have varied through the Holocene so have climatic and vegetation conditions. Cooler, moister conditions than today characterized the early Holocene up to about 7,500 years B.P. In the Okanagan, lodgepole pine dominated the cooler, wetter valley sides and uplands, while ponderosa pine dominated the relatively drier valley floor. A warm, dry period followed which lasted until 6,600 years B.P. and which was characterized by a marked decrease in arboreal species and corresponding increase in the grasses and sage brush. The climate during the warm, dry period was probably analagous to that found in the extreme south of the Okanagan at the present time (Alley, 1976). The end of this postglacial thermal maximum is contemporaneous with the deposition of a layer of volcanic ash over the Okanagan. This ash, which appears throughout the valley as a band of whitish material 2 cm to 20 cm thick, was deposited when Mt. Mazama in Oregon erupted, forming what is now Crater Lake. This ash was

A view from Sage Mesa eastwards to Naramata. The white cliffs comprise glacio-lacustrine varved clays which were laid down in Glacial Lake, Penticton. In the foreground can be seen a series of sink holes cut in varved clay which have coalesced to form the head of a gully.

deposited over much of southern British Columbia, southern Alberta and southwest Saskatchewan (Westgate, et al., 1970; Wilcox, 1965).

Between the deposition of the Mazama Ash and the present there was a series of climatic fluctuations with conditions cooler and/or moister than those of the preceding part of the Holocene. During this wetter period the aeolian deposits (dunes, windblown sand and silt deposits) became anchored by vegetation. Alley (1976) has found evidence that there were three relatively moist periods (6,600 y. B.P. to 3,640 y. B.P.; 3,200 y. B.P. to 2,000 y. B.P.; 1,500 y. B.P. to present) during which birch, alder and hazel were the dominant arboreal species. The first intervening, relatively dry period lasted from 3,640 y. B.P. to 3,200 y. B.P. and the end of this period is stratigraphically marked by the presence of volcanic ash deposited by the eruption of Mt. St. Helens. The second drier period lasted from 2,000 y. B.P. to 1,500 y. B.P. and like the former drier period, saw a relative increase in the number of pine and spruce in the valley and a corresponding decrease in birch, alder and Douglas fir. These climatic and vegetative fluctuations appear not to have occurred in isolation from the rest of British Columbia nor, indeed, in isolation from the rest of North America. Rather, they appear to correlate reasonably well with the fluctuations in climate over the whole of North America which brought about a series of significant advances and retreats of alpine and mountain glaciers in the last 6,000 years or so (Porter and Denton, 1967).

Most of the soils in the Okanagan undoubtably developed in the last thousand years or so and represent an adjustment to the relatively moist, cool climatic conditions and the vegetative conditions of the latter part of the Holocene. Also, the extant soils have developed in response to variations in slope, drainage, and aspect (Kelley and Spilsburg, 1949). Some relict soils from the time of the Holocene thermal maximum may well have been preserved by being buried by aeolian deposits which have been anchored by vegetation.

SUMMARY

It has been seen that the landscape of the Okanagan is the product of a considerable period of geologic and geomorphic activity. However, the broad dimensions of the valley were finally established during the Tertiary. The Tertiary landscape was then modified by the erosive activities of ice moving southward during the Pleistocene. The final retreat of the Cordilleran Ice Sheet at the end of the Fraser Glaciation furnished large amounts of gravel, sand and silt which were deposited on the bottom and sides of the Okanagan Valley. These sediments were subsequently modified during the Holocene by fluvial, aeolian and mass wasting processes and relatively recently have developed soils in their surface layers. It is these sediments which man has colonized and utilized for his settlement, agriculture, industry and transport systems.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Read, P. B. and Okulitch, A. V. in "The Triassic Unconformity of South-central British Columbia," *Can. J. Earth Sci.*, 14, 1977, pp. 606-638 have clarified some of the confusion surrounding the timing of events in the Okanagan. Previous workers have prepared maps showing indecision over the chronology of some of the older rocks to the west of the Okanagan: Jones, A. G., *Vernon Map Area, British Columbia.* Ottawa: Geol. Surv. Can., Memoir 296,

1959, Map. 1059A; Little, H. W., *Kettle River (West Half), British Columbia.* Ottawa: Geol. Surv. Can., Map 15-1961, 1961; Bostock, H. S., *Map of Hedley Area, B. C.* Ottawa: Geol. Surv. Can., 1940, Map 584A; *Map of Keremeos, B. C.* Ottawa: Geol. Surv. Can., 1940, Map 341A; *Map of Olalla Area, B. C.* Ottawa: Geol. Surv. Can., 1941, Map 628A; *Map of Okanagan Falls Area, B. C.* Ottawa: Geol. Surv. Can., 1940, Map 627A.

[2] Holland, S. S., *Landforms of British Columbia: A Physiographic Outline.* Victoria: Dept. Mines, Pet. Res., Bulletin No. 48, 1964, p. 75 characterizes the early Tertiary surface as being "mature."

[3] An excellent account of a small area of these Tertiary rocks can be found in Church, B. N., *Geology of the White Lake Basin.* Victoria: Dept. Mines Pet. Res., Bulletin 61, 1973.

[4] For a more complete discussion of these phenomena see, for example, Flint, R. F., *Glacial and Quaternary Geology.* New York: Wiley, 1971, and Bird, J. B., *The Natural Landscapes of Canada.* Toronto: Wiley, 1972. A more up-to-date account can be found in D. E. Sugden, and John G. S., *Glaciers and Landscape: A Geomorphological Approach.* London: Edward Arnold, 1976.

[5] Readers wishing a more comprehensive account of these varved clays should consult R. F. Flint, " 'White-Silt' Deposits in the Okanagan Valley, British Columbia," *Roy. Soc. Can. Proceedings and Transactions.* Series 3, 29, 1935, pp. 107-114 and R. J. Fulton, "Silt Deposition in Late-Glacial Lakes of Southern British Columbia," *Am. J. Sci.*, 263, 1965, pp. 553-570.

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Tugulnuit Lake, north of Oliver. The lake occupies part of the Okanagan River flood plain while the orchards are growing on sediments laid down by the Okanagan River in late glacial times. In the orchard area many old river channels and stream-cut terraces can be found. In the middle distance pronounced outwash terraces can be seen.

OPPORTUNITY LOST: A HISTORY OF OKANAGAN INDIAN RESERVES IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Duane Thomson

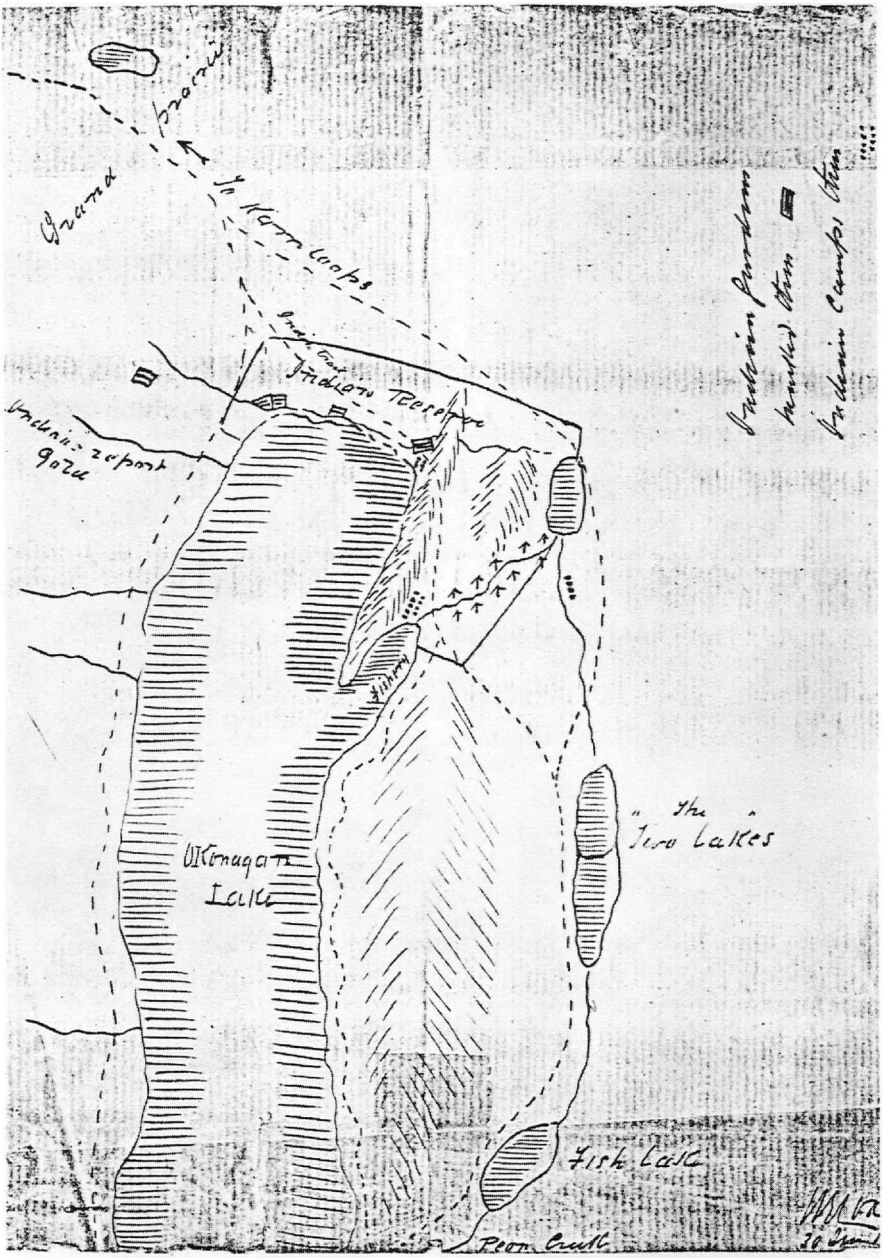
The colonial period in British Columbia, 1858 to 1871, was a critical time for the Okanagan Indians[1] as they faced an onslaught of whites who had come to mine for gold or who coveted the land which the Indians regarded as their own. Initially the Indians appeared to have succeeded in preserving enough of their traditional lands to maintain and improve their economic position and to complete the transition from semi-nomadic hunter and gatherer to stock-raiser and agriculturalist. Pressures from government representatives, however, reduced their lands to the point where it was impossible to compete successfully with white settlers even if they had been able to acquire the skills and equipment necessary to be successful cattlemen. The first reduction occurred in 1865. Despite recurrent expressions of discontent and successive commissions to deal with the issue sufficient lands were never restored to the Okanagan Indians.

James Douglas, Governor of the Colony of British Columbia from 1858 until 1864, had an amazingly enlightened attitude toward native peoples. His policy was only partially determined by his instructions which urged him to extend the hand of the protector to the Indian people. The Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote:

> Her Majesty's Government earnestly wishes that when the advancing requirements of colonization press upon lands occupied by members of that race, measures of liberality and justice may be adopted in compensating them for the surrender of the territory which they had been taught to regard as their own.[2]

Douglas had had considerable previous experience with Indian people in his years in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, as Governor of Vancouver's Island and as an interested observer of the Indian wars in Washington in 1855-56. Writing about the Indians of Vancouver Island he recognized that they had "distinct ideas about property in land" and would "regard the occupation of such portions of the colony by white settlers, unless with the full consent of the proprietary tribes, as national wrongs."[3] He wished to avoid at all costs the "numberless evils which naturally follow in the train of every course of national injustice, and . . . having the native Indian tribes arrayed in vindictive warfare against white settlements."[4] Douglas' objective was to protect the Indians from injustice, to encourage their self-reliance and successful transition to agricultural pursuits and at the same time to allow a peaceful and orderly settlement of the colony. Such a goal necessitated settlement of the Indian land question in advance of colonization.

With the advent of the gold rush in 1858 the Indians of British Columbia were confronted with an influx of miners, cattle drovers, packers and settlers, to the extent that they could only have viewed it as an invasion of their homelands. The Okanagans were among the first to feel the impact as it was through their territory that the miners trekked to the Cariboo, using the old Hudson's Bay Company brigade trail. The extent of the traffic is revealed in the reports of W. G. Cox, J. P. For example, in May 1860 he reported from Kamloops that thirty pack trains averaging twenty animals each had arrived and that Joel Palmer's train of 150 packed animals and a number of wagons was expected.[5] By 27 April 1861,[6] one thousand head had crossed the inter-



Sketch map of W. G. Cox, showing boundaries of the Head of the Lake Reserve, Indian and H.B.C. trails, village sites, garden plots and the fishery. Dated 30 June 1861.

national boundary that year and Cox was expecting to see five thousand head plus a good many packed animals. Nor was the activity limited to persons seeking passage through Okanagan territory. The Okanagan was part of the area generally regarded as being auriferous and groups of miners were active throughout the valley. In 1861 Rock Creek had a census of 123 white people,[7] most of whom were engaged in mining. There were numerous preemptions at or near the Mission by the spring of 1861[8] and mining activity occurred at Mission Creek, the head of the lake and in the Cherry Creek area.

Relations between the Indians and whites never broke down completely; the Okanagan Indians refused to join the Thompson Indians or those from Spokane in warfare against the miners, viewing themselves rather as allies of the Queen.[9] But violent confrontations were inevitable between the Indians and the miners, who Robin Fisher describes as men "cut loose from the ties and restraints of established societies" and "intolerant of anything that stood in their way."[10] Fisher documents a case where a company of miners "destroyed the winter provisions of an unattended Indian village on the shores of Okanagan Lake" and the subsequent "massacre of a group of unarmed Indians by the miners."[11] The HBC Kamloops journal for 28 December 1860 notes that a cattle party had "serious difficulty with the Indians at Okanagan Lake."[12] The Cox correspondence for 1861 reveals incidents of a cattle drover stealing an Indian woman,[13] and an Indian stealing blankets, clothes and cattle from two cattle dealers,[14] both of which incidents were settled in typical frontier fashion. An Indian youth was lynched without trial after confessing to the murder of a French miner.[15] An armed skirmish in March 1861 resulted in the deaths of five Indians and three miners near the Pend d'Oreille River after which Cox wrote that "nearly all the Indian difficulties originate in foolhardiness and brutality on the part of the whites who I fear will never know what a little prudence and forbearance in such matters can effect."[16] Cox was later to despair that, "as for endeavouring to enlist the goodwill of the American or Irish toward the Indian, I believe it to be a fallacy."[17]

When a dispute threatened between miners and the Indians at the head of Okanagan Lake Cox, now the Assistant Commissioner of Lands and Works, wrote to Colonel Moody, R. E., the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, for instructions regarding marking out Indian reservations.[18] While waiting for his instructions he held a lengthy interview with "Zelahetza" the Okanagan chief, to determine his views.[19] The text of the letter in response to his query is worth examining as Cox's authority was later challenged. Moody wrote, "I have received instructions from His Excellency the Governor to . . . request that you will mark out distinctly all the Indian Reserves in your district and define their extent as they may be severally pointed out by the Indians themselves."[20]

Cox travelled to the head of the lake and prominently marked out the reserve on 1 June 1861. In a letter he justified the reserve boundaries by stating that "the Indians appeared well satisfied, having selected the ground themselves and also named the extent desired by them."[21] The reserve was an excellent one. The Indians chose good bottomland, at the head of the lake, in the valley leading to the east arm of Okanagan Lake and in the valley around Swan Lake from the debouchment of the present BX Creek around the west side of the lake to include the rich flatlands to the north. A further letter[22] contained a sketch map of the Head of the Lake Reserve indicating

the village sites, garden plots, the fishery and the site of the reported gold strike. Cox's map is admittedly rough and contains minor inaccuracies, but the general features of the reservation are unmistakable and are verified by two other maps drawn within five years, one by Charles Houghton[23] and the other by J. C. Haynes after he had examined the reserve with Chief Tonasket.[24]

Although no record or map may be found in the Cox papers or elsewhere, Cox undoubtedly laid out the Penticton Reserve that same summer. It has been described by numerous contemporary correspondents as a Cox reserve[24] and the Indians claimed it under his authority. It certainly had all of the earmarks of a Cox reserve as it included all of the bottomland between Dog (Skaha) Lake and Lake Okanagan. It was described as possessing land which was "about the best in the country, both for stock raising or for cultivation, the soil being good and the place well sheltered from storms."[25]

The size and nature of the Okanagan reserves granted by Cox was to become an issue within five years. Elsewhere in the province, when asked to choose a reserve, the Indians were very modest in their demands; they chose to protect berry patches, garden plots, village sites and burial grounds. In no case were these reserves more than ten acres per family.[26] Indian demands were so minimal that Douglas had the Colonial Secretary instruct Moody, the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, that "in all cases where the land pointed out by the Indians appears to the officer employed on the service to be inadequate for their support, a larger area is at once to be set apart."[27] The Indians of the Interior were not nearly so modest.[28] The Okanagans claimed "nearly all the agricultural lands situated about the head of the lake, as well as that on the south end."[29] Haynes later stated that together the reserves comprised twenty square miles (or approximately 12,800 acres).[30] Cox himself noted that the Head of the Lake Reserve included "about 1000 acres of rich tillable land independent of a large tract of grazing land — in some parts it is well timbered."[31]

The Okanagan (and Thompson) Indians knew the value of agricultural land. They cultivated patches of corn and tobacco[32] and had engaged in stock raising for years prior to the coming of the miners and settlers. The Okanagans were wealthy in stock, owning large herds of horses and "a good many head of cattle."[33] They had wintered cattle for cattle dealers in exchange for trade goods such as guns and ammunition and over the years had observed numerous herds in need of pasturage en route to the Hudson's Bay Company forts[34] or to the goldfields. As they were experienced stock raisers they placed a great value on land which provided the best pasturage, especially as winter range. They valued the land for the same reasons as their newly arrived competitors who were to use the land only slightly more intensively in their stock-raising operations by applying limited capital to the land. When asked to define their boundaries they chose land of the quality and extent that would allow development of good-sized stock ranches at the foot and head of Lake Okanagan.[35] The Okanagan Indians were not caught in ignorance, unaware of the value of their lands. The lands that they chose would have supported them had they been allowed to retain them.[36]

John Carmichael Haynes replaced Magistrate Cox as the Queen's representative in the Okanagan after Cox was promoted to Assistant Gold Commissioner for Cariboo West.[37] Haynes originally served as a police constable

but was appointed Deputy Collector of Customs in 1862,[38] commissioned as a Justice of the Peace in 1864,[39] and appointed a Member of the Legislative Council that same year. He sat for two sessions, his first from 12 December 1864 to 11 April 1865. Haynes was responsible for matters as diverse as collecting and recording border revenues, collecting fees from miners, providing information on climate, immigration and mineral discoveries, keeping the peace, recording preemptions and dealing with Indians. Haynes held awesome legal authority and responsibility in the vast Okanagan and border regions as well as the Kootenays on occasion.

Undoubtedly discussions were held with other government officials and prospective settlers[40] while Haynes was in New Westminster because the Legislative Council was still sitting when Haynes wrote to the Colonial Secretary claiming that he had heard complaints from potential settlers that the Indians held nearly all of the best land in the Okanagan. While he considered the reserves "much too large" he did not "deem it advisable to dispossess the Indians without compensation."[41] Birch's minute on Haynes' letter indicated that he, the Colonial Secretary, did prefer to dispossess the Indians without compensation as the reserves were "out of all proportion." He requested further information. Upon arrival in the Okanagan Haynes inspected the reserves with Tonasket, a chief of the Okanagans, and probably Thomas Ellis. He considered the reserves "much too large as the natives occupy land in several other places and remain on the reserves but for a short time in each year."[42] He felt confident that he could reduce the reserves at small expense.

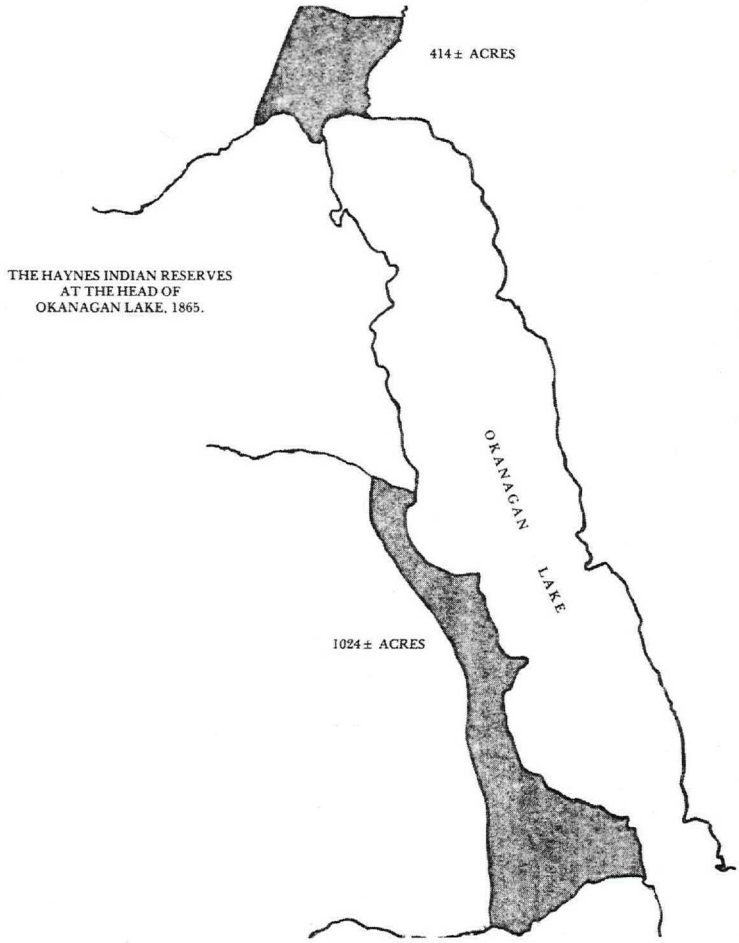
Haynes received authorization to diminish the reserves if the steps could be taken without giving too much dissatisfaction to the Indians.[43] A surveyor was needed and co-incidentally J. Turnbull, a surveyor returning from an exploratory trip to the Columbia River, arrived at Osoyoos over the newly constructed Dewdney Trail on 7 November 1865. Turnbull was persuaded to accompany Haynes and together with Chief Tonasket they travelled to Penticton, then to the head of the lake for the purpose of reducing the reserves. Houghton, a settler in the North Okanagan, also accompanied them to the Head of the Lake Reserve. Writing from his camp at the head of the lake Haynes informed the Chief Commissioner of Lands that he had completed his task and that sections of the reserves should be listed in *The Government Gazette* as open for settlement.[44] Turnbull prepared a map and forwarded it to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works along with his report.[45] While this map has been misplaced, the surveyor's description has survived[46] and is the basis of the reconstructed map appearing with this paper.

The Penticton Reserve was reduced to the area between Dog Lake and Okanagan Lake bounded on the east by the Okanagan River and on the west by the base of the mountains. It comprised 842 acres and excluded the most valuable land on the former reserve, perhaps because the Indians preferred the heavily timbered land on the west side. The second and third reserves comprising 1500 and 1100 acres respectively were described by Turnbull:

> The next reserve is situated on the west bank of the lake, commencing about 2¾ miles from the head, and running south about 3½ miles. It is bounded on the south by the creek (shown on sketch), to the east by the lake, to the west by the hillside, and on the north by the creek running into the lake, about three miles from the head.
>
> The last reserve, which is situated immediately at the head of the lake, is a spendid

tract of low bottom land, with dark loamy soil, excellent feed, and surrounded on all sides by low rolling bunch grass hills and benches. Its boundaries are as follows: To the south by the lake, to the west by the creek, up to the point where the trail crosses it, then by a line running north 60° east by compass for one mile, terminating immediately above the small lake (shown on sketch), next by a line bearing S.30° East, for 30 chains to the foot of low rolling hill; from latter point by line bearing S.47° East for about 33 chains, until striking the creek about one mile from the lake; the latter creek there forms its eastern boundary.[47]

The lands of the Okanagan Indians had been reduced by the Queen's representative despite a previous agreement with an authorized magistrate acting under instructions from Governor Douglas. Haynes and the government that he represented gave no thought to allowing the Indians to retain enough land to establish viable ranching operations. While white settlers began to acquire vast acreages the reserves were reduced drastically. No compensation was given and there was little perceived dissatisfaction, at least initially.



The Turnbull map has been reconstructed by Peter Tassie and Randy Rose of Vernon, who estimate the acreage of the two reserves at the head of the lake to be 1438 acres. There is an obvious discrepancy between Turnbull's estimate of acreage (1500 and 1100) and his description.

The reasons for the initial acquiescence to the demands of Haynes are complex. The loose band organization and absence of one effective and vigorous chief was evident. Zelahetza, the chief with whom Cox had dealt, had chosen a reserve for himself in the Nicola Valley and thereafter had little to do with Okanagan reserves. J. C. Haynes worked through Tonasket, a chief from the international boundary area who was not personally interested in the northern reserves. The presence and prestige of old N'Kwala was probably important in establishing the west side reserve near his wintering home, but he obviously was unable to insist upon the retention of all of the large reserve at the head of the lake. N'Kwala is known to have divided his time between the Nicola (from Nicolas or N'Kwala) and the Head of the Lake and may, in fact, have been absent at the time.

The Okanagan Indians were ill-prepared to withstand the government pressure. The Indians of the Interior had been seriously affected by a smallpox epidemic in 1862-3.[48] This fact undoubtedly affected their group cohesion and morale and made them vulnerable to the claim that they had little need for the acreage they had originally claimed. Probably more important was their view of themselves as loyal allies under the protection of Queen Victoria. Haynes arrived with the full weight of the Queen's authority accompanied by two recently discharged imperial officers, Turnbull and Houghton. It is unknown what arguments he used but other government negotiators were certainly prepared to disavow the authority of former colonial representatives[49] and to deny that the Indians ever owned the land. It was undoubtedly difficult for them to challenge Haynes' authority.

The Haynes reserves were not long accepted by the Okanagan Indians. Discontent swelled until armed rebellion was seriously considered and their case was impossible to ignore.[50] Perhaps this is why the Haynes reserves were never gazetted. In any event, they were superceded by enlarged reserves granted by the Sproat Commission which subsequently were reduced by Commissioner O'Reilly, by the McKenna-McBride Commission and by a variety of other bodies. The history of the Okanagan reserves was to be tortuous and the question has not yet been settled to the Indians' satisfaction.

The Indian Reservations established by Haynes had no lasting significance because they were superceded by reservations with different boundaries. What is significant is the willingness of the local magistrate, with the blessing of the colonial government, to encroach on Indian land as the settlement frontier moved to the Okanagan and the inability of the Indians to resist that encroachment. The Haynes reserve of 1865 set the pattern and Indians were to face recurrent pressures from settlers and settler-dominated governments in the years that followed. The Haynes action was a turning point in the history of the Okanagan as it precluded the establishment of viable ranching operations by Indians[51] and provided the bottom land so essential in the development of many of the pioneer ranches of the Okanagan.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For a discussion of the impact of the whites on the Indians of British Columbia see the excellent study reviewed elsewhere in this *Report,* Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1744-1890* (Vancouver: U.B.C. Press, 1977). For an examination of provincial land alienation policies see Robert E. Cail, *Land, Man and the Law* (Vancouver: U.B.C. Press, 1974).

[2] Carnarvon to Douglas, 11 April 1859, B. C., *Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question 1850-1875* (Victoria: Wolfenden, 1875), p. 18.

[3] Douglas to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 25 March 1861, B. C., *Papers on Indian Land,* p. 19.

[4] Douglas to Lytton, 14 March 1859, B. C., *Papers on Indian Land,* p. 16.

[5] Extract of a letter from Cox dated Kamloops, 1 May 1860, file F374, PABC.

[6] Cox to Young, 27 April 1861, file F375, PABC.

[7] Town of Rock Creek Census, 1861, enclosure in Cox to Young, 14 April 1861, file F375, PABC. Also see B. C., *Blue Book,* 1861.

[8] Return of the preempted lands recorded with W. G. Cox Esq., Magistrate, enclosure in Cox to Young, 14 April 1861, file F375, PABC and Cox to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 9 August 1862, file F377, PABC.

[9] See Marie Houghton Brent, "Indian Lore," *The Thirtieth Report* of the Okanagan Historical Society (1966), pp. 105-113, and Cox to Young, 17 July 1861, and 19 August 1861, file F376, PABC.

[10] Fisher, *Contact and Conflict,* p. 98.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 98-9.

[12] F. W. Laing, "Some Pioneers of the Cattle Industry," *BCHQ.* October, 1942, p. 261.

[13] Cox to Moody, 12 February, 1861, file F375, PABC.

[14] Cox to Young, 19 August 1861, file F376, PABC.

[15] Cox to Young, 4 July 1861, file F376, PABC.

[16] Cox to Good, 29 March 1861 and 30 March 1861, file F375, PABC.

[17] Cox to Young, 6 April 1862, file F377, PABC.

[18] Cox to Moody, 12 February 1861, B. C., *Papers on Indian Land,* p. 21.

[19] Cox to Young, 12 February 1861, file F375, PABC.

[20] Moody to Cox, 6 March 1861, B. C., *Papers on Indian Land,* p. 21.

[21] Cox to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 17 June 1861, file F375, PABC.

[22] Cox to Douglas, 4 July 1861, file F375, PABC.

[23] Houghton to CSO, 17 February 1864, file F799, PABC.

[24] Haynes to Colonial Secretary, 27 May 1865, B. C. Colonial Secretary's Correspondence re Indian Reserves, PABC.

[25] Turnbull's journal entry, 15 November 1861, B. C., *Columbia River Exploration, 1865* (New Westminster: Government Printing Office, 1866). pp. 33-34.

[26] See for example Douglas to Powell, Indian Commissioner, re Indian Lands, 14 October 1874, quoted in Cail, p. 302.

[27] Young to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 11 May 1863, B. C., *Papers on Indian Land,* p. 28.

[28] Cox travelled to the Thompson Valley and engaged in laying out reserves. He reported marking the Bonaparte reserves, a reserve at Kamloops and another midway between Kamloops and the lake ferry. See file F377, PABC, for correspondence, descriptions and maps.

[29] Turnbull's Report, 17 January 1866, B. C., *Papers on Indian Land,* p. 35.

[30] Haynes to Colonial Secretary, 27 May 1865, B. C., Colonial Secretary's Correspondence re Indian Lands, PABC.

[31] Map of Head of Lake Indian Reserve by Cox, B. C., Royal Engineer Letterbook, PABC.

[32] According to Marie Houghton Brent, Chief N'Kwala cultivated crops under the guidance of the Hudson's Bay Company. See Brent, OHS *Report,* pp. 105-113. The Cox map also indicates the existence of gardens at the head of the lake.

[33] See Brent, OHS *Report,* p. 108, and also Douglas to Powell, 14 October 1874, in Cail, p. 302.

[34] For example, David Douglas reported travelling through the Okanagan with a cattle party as early as 1833.

[35] A ten square mile (6,400 acres) reservation was approximately the same size as a number of ranches which were soon to develop in the Okanagan, including the B.X. Ranch, but it was smaller than the O'Keefe, Greenhow and Vernon ranches. The ten square mile reserve at Penticton was dwarfed by the Ellis Ranch which eventually comprised nearly 40,000 acres plus tens of thousands of acres of leased government rangelands. The Harper Ranch in Kamloops grew to 38,572 acres by 1888. See F. W. Laing, "Some Pioneers of the Cattle Industry," *BCHQ.* October 1942, p. 267; Eric Sismey, "Penticton's Ellis Era," *The Daily Colonist* 13 March 1966, pp. 6-7; and Sproat to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Canada, *Sessional Papers* (No. 10) 1878, pp. xix-lxxiv.

[36] The lands which were cut off formed the basis of the Ellis ranch in Penticton and contributed to the lands of many pioneer ranches in the North Okanagan, including those of O'Keefe, Greenhow, Tronson and Houghton.

[37] Young to Cox, 6 April 1863, B. C., Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, Miscellaneous Letters, PABC.

[38] Young to Haynes, 20 February 1862, B. C., Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, Miscellaneous Letters, Sept. 1862—Nov. 1862, PABC.

[39] Birch to Haynes, 13 June 1864, B. C., Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, Nov. 1863—Sept. 1864, PABC.

[40] Probably Haynes met with Ellis and McFarlane because they arrived in New Westminster on 14 March 1865 while the Legislative Council was in session. Later Haynes took Ellis on a trip to the head of the lake. See Ellis Diary, March-May 1865, PABC.

[41] Haynes to Colonial Secretary, 7 April 1865, file F741, PABC.

[42] Haynes to Colonial Secretary, 27 May 1865, B. C., Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward re Indian Reserves.

[43] See CSO to Haynes, 12 June 1865, B. C., Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward re Indian Lands, PABC; Haynes to Colonial Secretary, 22 July 1865, file F741, PABC; and Good to Haynes, 10 August 1865, B. C., Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, Miscellaneous Letters, p. 139, PABC.

[44] Haynes to Colonial Secretary, 28 November 1865, in F52 B77.3, PABC.

[45] The map has been lost but a copy was made and sent to the Colonial Secretary. See Trutch to Colonial Secretary, 5 February 1866, in B. C., *Papers on Indian Land,* p. 34.

[46] Turnbull's Report, 17 January 1866, B. C., *Papers on Indian Land,* pp. 35-6.

[47] *Ibid.,* p. 35-6.

[48] Young to Brew, 19 May 1862, and Young to Gaggin, 31 January 1863, B. C., Colonial Secretary Correspondence Outward, Miscellaneous Letters, Sept. 1861 — Nov. 1863. Also see various A. L. Fortune reminiscences. It is interesting to note that what the Indians describe as a plague of major proportions was not even mentioned in the Haynes correspondence.

[49] For example see Colonial Secretary to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 6 November 1867, in B. C., *Papers on Indian Land,* p. 45.

[50] The Indian discontent and the resulting activities of the Sproat Commission were examined in Robin Fisher, "An Exercise in Futility: The Joint Commission on Indian Land in British Columbia., 1875-1880," *Forty-first Report* of the Okanagan Historical Society (1977), pp. 8-19. See also Fisher, *Contact and Conflict,* pp. 175-211.

[51] Indians were not allowed to preempt or purchase land except by special permission and it was not the policy of the government to grant such permission. See Father Grandidier to Editor of the *Victoria Standard,* 28 August 1874, B. C., *Papers on Indian Land,* p. 147; Fisher, *Contact and Conflict,* pp. 146-74; and CSO to Sanders, 16 March 1868, Colonial Secretary Correspondence Outward, Jan. 1867—Dec. 1870, PABC.

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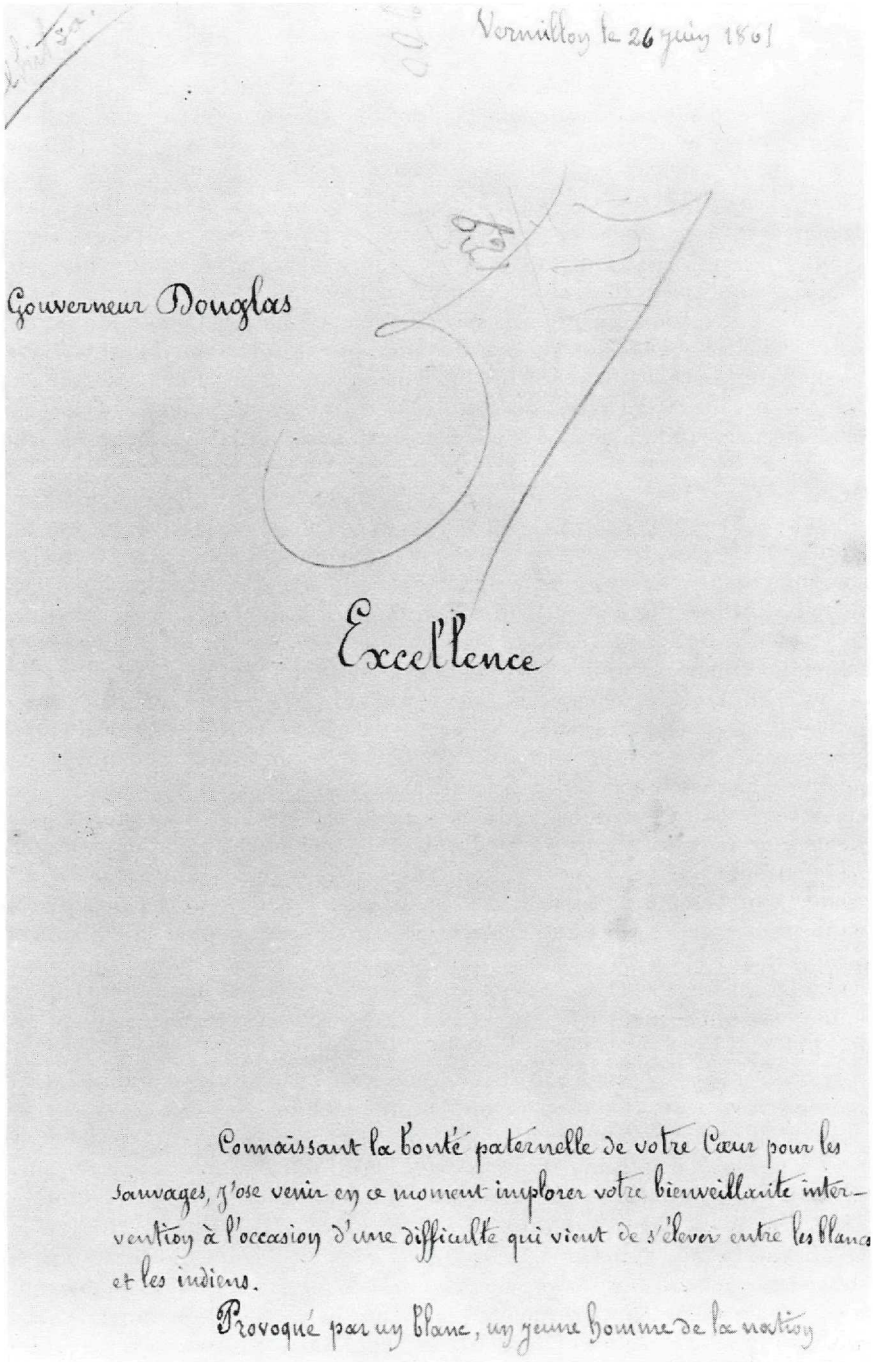
SILHITZA'S PETITION TO GOVERNOR JAMES DOUGLAS

Reuben Ware

Lynchings are more commonly associated with the turbulent frontier of the American West and the racial crisis of the American South than with the calm exterior of the British presence on the Northwest Coast. Yet colonial society in British Columbia was turbulent enough, especially for Indian people who saw their land rights ignored, their communities' land base (early Indian reserves) reduced to tiny fragments, and their human and civil rights denied. These were as much the result of official policy of the colonial government as of rowdy actions of California miners and were part of an historical process for Indian communities that included new economic forces, disease, dwindling and shifting populations, prostitution and intermarriage, alcoholism, and religious controversy. The establishment of colonial rule and the social dislocation resulting from it were the underpinnings of a racial crisis between Indian and white in British Columbia that was unsettled and persistent, even if at times covert. Indian relations with gold miners, missionaries, settlers, government officials, and other elements of colonial society must be seen in this context, as it was a context in which a lynching was understandable and, from a contemporary white point of view, functional. Unfortunately there has been no analysis of the social and psychological patterns of Indian-white relations in British Columbia, but the lynching documented in Chief Silhitza's[1] petition was a logical consequence of the racial attitudes of whites and the social milieu of colonial British Columbia.

Certainly by the early 1860's the ingredients for such an incident existed in the lands of the Okanagan people.[2] Between 1855 and 1858 Okanagans had participated, along with other Interior Salish tribes, in a bitter war against white encroachments on their lands in Washington Territoty.[3] Later there were a series of violent incidents along the overland route to the gold fields from Fort Colville to Kamloops. In 1858 Tonasket and a group of Okanagans fought against and exacted tribute from whites passing along this route.[4] Further north, some Penticton Indians objected to the presence of white settlers and the establishment of the Oblate mission at Okanagan Lake.[5] In 1860 there was trouble in the Okanagan valley between whites and Indians over horses.[6] Despite William G. Cox's assurances that other than the killing and subsequent lynching of June 1861 no "outrage or assault of any nature" had been "committed between . . . whitemen and Indians" since he had been magistrate at Rock Creek, one must conclude that the racial situation was volatile, complicated, and unpredictable.[7]

Upon receiving Silhitza's letter, Governor Douglas asked Cox for a report and Cox's communications provide more information about the incident.[8] Pierre Cherbart, a native of France, was killed on the night of June 13, 1861 near Rock Creek and on the 19th an inquest held by Cox charged an Okanagan Indian from Colville, Saul alias "Charlie," with wilfull murder. In the meantime Saul was staying near Osoyoos Lake at an Okanagan encampment which was perhaps under the influence of Tonasket. From the camp, apparently on the American side of the boundary, Saul was captured and held in custody without a warrant by white settlers of the Osoyoos Lake area.[9] After a confession was extracted from him, Saul was hanged on the 20th without trial and presumably before news of the inquest arrived from Rock



Vermillon le 26 juin 1861

Gouverneur Douglas

Excellence

Connaissant la bonté paternelle de votre Cœur pour les sauvages, j'ose venir en ce moment implorer votre bienveillante intervention à l'occasion d'une difficulté qui vient de s'élever entre les blancs et les indiens.

Provoqué par un blanc, un jeune homme de la nation

These photographs have been printed with the permission of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

Okanagan a tué son adversaire, il s'est lui-même dénoncé auprès des gens de sa tribu, et les Américains ayant eu presque aussitôt connaissance du fait sont allés en armes attaquer le camp, qui, à leur arrivée a pris la fuite; mais le coupable est tombé entre leurs mains, ils l'ont pendu vers les huit heures du matin et n'est mort qu'après-midi, ayant pendant tout ce temps-là souffert les plus atroces tortures, car les Américains se sont faits un jeu de ses tourments.

Excellence.

Je ne viens point plaider et je ne plaiderai jamais la cause des coupables, mais mon cœur saigne en voyant de quelle manière la justice nous est rendue. Si le coupable eut été pris par les autorités, jugez selon les règles, le camp entier serait aller prendre une leçon auprès du gibet; mais des hommes sans mission nous saisissent et nous mettent à mort sans procès, lorsque Mr Cox est ici votre représentant et sans qu'il ait instruit l'affaire; voilà, Excellence, ce qui fait saigner mon cœur, ce qui provoque la colère de toute la nation qui, déjà a couru aux armes. J'ai tâché de calmer l'insurrection en assurant que j'allais recourir à votre tendre bonté, persuadé que vous donnerez à Mr Cox des instructions à ce sujet, si déjà il ne les a pas.

Dans cette ferme persuasion, j'ai l'honneur d'être

de votre Excellence

le très humble et obéissant serviteur

+ Selhitsa chef des Okanagan

Translation by Giselle Chritchley

Governor Douglas

Your Excellency

Knowing the paternal interest and benevolence of your heart with regard to the Indians, I dare, at this time to implore your kind-hearted intervention on the occasion of a difficulty which has arisen between the white men and the Indians.

Incited by a white man, a young man of the Okanagan nation killed his adversary (but then) gave himself up to the people of his tribe. The Americans heard of the fact and came almost immediately with arms to attack the camp which fled. The guilty man fell into their hands and he was hanged towards eight o'clock in the morning. He didn't die until the afternoon having suffered the most atrocious tortures at the hands of Americans who made a game of it.

Your Excellency

I do not come to argue and I will not ever argue or plead the cause of the guilty but my heart is heavy on seeing the manner in which justice is delivered to us. If the guilty man had been taken by the authorities, judged according to the rules, the entire camp would have learned a lesson at the gallows; but men without a warrant apprehend us and execute us without trial when Mr. Cox, your representative, is here and he has not even prepared a trial. There you are, Your Excellency, that is what makes my heart bleed, that is what rouses the anger of all the Okanagan tribe which has already taken up arms. I tried to quiet the insurrection by assuring them that I would have recourse to your kindness, persuaded as I am that you will give Mr. Cox instructions on the subject, if (indeed) you have not already done so.

In that firm belief, I have the honour to be your Excellency's

Very humble and obedient servant.

Silhitza, Chief of the Okanagan

Creek.[10] There was no attempt to apprehend the lynchers, no charges were laid against them, and there is no record of an inquest into Saul's death. Douglas commented on the case as presented to him by Cox that, "this report of the circumstances is satisfactory."[11]

Some might argue that this case is atypical of early British Columbia and that Matthew Begbie's alleged even-handed administration of justice better reflects British Columbia's colonial society than does an outrage committed by "American" gold miners, but British Columbia has always been the most "American" of Canada's provinces. American traits are part of British Columbia's social and political heritage and the fact that this is reflected in the province's race relations should come as no surprise. Lynching was part of the pattern of frontier race relations and it infected British Columbia as well as other parts of North America.

Neither should there be surprise at officialdom's failure to rectify the outrage. One can be sure that if Indians residing in Washington Territory had arrested and hung a British subject for an alleged offense, the reaction of the colonial government would have been quite different. The racism of this contradiction necessitates a more searching analysis of the lynching and makes it difficult to dismiss it as an aberration brought on by lawless miners. In the 1860's the government of British Columbia was a government that was willing to shell Indian villages on the coast, incarcerate Indian women for months at a time as possible accessories and prospective witnesses for the alleged offenses of their husbands, and to use public executions as a means of teaching Indians a lesson. Perhaps some Indian leaders accommodated themselves with some aspects of the colonial legal system, but others might have seen no distinction between a lynching and a lawful hanging at the hands of the colony's British establishment. Chilcotin leaders complained to Gilbert Sproat in 1879 that he was the first white man they had seen who had not come to arrest or hang them and this is perhaps indicative of Indian views on the parallel between unofficial and official violence against them.[12]

Another aspect of this document that deserves attention is the role of the missionary in early Indian political activity, as Silhitza's protest was penned by Oblate missionary Charles Pandosy. Missionaries, especially the Oblates, were active in presenting Indian views on land rights and other social issues to colonial authorities. Paul Durieu forwarded several land petitions and Leon Fouquet was instrumental in the annual gatherings of Coast Salish, Thompson and Lillooet on May 24th for religious ceremonies, sports activities, testimonials for village social and moral reform and political protest.[13] But one should not exaggerate the missionary influence by concluding, as some colonial officials did, that the protests were totally inspired by the missionaries. Cox claimed that the Okanagans had no grounds for complaint as they had allegedly assisted with the lynching and that "were it not for the officious interference of one of the priests who resides at the Mission near the lake Okanagan His Excellency would not have been annoyed with the 'french communication'."[14] In a similar vein a recent study of Indian culture and history in British Columbia went so far as to state with respect to the Indian land question that "the inspiration throughout was non-Indian, or by sophisticated Indians long removed from the native way of life and thought."[15]

Such a view of Indian protest is simplistic and contrived. It reduces Indians to pawns, does not deal with the complexity and creativity of the

Indian political response and fails to recognize Indian political initiative and the contribution of Indian leaders. There is no analysis of Indian leadership in the colonial period, but it would seem that some Indians were testing the British system. Presenting petitions to government was an essential part of a colonial political system that was without significant representative institutions so Indians tried this method of redressing grievances. Indians also tested the rhetoric about British justice and the benevolence of the Queen. Most early petitions were addressed to the Queen's man, the Governor, and made references to the Queen's reputed concern for Indians. Though some leaders later became disgusted with such an approach, the presentation of grievances in ways that whites might understand was as likely the result of Indian initiative as of missionary influence.

Indian leadership was faced with a complicated crisis in the 1860's. A leader had to accommodate himself to aspects of colonial rule, confront it where appropriate or feasible, mitigate its worst effects on his people or at least his extended family and maintain his position and influence in the tribal power structure. Some like Silhitza, Spintlum of Lytton and Luquitun of Yale had some success in dealing with this intricate political question. In other communities new leaders emerged in the 1860's and 1870's and replaced older chiefs, at least when dealing with whites and attempting to balance the social forces of colonial society. In this context a missionary could be a valuable advisor, technician and translator to assist in coping with the colonial system and with a foreign language. Indians made use of those whites willing to listen, to advise and to assist them with grievances and early missionaries served this purpose. In this role missionaries were sometimes important in determining the modes and tactics of Indian protests, but the inspiration and motive force for protest was definitely Indian. Whether it was the land question, social or economic issues, or the lynching documented here, the impulse and essence of these early petitions was Indian. Silhitza's petition should be seen as an Indian expression and an Indian political initiative to the social and racial crisis of colonial British Columbia.

NOTES

[1] Silhitza (Chilliheetza, Chillihutza) was one of the most important Okanagan chiefs of this period. His father was an Okanagan from the Keremeos area. His mother was Chief Nicolas' (Nkwala) favorite sister and when she died giving birth to Silhitza, Chief Nicolas adopted the infant. On Nicolas' death in 1865 Silhitza became the nominal head of the Okanagan tribe, or at least of its northern branches. He played an active role in the political affairs of the 1860's and 1870's, especially in relation to the land question. He advocated peaceful methods in dealing with whites and laid stress on the hope that the Queen would deal justly with the Indians. He was the main Okanagan negotiator with Gilbert Sproat and the Indian Reserve Commission and in some interpretations is largely responsible for averting war in the late 1870's. After Sproat's re-establishment of Okanagan reserves, Silhitza moved to the new reserve at Douglas Lake. He died in 1885 and was succeeded as chief of the Douglas Lake Band by his son, Johnny Chilliheetza. See James Teit *The Salish Tribes of the Western Plateaus* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report, 1927-1928), pp. 272-274, and Canada, Department of Indian Affairs *Annual Report,* 1897, p. 512.

[2] Teit, *Salish Tribes,* pp. 203-211, for a delineation of Okanagan tribal territories and village sites.

[3] For a general account of the 1855-58 warfare, see Mary W. Avery, *History and Government of the State of Washington* (University of Washington Press: Seattle, 1961), pp. 167-177.

[4] Teit, *Salish Tribes,* pp. 259, 270-271.

[5] Kay Cronin, *Cross in the Wilderness* (Toronto: Mission Press, 1960), pp. 64-65.

[6] British Columbia, Colonial Correspondence, F376/14, Cox to Young, August 19, 1861. Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

[7] British Columbia, Colonial Correspondence, F376/6, Cox to Young, July 17, 1861. Cox was appointed Gold Commissioner and magistrate for Rock Creek district, which included the Okanagan Valley, in October 1860.

[8] British Columbia, Colonial Correspondence, F376/3, Cox to Young, July 4, 1861, with enclosures.

[9] *Ibid.* Apparently Saul was being detained at the Okanagan camp, though the petition from Silhitza states that Saul had voluntarily turned himself in to his own people.

[10] For the text of this confession, see British Columbia, Colonial Correspondence, F376 /3, enclosure in Cox to Young, July 4, 1861.

[11] British Columbia, Colonial Correspondence, F376/6, Douglas' minute, Cox to Young, July 17, 1861.

[12] Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, Indian Reserve Commission, Letterbook (November 1879-July 1880), p. 150 passim, Public Archives of Canada. See also Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 1276, p. 240 passim.

[13] British Columbia, Colonial Correspondence, P. Durieu, F503. New Westminster *British Columbian,* 26 May 1865; Great Britain, Colonial Office, C.O. 60/22, Seymour to Cardwell, June 7, 1865; *Mainland Guardian,* May 28, 1873.

[14] British Columbia, Colonial Correspondence, F376/6, Cox to Young, July 17, 1861. Such remarks were typical of officialdom's attitude to Indian protests. As Peter O'Reilly said with respect to land matters in the Nicola Valley, but for missionary interference "the Indians would long since have ceased to consider they had a grievance." See *B.C. Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850-1875,* (Victoria, 1875), p. 88.

[15] Philip Drucker, *Cultures of the North Pacific Coast* (New York: 1965), p. 229.

CHARLES MAIR'S LETTERS FROM THE OKANAGAN

Duane Thomson

Charles Mair was a famous Canadian poet and patriot when he came to the Okanagan in 1892, having been intimately involved in many critical events in Canadian history.[1] He lived in Okanagan Mission from 1892 to 1896 and from there wrote numerous letters, many of which have survived and are found in the Denison Papers in the Public Archives of Canada. These letters are important documents in Canadian and Okanagan history.[2]

Charles Mair was raised in the Scottish community of Lanark in the Ottawa Valley, Upper Canada, in a frontier lumbering environment. Like many Upper Canadians he was proud of his heritage, uncritically loyal to the Empire and resolutely anti-American. When in 1867 Upper Canada joined with three other colonies to form Canada in an effort to counter the American threat and fulfill a dream of transcontinental expansion, Mair became imbued with a sense of Canadian destiny.

Mair met with four like-minded young Canadians to discuss the prospects of the new nation while in the process of arranging for the publication of his first book of poems, *Dearmland and Other Poems (1868).* These nationalists were acutely aware that in the face of American hostility and territorial ambition, British indifference and Canadian apathy the nation might suffer a cradle death; might expire before it had the opportunity to reach its potential. The five romantic young idealists[3] bound themselves to promote a Canadian nationalism, to breathe a national spirit into the body whose form had been molded by an act of the British parliament. They believed that a patriotic national literature was one element in developing the cohesion of the nation. Charles Mair's poetry was a beginning. The group which met in Ottawa, eventually became known as Canada First and were to have a significant influence on the development of the nation.

Mair withdrew from medical school at Queen's University when he had the opportunity to engage in research on the question of the Hudson's Bay Company's claims to Rupert's Land. He missed travelling to London as secretary to the Honourable William McDougall, the Minister of Public Works, who was negotiating the transfer of the vast territory to the Canadian government. Instead, Mair was appointed by McDougall as paymaster on the Fort Garry Road and his new-found friend, William Foster, arranged for him to be appointed correspondent to the Toronto *Globe.* Mair headed west. His object was to introduce Canadians to the Northwest and to promote an awareness and sense of destiny in the public mind. His reports on the potential of the country were glowing.

Mair reached the Red River settlement and entered a community extremely anxious and divided. Their future was unknown and the various elements in the community favoured diverse solutions. The Canadian party, led by Charles Schultz the owner of the *Nor'Wester,* was probably the most vociferous, advocating immediate acquisition by Canada and direct rule of the colony from Ottawa. Mair became identified with this element and certainly his letters to Toronto reflected the intolerance, impatience and bellicosity of the Canadian party. Mair described the population in unflattering terms: irresponsible, self indulgent and of a lower order of human beings. The letters caused a sensation in the settlement when word came back and

led to what must be one of the most colourful and humorous scenes in Canadian history. The Red River ladies, infuriated at his description, harangued and physically attacked him. One lady intercepted him in the post office, grabbed him by the nose and horsewhipped him. Mair became infamous overnight.

Mair and the Canadian party were undoubtedly one of the causes of the resentment and anxiety felt by the Metis and must bear some of the blame for the outbreak of the Red River Rebellion. He played an active role in opposition to Riel. Mair and his wife were with McDougall when the party was stopped at Pembina on October 30, 1869. The Mairs crossed the border but were captured by Riel's men and were only released after pledging to leave the country. Mair travelled instead to Winnipeg and joined the party which dramatically barricaded themselves in the Schultz storeroom, determined to withstand a siege. When widespread opposition to Riel failed to develop amongst the English-speaking settlers their position became untenable; they surrendered after being surrounded by three hundred armed men. Mair was captured again but escaped to Portage la Prairie where he joined a party of armed men determined to challenge Riel at Fort Garry. This expedition was captured but not before Mair had fled back to Portage la Prairie hence through a blizzard by dogsled to St. Paul and then to Toronto.

The reception in Toronto for Mair, Schultz and other refugees from the Red River was orchestrated by the Canada First group to raise the indignation of the people of Toronto. The refugee Canadians were hailed as heroes and they addressed a huge public gathering in Toronto and smaller ones in other Ontario cities. Their message was inflammatory: the Metis, simple enough people, were the tools of the American annexationists, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Roman Catholic clergy and French politicians; Canada was being frustrated in her legitimate acquisition of Rupert's Land and must not negotiate with the rebels but rather send a military expedition to suppress them. Public opinion was certainly aroused and the Wolseley expedition was sent to keep order in the settlement.

Charles Mair settled in loyalist Portage la Prairie after the Rebellion. He became a successful businessman, active in promoting western settlement by writing pamphlets for the Northwest Emigration Aid Society. He was concerned that the West be settled by the "right sort," rather than alien races. When Portage la Prairie gave indications of not progressing quickly enough, Mair packed his family and goods and travelled west by Red River cart and covered democrat to the North Saskatchewan valley. He chose to settle in Prince Albert, just north of Duck Lake and Batoche, which promised a bright future as it was in the fertile belt and was a likely railway crossroads. Here Mair became a prominent citizen, a successful businesman and a very large landowner. He could look forward to financial independence and time to devote himself to Canadian letters. Fear of approaching trouble led him to purchase a home for his family in Windsor, where he spent part of his time. He was in Windsor, writing his poetic drama *Tecumseh,* when the Northwest Rebellion broke out. He served as quartermaster in the regiment of his friend George T. Denison but saw no action.

The long dramatic poem *Tecumseh* established Mair in the front rank of the Canadian literary world. It was a patriotic poem, designed to inculcate a national spirit. *Tecumseh* was praised across Canada by critics including

2757

ice for ten miles with dynamite
and I was nine days in getting
in. It is a perfect mining region,
rough miners, saloons and
strumpets ad lib; but it also
the richest region in Canada.
So far only Americans have
been developing, & it is a
wonder our people in the east
dont take hold. I went
in to make markets for our
agricultural products here,
this being a purely agricultural
region, with some ancan,
though stiff competition has set
in from the states – the Americans
pay our duty, & slaughter reckless.
This showed he ended by raising
the duty or compelling.

A page from a Charles Mair letter, this one dated 18 April 1895. Mair is describing a recent trip to the Slocan, where "[t]he steamers had to blast the Columbia . . ." (continue on holograph)

Pauline Johnson and Charles G. D. Roberts who wrote in the Halifax *Critic* that "his illustrations are native and new, got at first hand, his atmosphere and colouring unmistakably Canadian; his patriotism full-blooded and fluid."[4] Mair was the author of what was felt to be Canada's outstanding literary piece and he was acclaimed as Canada's greatest poet.

Mair returned to Prince Albert to continue in business and to write. He presented a paper on the disappearance of the bison to the Royal Society of Canada and became a member of the Society. Numerous poems were written on the subjects of wildlife, Indian society and Canada's place in the Empire. However his material prosperity was threatened as the West experienced a depression which was particularly severe in Prince Albert. Mair desperately tried to retain his position to save his land until property values increased, but he was caught in a falling market and could do nothing but move west to start again.

The man who stepped off the C.P.R. in Vernon in August, 1892 was an incredible Canadian. He was a distinguished man of letters; a notorious Canadian patriot; a western pioneer and promoter; and an experienced businessman determined to begin anew. He had lost none of his anti-Americanism or his attachment to the Empire but he had become a Westerner. He felt wounded by the attitude of the East and chafed under the reign of the eastern monopolies, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway. He scrutinized the Okanagan with his mind on business opportunities but he perceived with the eye of a poet.

Mair's letters from the Okanagan were written to his best friend, George Denison, a Toronto magistrate and militia colonel. They are replete with personal observations about the economic, social and political life of the Valley and opinions on events throughout Canada and the Empire. Two of his early Okanagan letters are reprinted here, chosen because they were written when everything about his environment was novel and exciting. They are more descriptive and perhaps more superficial than later letters.

NOTES

[1] See Norman Shrive, *Charles Mair: Literary Nationalist* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965) and Art Gray, "Chas. Mair, Poet and Pioneer," *Thirty-fourth Report* of the Okanagan Historical Society, 1970, pp. 111-15.

[2] The holographs and the typescripts of thirty-three letters are available for viewing at Okanagan College, Penticton.

[3] Robert G. Haliburton of Halifax, George T. Denison of Toronto, Henry J. Morgan of Ottawa, William A. Foster of Toronto, and Charles Mair of Lanark.

[4] Shrive, *Charles Mair,* p. 190.

My address is Okanagan Mission, via Vernon, B.C.

HOTEL KALEMALKA
W. J. Meakin, Prop.

and **MERCHANTS EXCHANGE**
Vancouver, B.C.

Vernon, B. C. 23 Aug. 1892

My dear Denison,

I suppose you were surprised at getting a telegram from me from across the mountains. I was preparing for MacKenzie River, in Montreal, when I got repeated telegrams from Mr. Cann to go out here first. So I left by way of Toronto, but unfortunately you were all at Muskoka, and I could not wait, though I left letters to show my intentions in part. Well I am here, and I am going to stay. This is the Okanagan Valley, recently opened to the outer world by rail from Sicamous on the CPR. The Valley, or valleys rather, stretch in all directions around and between two magnificent lakes — the Okanagan and Long Lake with towering mountains — the spurs of the Gold Range — lifting their giant heads everywhere. The population is a surprise. The primitive people are Siwash Indians, half-breeds, ancient, uncouth farmers who packed in with ponies 30 years ago from the Coast, and are some of them enormously rich from stock-raising, together with a race of prospectors & miners of a most quaint and interesting type. One I have met is a Bulgarian and has been in the mountains for over 30 years. Then there are Englishmen and people from all quarters swarming in, together with tourists &c., so that the valley is quite alive. Lord Aberdeen's large ranches are here, looked after by his brother-in-law, Marjoribanks — a rum stick who goes about dressed like a cowboy, and indulges freely in scotch whiskey. Not a bad chap though with all his horse-play, and antics. There are numbers of people here from Japan & China buying holdings, allured by the magnificent scenery & climate, which is certainly perfect. It is not wet in winter, like the Coast, and has only two months of weather which can be fairly described as cold. But not the cold of the North West — that polar bear which has hugged us all to death. Every species of fruit seems to grow & ripen to perfection here including almonds, and the valleys & mountains are overrun with cattle, ponies & horses, sheep, pigs and poultry. In fact everything is luxuriant, wheat 6 ft. high oats 100 bushels to the acre &c. I only wish I had been so fortunate as to strike it years ago.

We have bought at Kelowna, a new town on the Okanagan Lake about 35 miles down from here — a very beautiful spot at the debouchment of the great Okanagan valley, and are building, and going into business there — our goods being now on the way. My wife & the children will come here this Fall as soon as things are ready, and Mrs. Cann, so that we shall all be together with the exception of Cecil.

I am very thankful to you and Helen for your kindness to the dear boy, and proud to hear your favourable account of his conduct and disposition. Your kindness will be recompenced I trust in due time for it is much to me. I wired you to supply Cecil's little wants — his toilet & some clothing & to send me the bill. I am so busy that I must defer writing at length for a time & until we are fairly shaken down. I may mention before closing, that this is the most

wonderful country for game. Deer swarm, and there are mountain sheep and goats whose heads are trophies indeed. I shall be able to add to your "hall" before long. English pheasants are to be introduced & certainly will do. But I must close with love and kindest regards to all

Ever yours,

C. Mair.

Kelowna
Okanagan Mission, B. C.

My dear Denison, 6th Octr. 1892.

I have had more than my "handsful" since I came here, examining this region, building, receiving a large stock of goods, trading &c. and haven't been able to write a decent letter even to my wife & children. I did launch out in a business letter to Robert Gault who, thinking it very good description, went & published it. The consequence is that I am inundated with letters from all parts of eastern Canada greatly to my disgust. I never knew anything like it. Why can't a friend get a letter from a friend, read it & stow it away if he esteems it, without sticking it into the newspaper? I have had enough of this experience in times past in the North West, & want no more of it. I am going to write no more descriptive letters to anybody — not even to you, or Gault, or anybody else. There are glorious mountains here, swarming with grizzly bears, jumping deer and wapiti, with here and there big-horns & goats; the lake beside me rivals Loch Lomond, only that it is 75 miles long; there is a climate which might fetch the angels down to build their tepees here; there are Siwashes, half-breeds, English & French, miners, Chinamen, English bloods spending their money and dressing like Cowboys — the thing is like nothing I have ever before seen. I am delighted, though I have not seen things fairly yet. My son-in-law is with me and we are doing well and shall have our time fully occupied, for we are starting another post in the heart of the gold-mining below here. This is the gold range and lies west of the Selkirks. Placer digging is going on a few miles from this point & large purchases have been made by an English syndicate below here of a group of claims whither stamp mills and other appliances are being sent by every trip of the lake boat. Next year will see wonderful excitement in this region, for it is a gold-bearing, not a silver, country. The valleys spread everywhere among the mountains, this Okanagan Valley being the most extensive in the Province. They are not large, but are very productive. Every kind of fruit matures here except oranges & lemons & I fancy they will ripen too. The almond tree is in full bearing & melons, musk & water, Cantelopes &c. are fed to pigs. I never saw such hops as are grown on the Aberdeen Estate — only planted this spring. What with fruit, fine vegetables such as tomatoes, hops, vines & wine-growing this region will be an exceedingly rich one. The one draw back is that

a lot of political shysters at Victoria and old chaps who packed in over the mountains from Oregon and Washington many years ago have got hold of all the best land, both bottom and mountain. These people know nothing of Canada. In fact they deride everything Canadian, and the sooner the country is municipalized the better so that they may be forced to sell to better men.

One thing I am satisfied about that this country will support a very large population yet, for the area is great, and it is important that Canadians should come in. But they must have plenty of money. This is no country for a man without means. Bottom lands sell at $60.00 an acre, and mountain (range) land in proportion. But on the other hand a family can not only live but make money easily on 20 acres of good bottom or bench land here. The mining enterprises springing up make an easy & good market right at the door & there is the whole North West to supply with fine fruits &c. It will be a very rich province, but it must be Canadianized. It is not that yet. The feeling is "British Columbia," — first, last & always, & the people know nothing of the mixed farming industries of the East. There are thousands of cows & no butter or milk. Butter is all imported. Milk is tinned. But I have not time to go into matters. I may say there is no politics here, which is a blessing in one way. You never hear the word Canada and you never hear the word annexation. It is a Province *sui generis,* each valley with its little excluded community, shut off until yesterday from the outer world, and resembling in some ways, the Swiss Cantons. As for morality there does not appear to be any at all. Two brothers here, originally from Denmark, have quarrelled over an incestuous intercourse with a half-witted sister, and the half-breeds hold that at certain stages of entertainment, or, as a matter of hospitality, women — wives or sisters — are common property. And yet they are extremely peaceable and orderly as a community. It is a sort of patriarchal simplicity. There are good people, too, and numbers of nice old country families. All sorts of people come here to enjoy the scenery & sport. The wife of the Archbishop of York was here two weeks ago and all sorts of other big wigs. I fancy chalets and all that will spring up and that many will winter here by and by. If Aberdeen is Governor there is no doubt he will make this his summer and autumn home. His fruit ranch and bungalow is right by here, and he has invested in the region in purchases & improvements over $300,000. His fruit ranch is managed here by a Mr. Smith. His brother-in-law, Marjoribanks, stays mostly at the Vernon ranch, but comes here for sport. He is the most extraordinary specimen of an immortal given to drink you ever saw, and not a bad fellow either, though too utterly gone for my taste. I have an obscure atom of social decorum in my composition, but this chap has none. But I must wind up, reserving further matters for future letters.

I had a letter from Cecil yesterday. He is hard at work again, having greatly enjoyed his holidays. I had also a letter from Principal Miller telling me how much he is liked by them all. I do believe there is future greatness in the lad. I only hope he will be free from his father's faults. I shall give him every opportunity educationally.

I enclose cheque on B. of B. C. for amt. of your outlay. I am glad you like the boy. He is in love with Garnet & they will be great friends hereafter. This is a queer sort of world, and a puzzle. Tom Spence, who edited Riel's "new natation" [sic] is here, and a brother of Scott, not our Scott, but the

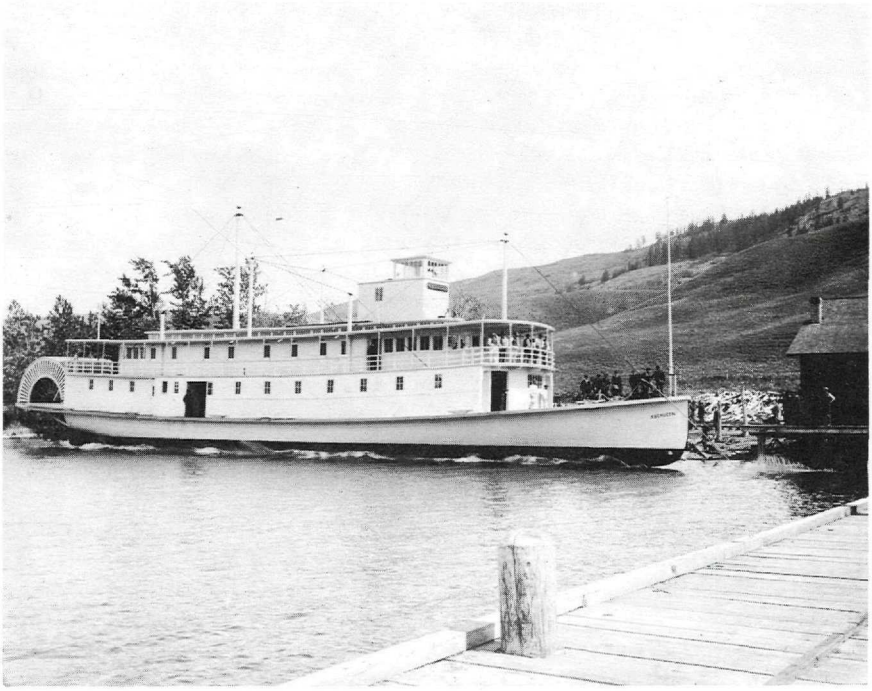
delegate who went to Ottawa with Pere Richot. Poor Spence is the same opportunist, and as needy as ever. I try to put all I can in his way; but I fear he will not make a living here. He has talent, too, but made a wrong, "adventurer's" use of it, and knows it, which is bad. He is verging on 70.

But I must close. I hope Helen and the baby are both in good health. A little care and the worst will be over with her. Ed's baby came through a terrible crisis, & is now a crowing, stout child, if one can judge by a photograph. I shan't believe it till I see it. I send love and wishes for the best, and my hopes that Helen is over her trials at last. It is a cruel world, and for my part I shall hail the end with joy.

Maude was well when I heard last from her, but afterwards was laid up with bilious fever, and Mabel had measles.

They are both well again, thank God. My wife leaves with family on the 10th for here. The only stumbling block was renting "Holmewood." This Archdeacon McKay has done & we can breathe freely. Great numbers are going in there and I may be a millionaire, like the Yankees, some fine day. With love & regards to all, Ever yours,

C. Mair.



The CPR Sternwheeler Aberdeen when being launched in 1893. She was busy carrying freight and passengers from Okanagan Landing to points south while Mair was in the Okanagan.

HISTORY OF FRUIT GROWING IN THE B. C. INTERIOR

D. V. Fisher, Ph.D., P. Ag., F.A.S.H.S.

British Columbia is a young province. Pioneered first by the fur companies, little stress or encouragement came for other endeavours such as agriculture or mining, as these would detract from the companies' primary objectives. Nevertheless, as settlers appeared at the Coast, in the Fraser Valley, up the Fraser and Thompson Rivers and up the Okanagan and Similkameen Valleys, a self-sufficient type of agriculture became of primary importance to the stark fact of existence. Certainly the Roman Catholic missionaries, initially Father Pandosy of the Okanagan Mission and later his confreres, out of pure necessity blended successfully the art of farming with promulgation of the gospel and inculcation of the elements of education in the Kelowna area.

In the coastal regions of the province fruit plantings were made in the 1840's and onwards and by the 1880's a small but flourishing fruit industry was established in the Fraser Valley. The growing of apples near Lillooet is reputed to have been started by an Indian named Lorenzo in 1862. (It might be remarked that the summer heat unit accumulations in Lytton-Lillooet are the highest in Canada but winter cold has limited severely fruit production in that area.) The most famous early orchards were those of Thomas G. Earl (Earlscourt) of Lytton, whose acreage reached 300 by 1875. The earliness of maturity of crops and the fact that Lillooet was Mile 0 on the road to Barkersville in the gold rush of 1858-1870, made Lillooet a very important fresh fruit and vegetable provisioning point for miners heading north. Chinese and other market gardeners flourished for a time in this boom period. There are to this day some very old apricot trees on the Indian Reservation at Lytton and several years ago the author saw cultivated (but now wild) grapes growing on the Lytton-Lillooet Indian Reservation. Some of the vines had climbed tall trees and bunches of grapes were hanging from the branches.

In the meantime, fruit growing was becoming established in the southern areas of the B. C. Interior around 1867. Mr. F. X. Richter brought in trees from the U.S.A. and established a small apple orchard in the Similkameen. Amongst those trees were Baldwins, mistakenly named Winesap, the former a variety of great popularity at that time in Eastern Canada and the U.S.A., but not a desirable commercial variety in the West.

From what source Richter obtained his tree is not known. They may have come from a famous character, Hiram F. Smith (1829-1893), more commonly known as "Okanagan Smith," a man of all trades, amongst them printer, pack train operator, fruit grower and state legislator. One account states that Hiram F. Smith brought in 1200 trees from Fort Hope, B. C. in 1856-57 and planted these on a 24-acre orchard north-east of Oroville. Included were apples, pears, peaches and grapes. The original homestead, now owned by Mrs. D. A. Thorndike of Oroville, contains some fifteen original trees including 120-year old Winesaps, Schwaar and Gloria Mundi apple specimens and what appear to be Beurre d'Anjou pears. The Okanogan County Historical Society has seen fit to erect on Highway 97 south of Oroville, Wash., an historical sign dedicated to Hiram F. Smith.

There also are some very old apple trees on the Stilkia property at the Inkameep Indian Reservation, Osoyoos, B. C. These trees appear to be close to 100 years of age and were visited by the author, Eric Sismey, Wally Smith,

Okanogan Smith historical marker, Oroville, Wash.

Mrs. D. A. Thorndike beside 119 year old Gloria Mundi apple tree which bears 40 boxes of fruit per year.

Photo credit, D. V. Fisher

Stirling Hauser and John Price in 1972. It is not definitely known by whom these trees were supplied. One account states that they were purchased in 1890 from Murray's Nursery at Brewster, Wash., but judging from their age, they also could have been supplied by Richter or Okanogan Smith. At least one variety, Yellow Transparent, is identifiable. These are probably the oldest trees presently existing in the Okanagan, north of the international boundary.

Old apple trees on the Stilkia property, Inkameep Indian Reservation, Osoyoos.

However, the center of the fruit growing enterprise in the Southern Interior in the early years seemed destined to be located in Penticton and the area to the north. In the Penticton vicinity about 1869 a planting of apples including the varietites Golden Russet, Rambo, Red Astrachan, Duchess and Greening was made on the famous Ellis cattle ranch. Further north, at the Okanagan Mission area of Kelowna, the Oblate Fathers led by the Fathers Pandosy and Richard planted in 1862, three years after their establishment of the Mission, a small orchard, allegedly of seedling origin, derived from seedlings brought to the Okanagan from St. Mary's Mission, at Mission, B. C. Later, named varieties as well as other fruits were added to this orchard. The orchard suffered the usual vicissitudes of winter injury, drought and disease plus destruction by a fire which burned the old mission house, but one mighty tree survived until the famous winter freeze of 1955-56 following which it died. This seedling apple, a very large, green, late-maturing and late-keeping fruit of fair quality had been propagated by the author and a specimen tree stands at the Agriculture Canada Research Station at Summerland with a commemorative bronze plaque contributed in 1966 by the British Columbia Fruit Growers Association. The author also has a grafted branch of this variety in his home orchard and supplied two grafted trees in 1967 for planting at the original Okanagan Mission site in Kelowna.

The seedling apple tree which was planted at the Oblate Mission in 1862 and died in 1956.

Photo credit, D. V. Fisher

Other early orchards and locations are noted here, the information derived from D. E. D. MacPhee's *Report of the Royal Commission on the Tree Fruit Industry of B. C., 1958* commissioned by the Province of B. C. It is recognized that this list is by no means complete.

1875-76:	Kelowna (George Whalen and Alfred Postill).
1890:	Salmon Arm (P.M. Parsons), Deroche, Agassiz (Thomas Sharp, Dominion Experimental Farm).
1890:	Creston (C. Rykert).
1890:	Vernon (Luc Girouard).
1890:	Kootenay Lake District (Balfour Townsite, C. W. Busk).

1891:	Kokanee Landing, Kootenays (Johnson Ranch, Hyslop Ranch, Ainsworth).
1891:	Arrow Lakes-Fire Valley (Mr. Lowe and Mr. Dewar).
1891-95:	Robson (Mr. Fowler and Mr. Foxlee), Renata (F. W. Nash), Deer Park (George Brigman), Edgewood (Captain Forsland).
1892:	Kelowna (Geo. C. Rose, 40 acres).
1892:	Summerland (Mr. Gartrell and Messrs. Barkley, Garnett and Dunsdon in the Garnett Valley).
1892:	Coldstream Ranch, Vernon (Lord Aberdeen, 200 acres).
1892:	Kelowna, Guisachan Ranch (Lord Aberdeen).
1895:	Willow Point (Alec McDonald).
1896:	Kaslo.
1896:	Creston (first plantings on high bench, Mr. Huscroft).
1900:	Armstrong and Enderby.
1900:	Okanagan Falls.
1901:	Peachland (J. M. Robinson).
1901:	Kelowna (Bankhead) (T. W. Stirling and Pridham Orchards).
1902:	Rutland Flats.
1902:	Kamloops (Canadian Real Properties).
1903:	Westbank (D. E. Gellatly).
1904:	Oyama (Mr. Irvine).
1905:	Naramata (J. M. Robinson).
1905:	Penticton (J. H. Latimer).
1905:	Osoyoos (L. Hill).
1908:	Walhachin (C. P. Barnes).
1909:	Winfield and Okanagan Centre (Okanagan Land Co., Rainbow Ranch Co., and Duck Lake Fruitlands Co.).
1910:	Kaleden (Kaleden Estates Co. Ltd.).
1913:	Belgo.

The late 1890's and early 1900's were boom days in the fruit belt of the Southern Interior. Some of the promotional efforts in selling orchard land to overseas buyers were highly questionable and the cause of great distress to many improperly informed, inexperienced purchasers encouraged by pie-in-the-sky prospectuses of land agents. Nevertheless there also were substantial, dedicated and well-financed enterprises which tended to put the industry initially on a sound footing. Thus, Lord Aberdeen (Coldstream Ranch, Vernon and Guisachan Ranch, Kekowna), T. W. Stirling and Mr. Pridham in Kelowna and the Okanagan Land Co., Rainbow Ranch Co. and Duck Lake Fruitlands Co. in Winfield-Okanagan Centre, to name a few, were important pioneers in laying the basis of the present fruit industry.

The next big boost in fruit plantings came from the opening of new areas to returned soldiers after World War I. These plantings were financed under the Soldier Settlement Act and resulted, in particular, in extensive developments in the early 1920's, especially in the Oliver-Osoyoos area.

Great hardships were endured by the pioneer orchardists because of totally inadequate irrigation systems, recurrent winter freezes, the planting of numerous and unsuited varieties, minor element deficiencies, the invasion of

codling moth which became epidemic by 1925, and above all, by repeated failures to establish a sound marketing system backed by unified grower support.

Growers planting orchards in the early days generally obtained trees available from the East. Innumerable kinds and varieties were planted including unmanageable quantities of early perishable apples such as Transparent, Duchess, Wealthy, Maiden Blush and Astrachan. With no cold storage and only limited nearby markets, such varieties spelled financial disaster to the grower. Whereas today approximately twenty varieties of all fruits are recommended for planting, at one time one Summerland packing house had 105 variety stamps to accommodate the crop it handled.

Great changes in the economics, philosophy and practice of fruit growing have occurred since the early 1900's. Land then could be bought for several hundred dollars per acre and with the wide tree spacings of 30 x 30 and 40 x 40 feet, interplanting of row crops was common to provide income for the first ten or fifteen years before trees came into bearing. Most fruit growers also carried some livestock since farming was looked upon as a means of subsistence and a way of life. Equipment was minimal; horses provided the horsepower for orchard operations and fruit hauling and packing often was done in the orchard.

The important advances of modern science did not start to impinge upon fruit growing until around 1930. Starting about this time, fruit farming gradually developed into a business, as labour-saving devices and increased knowledge and technology provided new solutions to old problems. Twenty-five cents per hour labour is now worth five dollars per hour. Machinery and chemicals have replaced hand labour. Barring unexpected winter freezes, the grower, by following the recommendations of federal research and provincial extension authorities, can exercise almost full control over all orchard problems and cultural operations. There is adequate irrigation water which is applied by permanent-set sprinkler systems, effective spray materials and machinery are available to control almost all insects and diseases, chemicals have replaced hoes to eliminate weeds, chemical materials are available to thin apples and pears, tractor-drawn mowers not only cut grass between trees, but also chop up prunings which previously were laboriously hand gathered and burned. Minor element sprays eliminate soil nutrient deficiencies. Stop-drop sprays applied prior to harvest prevent the frightful losses from windfalls once experienced by growers.

High density plantings of two hundred trees per acre have replaced the old twenty-seven and forty-eight trees per acre plantings. Apple trees planted densely on dwarfing roots reach full bearing in seven to ten years and have the potential of producing one to two thousand bushels per acre as opposed to having to wait twenty years for full production of usually less than one thousand bushels per acre in the original orchards.

Apples and other fruits once picked in wooden bushel boxes are now hauled from the orchard in twenty-five bushel bins and transported quickly to modern, sophisticated packing houses.

Finally, the industry has largely eliminated all the old, inefficient, unwanted varieties and replaced them with new varieties or improved strains of old varieties. Thus, only red strains of McIntosh, Delicious and Golden Delicious, because of their compact tree size and early and heavy production,

have in considerable measure, replaced the old standard strains.

Fruit growing has evolved from an art to a business. The purchase price of good bearing orchards is $10,000 or even more per acre. A fifteen acre orchard is considered a minimum economic unit and requires an equipment investment of at least $20,000. Government loans are available at somewhat reduced rates to growers with demonstrated potential and economic stability is assured to commercial growers by Income and Crop Insurance available under the B. C. Ministry of Agriculture programs.

A 750,000 box apple crop in 1913 had increased to 2.5 million boxes in 1925 and 4 million boxes by 1935. The production today is between 7.5 and 9.0 million boxes. Today the F.O.B. value of fruit and fruit products leaving the B. C. Interior is worth more than one hundred million dollars. When one adds the two to three times multiplier factor that all this production represents in the way of transportation, wholesale and retail mark-up, the dollar contributions of the B. C. Interior fruit industry to the Canadian economy is of important magnitude.

In all this review of the historical development of the fruit industry it would be remiss not to mention the evolution of the grape industry from the early commercial plantings of J. W. Hughes in Kelowna (1926) which increased by the 1940's to four hundred acres in the Kelowna-Westbank areas. Today, commercial plantings are centered in Oliver, Osoyoos, the Similkameen, Kelowna and Westbank, and amount to 3,200 acres with an annual production of approximately 12,000 tons. These grapes, supplemented by American imports, have resulted in the development of three Interior and four Coast wineries. The first plantings were of *labrusca* (Concord or American type grapes) but now the *vinifera* and *vinifera* hybrid varieties predominate owing to their superior wine characteristics.

The history of the fruit industry has been one of economic ups and downs. The handling of highly perishable fruit crops demands organized sale strategies to avoid flooding markets with consequent competitive price cutting. As early as 1908 the "Okanagan Fruit Union" was formed by the grower body to provide a controlled marketing program. This and a number of other attempts were made to organize growers through voluntary cooperation. These attempts at voluntary cooperation were unsuccessful owing to the fact that the percentage of the crop sold under various cooperative schemes was insufficient to stabilize and develop markets to the fullest extent and often the grower got little, nothing, or red ink for his crop.

By 1926 the growers, realizing the perishable nature and rapidly growing volume of their products and in order to free themselves from ruthless speculators, sought legislation under which the entire production could be controlled and marketed in an orderly fashion. Early in 1927 the first Agricultural Products Marketing Act in Canada was enacted by the Province of B. C. but in 1931 it was ruled unconstitutional. Later, in 1934, federal marketing legislation was enacted, declared unconstitutional in 1937 and replaced in that year by a B. C. Natural Products Marketing Act under terms of which the present marketing system operates. This legislation gave growers the power to elect the British Columbia Fruit Board, comprised of three growers, to regulate the orderly marketing of the entire tree fruit crop and designate the agencies through which their products should be marketed. In developing all this legislation the British Columbia Fruit Growers Association pro-

vided the impetus and assured continuity of action.

After the Marketing Act was finally in effect, the B.C.F.G.A. proceeded to establish central selling. As a result, in 1939, the B. C. Tree Fruits Ltd. organization came into being as the sole marketing agency for the fresh fruit crop of the B. C. Interior area. Later, the B.C.F.G.A. organized Sun-Rype Products Ltd. to handle processed products, mainly process grade apples, but the company now merchandises a wide range of products: juices of all kinds, pie fillers, juice concentrates and solid pack fruit. For some years B. C. Tree Fruits Ltd. and Sun-Rype Products have been under joint management.

Recent changes in the B.C.F.G.A. marketing policy have resulted in the formation of the B. C. Fruit Marketing Board which includes strong packing house representation on the Board. Another important policy change allows growers to pack and market their crop outside the central selling agency. However, growers opting to operate on their own are not eligible for participation in the B. C. Ministry of Agriculture Income Assurance Plan.

Being geographically isolated from major continental and world markets, the industry has found it essential to maintain high standards of fruit grading and quality. Because, for example, it costs three dollars to ship a forty-pound box of apples to Toronto, this requires a very high quality product capable of commanding a price sufficient to compete successfully in such a market. For this reason, costly and sophisiticated cold and controlled atmosphere storage plants have been erected throughout the fruit growing area. The Kelowna Growers Exchange erected the first cold storage in 1925 followed shortly by the Vernon Fruit Union, Penticton Co-op, Summerland Co-op and others. At one time (1957) there were forty cold storages in the industry. Some of these have been sold for other purposes, closed or converted to controlled atmosphere (C.A.) storage. Presently the industry has about a 1,700,000 bushel capacity in C.A. storage and a 6,500,000 bushel capacity in regular cold storage. The development of the cold storage program has been essential to regulating marketing and selling the crop on world markets for eleven months of the year.

The British Columbia tree fruit industry has been served well over the years by various government agencies. The Provincial Horticultural Branch appointed R. M. Palmer as Horticulturalist in 1895 and the present Horticultural Extension Service was organized in 1909 under R. M. Winslow. The University of British Columbia Horticulture Department (latterly Department of Plant Science) has provided leaders in the fruit industry starting with the first graduating class in 1921. The Agriculture Canada Research Station in Summerland opened in 1914 and has been prominent in fruit industry research since 1916. In 1966, marking the first fifty years of service, a publication "50 Years of Pomology" was produced by the Research Station.

The Okanagan fruit industry has come a long way in the last one hundred years. Its present stability is the result of the contributions of a remarkably able succession of leaders in the British Columbia Fruit Growers Association and the fruit packing industry. It makes its voice heard by the Canadian Horticultural Council and by all levels of government. If the intent of the B. C. Land Commission Act is sustained in preventing erosion of orchard land into non-agricultural uses, there is every reason to believe the industry will continue to thrive for the next one hundred years.

BIOGRAPHY AND REMINISCENCES

MAJOR ALLAN BROOKS of OKANAGAN LANDING

Jean Webber

The name of Allan Brooks was a household word in Canada thirty years ago. His illustrations in Taverner's *Birds of Western Canada,* a series in the *National Geographic* magazine, calendars, cards issued by the National Association of Audubon Societies, and covers on Keystone school exercise books all familiarized Canadian children and adults not only with North American birds and mammals, but also with the work of this eminent zoological illustrator.

For residents of the Vernon area Major Allan Brooks, walking with his military bearing, dressed in tweed jacket and plus fours, often with a gun under his arm, was a familiar figure, for Okanagan Landing was his home from 1905 until his death in 1946. To the end of his days he loved nothing better than rambling over the Commonage or Rattlesnake Mountain, checking on the wildlife, hunting in season. He was a superb marksman and a member of the Vernon and District Fish, Game and Forest Protection Association, donating his pictures as prizes for their crow and magpie shoots. There are some who remember his participation in Okanagan Landing and Kelowna regattas.

To children of Okanagan Landing Major Allan Brooks was "the birdman." Marguerite Hodgson has written a delightful reminiscence of the spontaneous visits she and her friends used to make to Allan Brooks in his studio during the 1920's. Mrs. Hodgson writes:

> Major Allan Brooks was a naturalist, outdoorsman, and artist. His military training was pronounced in his sturdy and upright figure. He was a handsome man with the ruddy complexion that the outdoors gives to fair people. A short trim moustache complimented his very English features. His blue eyes were warm and friendly and twinkled with the zest for living.
>
> We children would go in a group and knock on the door of the small house nestled among the trees a few hundred yards from the shores of Okanagan Lake. Allan Brooks would greet us with a warm friendly smile and invite us into his already crowded study. He never seemed to tire of our endless visits for he loved children and we sensed this. He would settle us down, handing out peppermints or other hard candy to munch on while he questioned us about the birds we had seen since our last visit.
>
> Next he would ask what we remembered him telling us about the big birds mounted and standing on top of his cupboards — their names, habitats, and characteristics. Then he would have us, in turn, choose one of the many drawers in the cupboards. Each would pull out his drawer and try to name the little birds lying in precise rows within its depths, racking his brains to remember other information that Major Brooks had given him on previous visits. The Major would praise us if we did well and mildly scold us if we did not. Often he would make us repeat our lessons.[1]

Mrs. Hodgson finished with a remark that little did she and her friends know that this kind and gentle man would become the world famous naturalist and artist. It is possible that few adults, even in later years, understood the contribution that Allan Brooks was making to natural history through his scientific papers, his zoological sketches and paintings, and his meticulously prepared specimens.

Allan Cyril Brooks was born on 15 February 1869 at Etawa, India where his father, William Edwin Brooks, was a civil engineer with the Indian Railways. At the age of four Allan was sent home to England and remained there until 1881 when his father emigrated to Canada to farm at Milton, Ontario.

In Canada W. E. Brooks continued his practice of collecting specimens for the British Museum. Allan, who from a small boy had shown his naturalist bent, enjoyed the encouragement of his father's friends who were among the pioneer ornithologists. In England the taxidermist John Hancock taught the boy how to blow eggs, collect butterflies, and recognize numerous trees and plants.[2] At Hamilton, Ontario in 1885 Allan visited Thomas McIlwraith, veteran birdman of Eastern Canada, and learned from him how to prepare first-class skins.[3] By the time he was eighteen Brooks was an expert marksman and a skilled skinner. Although he had little schooling after coming to Canada, he was well informed on subjects relating to wildlife study.

In 1887 W. E. Brooks moved to British Columbia, taking up a farm near Chilliwack. Oldtimers in the Fraser Valley remember Allan's habit of devoting every hour he could spare from farmwork in searching for wildlife and observing its habits.[4] Sumas Lake was a haven for water fowl. On his trips into the mountains between the Fraser River and Mount Baker Allan often wondered about the dearth of border markers, only to learn some years later that the Boundary Commission of 1856 gave up trying to establish the border in that rugged area.[5] When W. E. Brooks returned to Ontario in 1891 Allan remained behind for one year, hunting and preparing specimens for museums and private collectors. On 1 November 1891 he wrote his father from Victoria, "Tomorrow (Monday) I have to skin all day at the Museum."[6]

When his father bought a new farm at Mount Forest Allan went east to help him. However, in October 1894 Allan Brooks was back at Sumas. He had broken forever with agriculture, eschewing thereafter even the common

Allan Brooks' cabin at Penticton, with goose hanging in the yard, 1897.

garden spade. Never again did Brooks work at a job which interfered with his central interest. Nor, it should be said, did he ever allow himself to become institutionalized in the employ of the government or a university.

To make a living Brooks trapped fur-bearing animals in the winter and collected specimens, mainly birds and small mammals, in the summer. He also established a reputation as a big game hunter. He was the first to identify the western mink, the tawny pika, and the Puget Sound skunk.[7] Arthur W. Gray has written an amusing account of Brooks' flea collecting.[8]

In the late spring of 1897 Brooks was in the mountains between the Nicola and the Okanagan. On July 1 his diary records his arrival at Okanagan Landing. The entry for August 5 reads:

> Started for Gold Range to Eastward. Dick Ford and self with one cayuse with about 100 lb. of grub. Reached small creek 2 miles from Lumby at night.

By September Brooks was back and across Okanagan Lake. The winter was spent at Okanagan Landing.

The diaries, which were kept with fair consistency from 1890, are fascinating books, recording the birds sighted, specimens taken and fur trapped during specific periods. One finds also expense accounts, "grocery" lists (biscuits, cheese, butter, glass eyes, chemicals for curing skins, photographic chemicals to be purchased from Eaton's). One diary lists Chinook vocabulary; another, the Thompson and Okanagan words for mule deer, white-tail, elk, sheep, goat, moose. (Much of Brooks' information about wildlife came from native people. In 1930 he wrote of Old Kultus Lake Charlie and two other informants he had known at Sumas in 1890, both "over 100, keen, intelligent.")[9] Price lists for specimens are included, orders and payment received noted. In 1891 Brooks received 20¢ for each mallard, 30¢ for a goose, 12½¢ for a pintail, and 10¢ for a teal. Later, lists of drawings and paintings appear. Weather reports are noted, directions for filling snowshoes, recipes for tanning hides, target shooting scores, information on guns. The occasional article on game is clipped or copied from a newspaper. One of the first notebooks contains "Notes and Corrections on Montague Chamberlain's 'Birds of Canada'," a list of "Mammals of Chilliwack, B.C. and surrounding mountains," a list of "Birds of the Chilliwack Valley and Mountains to Eastward," this last containing 234 species noted in pencil in 1890 and corrected in ink in 1904. In short, the "diaries" record any information which Brooks needed for the purpose of carrying on his business of collecting, illustrating, or writing. There is almost no personal information except for the mention of hunting companions — Ford, Brixton, Munroe, Lishman and, in his later years, companions on his Commonage rambles — Colin Child and Allan Cecil Brooks.

For personal information one must turn to Allan Brooks' letters. Fortunately those written to his father in the 1890's are preserved. They show an affectionate concern for the father's health and his pocketbook. One discerns the companionable bond between father and son in the detailed description of the shooting of a fine goat or in the play-by-play account of a chess game played to a draw against "the Liverpool Expert." In the letter written 31 January 1897 from Sumas Allan complains, "There has been no Eastern mail for some time owing to snow in the Mts." On 3 May 1897 he wrote that he wanted "a good collection of mice from timberline." On 1 March 1898 he wrote from Captain May's summer cottage at Okanagan Landing thanking his father for papers forwarded. He says, "Reading matter is everything to a lonely man."

He told about showing Captain May how he mounted birds. The Captain had learned another method "from Col. Irby at Gibraltar." On 8 July 1898 he wrote that he had left Captain May's house as the latter wanted it for the summer. "I now have my headquarters on the opposite side of the lake from the Landing in a little mining shanty built right on the beach within a few feet of the water — 50 mi. to head of lake and 35 to Mission." He tells his father that he is to have "an article or two in *Recreation* every month for which I get $6 a month, more promised, as soon as Mag. on a paying footing." The correspondence came to an end later that year with the death of W. E. Brooks. Allan went east to Ontario.

By May 1899 Allan Brooks was back in the Chilliwack area. Collecting resumed. The Provincial Museum at Victoria paid the following: 50¢ for a morning dove, $1.00 for a teal, and 35¢ each for a number of small mammals. Ninety-two specimens and a sketch were sent off to the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. In total, approximately one thousand items were collected in about two years, that is, shot or trapped, skin prepared, packed and shipped.

Allan Brooks with friends, Vaseux Lake, 1922. Back row, from left: Allan Brooks, P. Taverner, C. de B. Green. Front row, from left: H. M. Laing, G. N. Gartrell, A. Sampson.

His 1901 diary reads:

> From middle of August to 2nd week in Sept. I was with Williams surveying rock on Chimney Creek Bridge site (over Fraser) and road from there to Beechers' Chilcotin.

Brooks spent almost two weeks at 158 Mile House packing up his gear and shooting. Then there follows a rather longer note:

> Left for Okanagan on 24th. Walked to Ashcroft in 5 days and reached Okanagan L'd'g on 1st Oct. Had to wait there until 19th for Ted [his brother]. Then went down to Penticton in boat I bought from van Antwerp.

Home for the winter of 1901-1902 was a cabin on the beach at Penticton near the present location of the Sicamous. On November 1 seventeen traps were set in the swamp at the lake's outlet and the daily take recorded. The following is the total catch noted for November: "three weeks: 1 Wildcat, 2 Mink, 1 Coon, 154 Muskrat, 1 Weasel." In December a trip into the mountains resulted in the killing of "two large bucks (9 and 18 pts.)." Brooks notes, "I could have shot 2 others — doe and fawn — but have lots of meat now." In spring he was off again. By April 25 he had "reached Cargells' ranch on Shuswap south of Mabel Lake."

In 1905 Allan Brooks bought an acre of land at Okanagan Landing and there he built his cabin which served as home, study and laboratory. The surrounding lot became a sanctuary for small birds. Mrs. Brooks has written that forty species nested and raised their young within one hundred yards of the cottage between the years 1905 and 1914.[10] Predators met with no mercy: ravens, crows, magpies, cowbirds, house wrens, chipmunks, snakes, ants, and white-footed mice. Marjorie Brooks writes:

> In short, this was a practical attempt to give desirable species full protection against their enemies, with no illusions as to the supposed beneficient action of Nature. The results speak for themselves.[11]

In the 1930's J. W. Wilkinson reported Brooks as saying:

> And all the time I've been fighting the pests that come after them [the birds in his sanctuary]. Snakes I have about exterminated. But sometimes those big bald eagles, from the Indian reserve across the lake, swoop down and kill coots right outside my door. But when I'm home here in the summer they don't often come.[12]

Allan Brooks took the gamekeeper attitude towards birds and mammals. His friend Hamilton Laing writes of him:

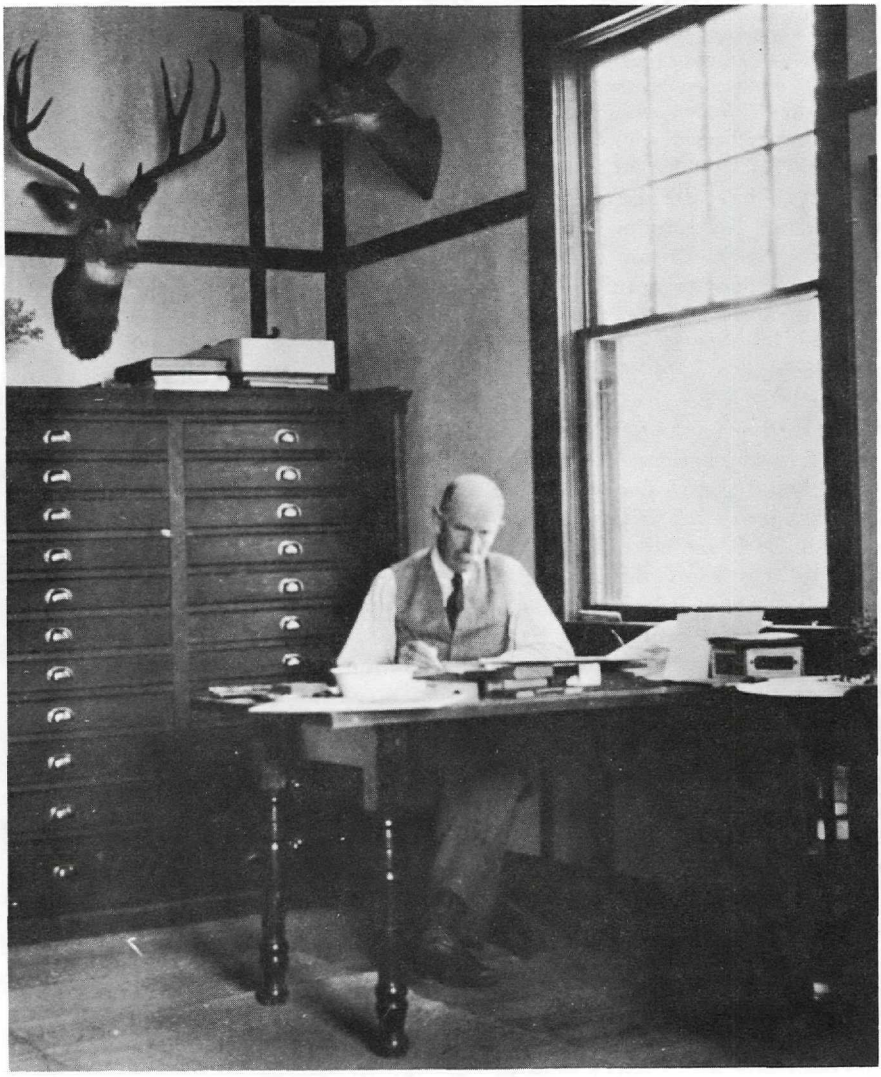
> His pet aversions other than those folk who would restrain collectors afield, were: the "balance of Nature," which he was sure did not exist in fact, and wild life sanctuaries left with native predators uncontrolled.[13]

Brooks' views brought him into conflict with some in high places, but once he had made up his mind he was stubborn.[14] The diary for the early 1940's records:

> Total of *14 hawks* killed in 1943 (ammunition restricted) (injurious)

Predators killed	'41	'43
hawks	10	13
raven	1	-
crow	30	9
magpie	28	5
cowbird	13	15
ground squirrels	21	13

By 1905 when Allan Brooks "settled" at Okanagan Landing he had become familiar with the Fraser Valley and surrounding mountains, the Okanagan, the Gold Range, the Cariboo — particularly around Horsefly, Quesnel, and 158 Mile House — the east coast of Vancouver Island from Victoria to Comox and the Quatsino area on the northwest tip of the Island.[15] Owning



Allan Brooks painting in his studio at Okanagan Landing, B.C., 1926.

property did not keep Brooks from his expeditions. Trips were made in the Gold Range, the Selkirks, and the Rockies in search of big game, birds being noted as well. Nor did the larger trips cut out smaller excursions. On 22 November 1909, after returning from a prairie trip three days previously, Brooks writes:

> Snowing — Started down the lake in canoe camping at Sandy Grant's Bay. [The southern bay at Ellison Park.]

Sometime after 1905 Allan Brooks accompanied C. deB. Green on a visit to Harry Parham at Vaseux Lake. Parham has given us this thumbnail sketch:

> One most interesting visitor for a day and a night was Allan Brooks, the well-known western naturalist, artist, and big-game hunter. I had a Government catalogue of the

> birds and other wild creatures of the province — as represented in the museum at Victoria. This list Brooks, with almost incredible speed, marked and corrected for me, so that I might know what species to expect to meet in the Okanagan. Capital letters indicated them as "Resident," "Summer Visitors," "Scarce," "Common," and so forth.
>
> In the evening he amused me with stories of some of his early and difficult efforts to make the life he had taken up one which could bring him a living.[16]

In 1906, at the age of thirty-five, Brooks received his first major contract, to illustrate Dawson and Bowles' *Birds of Washington,* a work which is now a collector's item. Brooks' articles and sketches had been appearing in *Recreation* since 1898 and from 1900 in *The Auk,* the official organ of the American Ornithologists' Union. Private collectors such as Dr. Wm. Brewster were buying drawings for $5 to $10 each. *Birds of Washington* established Brooks in the forefront of wild life illustrators and led to his collaboration with Dawson on the latter's *Birds of California*. Research for the newer book was undertaken during trips to California in 1911 and 1912 and to Arizona in 1913. Thus a lasting bond was established between Brooks and the American Ornithologists. In 1913 Dawson wrote an article entitled "Allan Brooks — An Appreciation" in *The Condor,* the official publication of the Cooper Ornithological Club. He talks of Brooks being seated "at the great north window of our studio at 'Los Colibris,' whither we have succeeded in luring him for the winter."[17] About this time Brooks sold the first of many works to the National Association of Audubon Societies. The diary for 1912 contains "notes for drawing" to the specifications of the Audubon Society and there is a letter dated 7 June 1912 from the Society's secretary acknowledging the receipt of two pictures and expressing pleasure in their quality.

Allan Brooks has sometimes been called "the Audubon of the West," a designation that Brooks himself did not particularly appreciate. He believed that he was able to give his birds a much more natural and lifelike appearance because he supplemented his work from dead skins with careful field observation through binoculars. In the diary record of a trip to the Kootenays in 1911, Brooks writes of looking over birds "carefully at close range with a powerful glass." Laing writes of Brooks:

> A firm believer in the Boy Scout motto, he was always ready for anything the day might bring. Binoculars lay on his chest as though they were a part of him and sometimes he packed afield even a small, low-powered telescope.[13]

A newer generation of nature artists has the advantage of the highly developed technology of colour photography to aid in making field notes.

When Allan Brooks left Okanagan Landing on 13 June 1914 to attend the National Rifle Matches at Bisley, England as a member of the Canadian team, little did he know that it would be almost five years before he would see home again. "The Great War," as we used to call it, broke out while he was in England. Brooks tried to enlist in the Imperial Forces, but as he was an officer in the Canadian Militia he had to return to Quebec where he trained with the first Canadian contingent. His distinguished war record has been covered elsewhere.[18] At the Battle Arras he was awarded the D.S.O. and was three times mentioned in dispatches. He was selected as chief instructor in sniping and scouting for the Imperial Forces. In a lighter vein, he drew cartoons for the regimental paper. In 1917 the interrupted diary was resumed, birds observed in France being noted. One has to search for references to war and when they come it is obliquely as in noting the "effect of shell fire on birds

and mammals." During the years overseas Brooks took the opportunity to learn what he could from British and continental nature artists.

The diary entry for 15 April 1919 reads, "Arrived at Okanagan Landing after nearly 5 years absence." The next day he notes, "1st Vesper Sparrow. A little snow in sheltered places on Commonage." Allan Brooks lost no time in resuming his collecting: in 1919, on Vancouver Island and on the Queen Charlottes; in 1920, in Alberta and Florida; and in 1921, again in Florida. The British Museum and the Geological Survey Museum at Ottawa were among his customers. However, the post-war diaries are more apt to record exchanges rather than sales for Allan Brooks had himself become a collector. From now on his livelihood was to come principally from his paintings. In his list of "pictures painted since 1 Nov. 1920" we find that the Audubon Society paid $30 for The Great Horned Owl; Dr. J. C. Phillips bought seven pictures at $50 each, and a picture entitled *Bald Eagle Catching Goldeneyes* (15" x 11") is listed at $100. Subsequent listings indicate a very marked increase in Brooks' income. The collected bird skins served as studio models. Finally the collection grew to over eight thousand items and represented every bird found in North American, north of the Mexican border, with all major variations in plumage being included. After Brooks' death in 1946 the collection was bought by the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, University of California at Berkeley. (Our Provincial Museum was offered the collection but was unable to house it at that time.)

The year 1922 marked an interesting concentration of naturalists in the South Okanagan when Ottawa's Geological Survey decided to look into bird life there. On April 23 Brooks recorded:

> Fred Anderson drove me down in his car to Val Haynes' ranch at the head of Osoyoos Lake where I found Green. [Charles deB. Green, pioneer surveyor at Oliver and later sheep rancher at Keremeos.]

On June 16 Brooks notes that Thackers left and Taverner, Laing, and Allen Sampson arrived. H. M. Laing, in his *Biography of Allan Brooks* which remains in manuscript, tells of this meeting which was to begin a lifelong friendship. He observes that Brooks' hand still showed the effects of a fire the previous year that had destroyed a storage shed and with it precious books and skins, some of the latter dating from Brooks' childhood in India. Laing writes:

> I was introduced to the Brooks prowl, his clever use of decoy calls, particularly owl notes, and his general field magic.[19]

A fuller description of Brooks' bird calling appears in Laing's article published in *The Auk*.[20] Later the party was joined by Frank Farley of Camrose, Alberta and George Gartrell, Fisheries Inspector at Summerland.

In 1920 Brooks attended his first annual meeting of the American Ornithologists' Union held in Washington, D. C. and shortly afterwards he visited Louis Fuertes, the eminent American bird artist, at his home in Ithaca. Brooks and Fuertes worked together in the latter's studio. Harry Harris has left a touching memoir of the relationship of these two artists. The occasion was the first A.O.U. meeting held in Chicago at which an exhibition of bird pictures had been assembled. Harris writes:

> The writer had sneaked out of the formal meeting to examine the pictures unhindered by the crowd. Louis Fuertes was of the same mind and was found seated cross-legged on the floor in deep study before a Brooks picture that had been hung low down on a crowded screen. The friendly artist entered into an illuminating discussion of

> Brooks' work which he greatly admired. He said he envied Allan's facility in handling accessories, and remarked that his compositions without the birds would still be good pictures.[21]

When, a few years later, Fuertes was killed in an automobile accident, Allan Brooks completed Fuertes' last project, the plates for Forbush's *Birds of Massachusetts.*

In the 1920's Brooks' painting began to attract attention in Canada. On 10 February 1926 he received an order for illustrating "Anderson's Arctic Coast Volume" — eleven birds, 12" x 9" in colour, at $40 each — to be delivered before March 31. Wallace H. Robb of Montreal ordered pictures at $35 each, stipulating two or three birds to a plate. At a dinner in Ottawa on 13 October 1926 Robb, on behalf of the Canadian National Exhibition, presented Brooks with a Gold Medal Award of Merit. The following year Robb donated his collection of Brooks' paintings to the Royal Ontario Museum.[22]

When the order came for illustrations for Taverner's *Birds of Western Canada,* the specifications in the interest of economy were for pictures 4 5/8" x 3 5/8", scales to be ½ for small birds, waders ⅓, and larger birds ¼ and 1/7. Brooks' method of opaquing his colours by adding Chinese white to them produced a clarity and brilliance which assured good reproduction. A delightful example of Brooks' ability to work on a small scale is to be found in the book of Okanagan birds which he painted for his son, Allan. There are almost eighty pictures mounted four to a page in a small photographic album, each picture on a square of grey tag about 1¼" x 1¼", and glowing with colour. Allan Cecil Brooks says that very often, in the evening, his father would sit down and in half an hour make him one of these pictures.

It should be said that Brooks considered himself an *illustrator.* He saw his art as the servant of science and strove to present the natural world honestly, intelligibly, and objectively. He eschewed the presentation of a subjective inner world or of a highly individualized concept of the external world.

In 1924 Allan Brooks accompanied his friend Harry Swarth on a collecting expedition to Atlin, B.C. The result of this trip was collaboration on *A Distribution List of the Birds of British Columbia,* published under the auspices of the Cooper Ornithological Club of Berkeley, California in 1925. This book is one of ninety-nine items which Allan Cecil Brooks includes in his comprehensive list of his father's scientific writings. (A.C.B. lists at least seventeen books for which his father was the major illustrator.) Speaking of Brooks' accomplishments G. Clifford Carl, at that time Curator of our Provincial Museum, has written:

> [At Chilliwack he began] to sketch and paint, activities which, coupled with his keen powers of observation and his photographic mind, resulted in his becoming one of the leading bird illustrators of our time. Less widely known, but just as valid, are his scientific papers.[23]

Brooks had a lucid style, dignified but not overly formal, which served him well whether he was writing a scientific work, an article for a more popular periodical, or for his more personal "In Memoriam: Charles deB. Green."[24] His writing remained temperate even when his argument was devastating, as in the article "Early Big-Game Conditions in the Mt. Baker District, Washington." In both his pictures and his writing, Brooks is an expert storyteller. His last paper, published in *The Auk* in October 1945, exemplifies his exposition when he describes the underwater action of the alula or the

wings of white-winged and surf scoters as observed from the lodge windows at Yellow Point near Nanaimo. The style of this last paper is very much that of his first works, even as the handwriting in his last diary entry (12 December 1945) is noticeably that of the man who listed the birds of the Chilliwack Valley in 1890.

In the spring of 1926 Allan Brooks surprised his friends, who regarded him as a confirmed bachelor, by marrying. His wife, Marjorie, had grown up in Arundel, England, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Holmes. In 1926 she was living at Okanagan Landing and mutual friends introduced her and Brooks. Marjorie was a woman of spirit and intelligence with the grace to let her husband be. Laing writes of her:

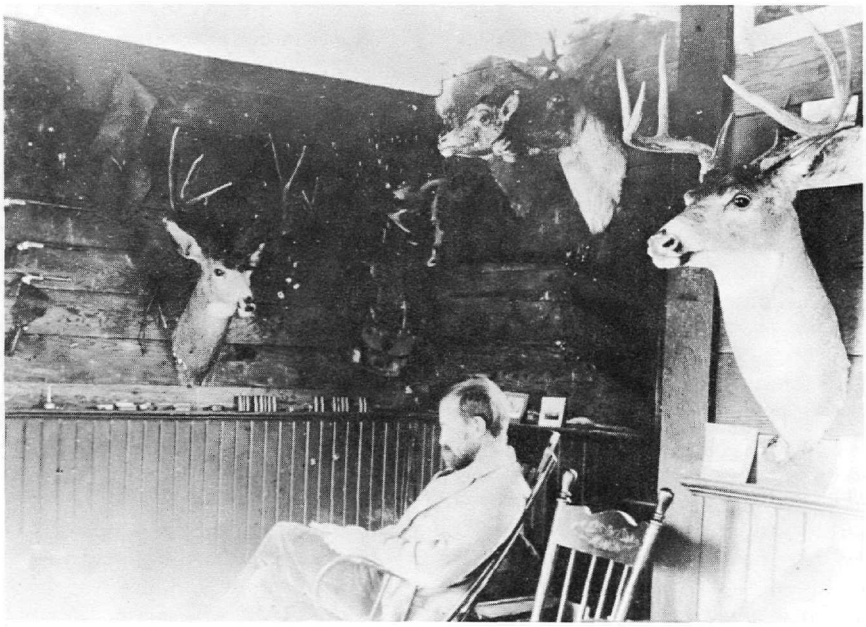
> Marjorie proved a woman of understanding heart, accepting bird men in general and her husband in particular without attempts at alteration.[25]

The wedding trip was to Alert Bay where, predictably, Brooks collected — this time a series of surf birds in spring plumage. The next year Allan Cecil Brooks was born in Vancouver. Marjorie Brooks has written, "Matrimony did not make Brooks a stay-at-home," a remarkable example of understatement. Marjorie did not always accompany her husband on his serious birding expeditions; while Brooks explored bird life in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1930, she took Allan Cecil to visit his grandparents in England, and in the spring of 1933 Brooks went to California for three months alone. But often Marjorie and Allan Cecil, too, were along: New Mexico, Arizona, California, Port Simpson, and the Skeena. In 1928 a second home was built at Comox where winters were sometimes spent, but "summer always found them at their real home at Okanagan Landing." [26] In 1931 the family went to New Zealand and much of 1934 and 1935 was spent in a trip around the world.

World War II put an end to Brooks' longer trips and war conditons interrupted the winter visits to Comox. Winters from 1942 to early 1945 were spent at Sooke, Okanagan Landing, and Yellow Point successively. In May 1943 Allan Brooks made a field trip to Penticton, Okanagan Falls, and Keremeos; in August his diary records a two-day trip up Siwash Arm, and in October two days of camping at Sandy Grant's Bay. In June 1944 he made an eighteen-day round trip in the Kamloops region. In February 1945 he visited Chilliwack where, with his old friend Oliver Wells, he inspected the Luck-a-kuck Bird Sanctuary. Later in the year Brooks spent seventeen days in the South Okanagan and Similkameen, working close to the border. During the war he continued to paint, much of the proceeds from his work going to the Red Cross.

The fall of 1945 found Brooks back in Comox where his final illness caught him in the midst of his usual activities. His friend Hamilton Laing writes touchingly of Brooks' last days:

> Allan Brooks died as he had lived — in the midst of the work he loved. A few days before Christmas 1945, when I visited him in his study at Comox, he was busily plying his brush — a commission of three paintings for the State College of Washington. A dozen fresh skins of waders and waterfowl were at hand on the drying tray. He was ill but made light of it. Next day he finished his last painting, signed it and went to hospital. When I called to see him the evening of Dec. 23 he looked well, talked strongly with the old authority — natural history, every breath of it.
>
> Next evening, Christmas Eve, he underwent an operation. Nothing could be done for him. He sank rapidly but lived to see the New Year, passing away on January 3. Cremation followed his simple funeral. Later, on the range rising above the lake across the water from his Okanagan home — a view he never tired of watching, and a spot



Allan Brooks in his cabin at Okanagan Landing about 1910.

his feet so often had trod — loving hands scattered his ashes.[27]

Upon Brooks' death articles extolling him appeared in the Vancouver papers, in *The Chilliwack Progress* (9 January 1946), *Courtenay-Comox Argus* (January 10), and *The Vernon News* (January 10). G. Clifford Carl wrote in *The Murrelet* of the "valued friend" whose passing leaves "a void that cannot well be filled."[28] Hamilton M. Laing wrote the article quoted above for *The Auk,* and Harry Harris wrote "An Appreciation of Allan Brooks, Zoological Artist" for *The Condor.* Harris concludes:

> Were not woodsman, hunter, trapper, explorer, stalker of big game, internationally recognized master of both the sporting and military rifle, and naturalist enough to betoken a life filled with action, colour and achievement, there is still left soldier, scientist, author and artist!
>
> Competent, modest and proficient in all his endeavours, Allan Brooks succeeded in embodying and perpetuating the maxims of that wise and gifted protagonist of the truth and beauty of animal life, Joseph Wolf. The slogan of both was, "We see distinctly only what we know thoroughly."[29]

FOOTNOTES

1 Marguerite Hodgson, "Major Allan Brooks at Okanagan Landing," MS, Okanagan Historical Society, 1977.

2 Marjorie Brooks, "Allan Brooks: A Biography," *The Condor,* vol. XL, Jan.-Feb. 1938, p. 12.

3 Hamilton M. Laing, "Allan Brooks, 1869-1946," *The Auk,* vol. 64, July 1947, p. 436.

4 *Chilliwack Progress,* 9 January 1946.

5 Allan Brooks, "Early Big-Game Conditions in the Mt. Baker District, Washington," *The Murrelet,* Sept. 1930, pp. 65-67.

6 *Brooks Papers.* All references to the diaries and to letters refer to this collection which is in the possession of Allan Cecil Brooks, Pender Island. The diaries are in manuscript.

7 *Vancouver Province,* 23 November 1946.

8 *Vernon News,* 28 August 1969.

9 Brooks, "Early Big-Game Conditions," p. 66.

10 Marjorie Brooks, p. 10.

11 *Ibid.*

12 J. W. Wilkinson, "Allan Brooks: A Modern Audubon," *Vancouver Sunday Province,* 14 December 1930, p. 5.

13 Laing, p. 439.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 437-8.

15 Marjorie Brooks, p. 14.

16 H. J. Parham, *A Nature Lover in British Columbia,* London, 1937, pp. 25-26.

17 W. L. Dawson, "Allan Brooks: An Appreciation," *The Condor,* vol. XV, Mar.-Apr. 1913, p. 69.

18 Marjorie Brooks.

19 H. M. Laing, "Allan Brooks: A Biography," MS, Brooks Papers, p. 7.

20 Laing, *Auk,* p. 435.

21 Harry Harris, "An Appreciation of Allan Brooks, Zoological Artist: 1869-1946," *The Condor,* vol. 48, July-Aug. 1946, p. 153.

22 Harry Harris was instrumental in having the C.O.C. arrange one-man shows of Brooks' work in San Diego, 1928 and Los Angeles, 1936. The Vernon Museum, in conjunction with the Vernon Art Association, has exhibited Brooks' paintings. The major exhibit was one assembled by the Provincial Museum in 1969, the centenary of Brooks' birth. Works were borrowed from the National Geographic Society, Royal Ontario Museum, National Museum at Ottawa, Glenbow Foundation, and many private collectors, and exhibited in both Vernon and Victoria. See: *Vernon News,* 2 September 1969.

23 G. Clifford Carl, "In Memoriam — Allan Brooks," *The Murrelet,* Jan.-Apr. 1946, p. 14.

24 Allan Brooks, "In Memoriam: Charles deB. Green," *The Condor,* January 1930, pp. 9-11.

25 Laing, *Auk,* p. 433.

26 Marjorie Brooks, p. 16.

27 Laing, *Auk,* pp. 443-4.

28 Carl, p. 14.

29 Harris, p. 153.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to acknowledge the kindness of Allan Cecil Brooks in allowing me to examine his father's diaries, letters, and paintings, much of which has never been published. Brooks directed me to items of particular relevance to the Okanagan and often fleshed out the rather sparse record in the papers from his personal knowledge.

J.W.

REMINISCENCES ABOUT ENTOMOLOGY IN THE OKANAGAN

Dr. James Marshall

One of the older research organizations of the federal government is its Entomology Laboratory in the Okanagan Valley. Originally an autonomous unit known as the Dominion Entomological Laboratory, it now functions as the Entomology Laboratory of the Summerland Research Station. The first of its present-day buildings, hard by Highway 97 near the Trout Creek bridge, were so located in 1946 because much of the work of the entomologists is done in growers' orchards from Salmon Arm to Osoyoos-Keremeos, and ready access to the Valley's main highway cuts travel time.

The following account shows how intimately, and widely, the laboratory has been involved in the affairs of the British Columbia tree fruits industry.

The history of the Entomology Laboratory began in 1919 when accommodation was obtained on the third floor of the Vernon Court House. Heading the new laboratory was E. R. Buckell, a graduate of Cambridge University. He was at first assisted by E. P. Venables, later by A. A. Dennys, and still later by A. D. Heriot. All were transplanted Englishmen and a more colourful lot never graced the Dominion Department of Agriculture.

My association with the laboratory began in September 1938 with a long distance call from W. A. Ross, Head, Fruit Insects Investigations, Ottawa, to the Washington State Experiment Station at Wenatchee. In those days public funds were not dispensed with the abandon now in evidence and there was a Scot at each end of the long, long distance line. So the conversation went like this: "That you Jimmie?" "Yes," "W. A. Ross here. The B.C. fruit industry is in one hell of a mess. It's lost its whole American market. Excessive arsenical residue on apples. Come on home!" "I'll have to talk with my American wife. Call you back." And later: "That you Mr. Ross?" "Yes," "Okay you're on. I'll report the end of the year. Good bye."

So it was, that very early one cold December morning, 1938, we crossed the border at Osoyoos en route to Vernon.

Only Tom, the family cat, had misgivings. At the border he jumped ship. When the car door was opened for Customs inspection Tom shot out. Headed due south he melted into the semi-darkness. American upbringing it seems, proved stronger than family ties.

Buckell had been put in charge of a small laboratory that was opened at Kamloops for the study of grasshoppers. I replaced him, taking charge of fruit insects investigations at Vernon. So in 1939 there were five of us, Venables, Dennys, Heriot, Miss Eager (our stenographer), and myself. The following year we had the assistance of D. B. Waddell, a fourth year Science student at the University of B.C.

In 1942, following the untimely death of Alec Dennys (due, it was believed, to arsenical poisoning contracted from exposure while engaged in experimental work), Harry Andison was transferred from the Victoria laboratory to the Vernon laboratory. He remained until 1946 when the laboratory was moved to its present site in Summerland.

Heriot and Venables retired in 1946 and 1947 respectively. They were succeeded by C. V. G. Morgan, a University of B. C. graduate, and M. D. Proverbs from Macdonald College of McGill University. In the forties the need of the fruit industry for more entomological research became so pres-

sing that two more entomologists were appointed to the Summerland laboratory, D. B. Waddell and R. S. Downing, both from the University of B. C.

The transformation of the laboratory staff was then complete. The naturalist with his modulated English voice had been replaced by the university-trained Canadian with his monotone.

Later, W. H. A. Wilde joined the staff to investigate the way in which the virus of little cherry disease is transmitted from tree to tree. He, too, was a University of B. C. graduate.

In 1963 I retired. The new head of the laboratory was Harold Madsen, an Associate Professor of Entomology from the University of California. His approach was similar to mine — to control the insect and mite pests of fruit by the most effective and safest means possible, and to advocate chemical control only as a last resort. We both recognized, however, that under existing conditions the British Columbia tree fruits industry literally depended for its existence on the intelligent use of pesticides, most of them synthetic.

Since my departure the staff of the Summerland laboratory has been augmented by R. D. McMullen who was transferred from the Harrow, Ontario laboratory in 1964.

An integral part of the laboratory since its removal to Summerland has been the Chemistry Section. Originally it was headed by J. M. McArthur assisted by Kenneth Williams and F. E. Brinton, and later G. A. Wardle. In 1970 Kenneth Williams died. His death was a bad blow indeed for the laboratory and for the fruit industry for he was a most competent researcher. His position was filled by J. D. McNeil. When J. M. McArthur joined the animal Research group at the Research Station he was replaced by A. P. Gaunce.

Before discussing some of the accomplishments of the Entomology Laboratory mention must be made of two technicians who were added to the staff of the forties. George Lewis attended to virtually everything involved in the maintenance of the laboratory and its experimental orchard. Gordon Halvorson came to take charge of the machinery, particularly the light auto-

Laboratory Staff, 1963. From left, front row: Jean Eddie, J. Marshall, Bernice Carty, J. M. McArthur. Second row: Kenneth Williams, C. V. G. Morgan, M. D. Proverbs, R. S. Downing, A. D. McMechan. Third row: Eric Brinton, George Wardle, Norman Anderson, D. P. Pielou. Back row: George Lewis, Gordon Halvorson.

matic concentrate sprayer that was being developed for an industry desperately in need of it. Subsequently the sprayers and the development of our bulk fruit handling technique were under the direction of A. D. McMechan who came via the B. C. Department of Agriculture from the Department of Agricultural Engineering of the University of B. C.

In the laboratory work, which had become increasingly heavy since the initiation of a complex project to control the codling moth by the release of sexually sterile moths, several additional technicians have been taken on staff.

Inasmuch as administrative policy played a significant role in the effectiveness of the laboratory, there is a final comment regarding staff. I held that most of the administrative work could be handled by a competent secretary. I viewed the proliferation of administrators as symptomatic of bureaucracy come to be longer on funds than ideas. Parkinson's Law, it seemed to me, offered little for the hard-pressed fruit grower. Consequently, the secretary at the Entomology Laboratory functioned as administrator-stenographer. It was grinding work, but the successive girls who did the job did it admirably. They left me free to work with the fruit growers in their orchards at the sort of thing for which I had been trained.

Now to some of the highlights up to the time of my departure in 1963. Subsequent progress must await another historian. Oddly enough the most evident contributions to the horticultural economy were not strictly entomological at all. Whenever something popped up that obviously needed doing, the entomologists (at least one of them) seemed to be attracted as mice to cheese. Sometimes insects were involved, sometimes not.

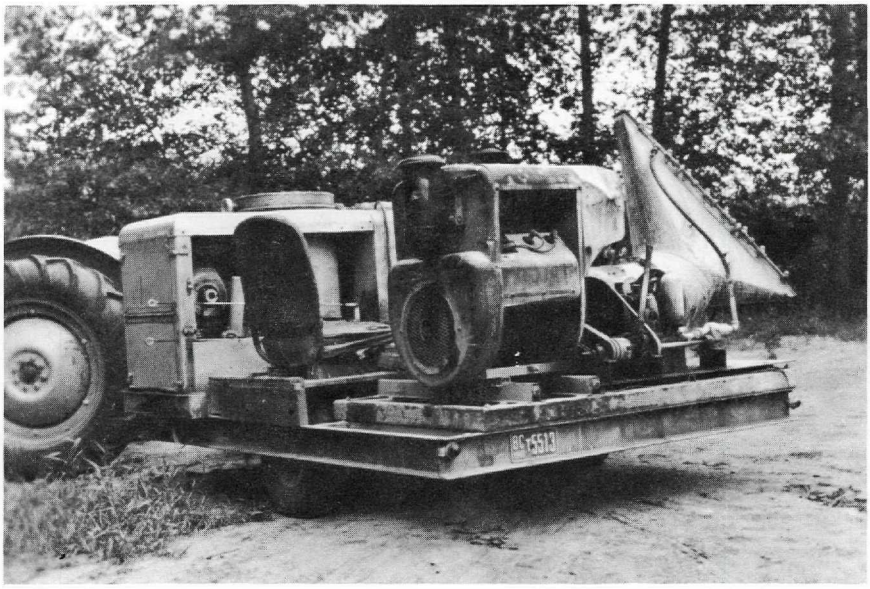
In 1938 the United States banned the sale of British Columbia apples because they carried an unacceptable residue of arsenic that had resulted from the application of lead arsenate to control the codling moth. It was a serious matter for the fruit growers because they depended heavily on the United States market. In the spring of 1939 the Laboratory set to work on the problem. By apple harvest it had been solved. Once more Okanagan apples moved across the border and they have continued to move across the border ever since.

It was a matter of putting greater emphasis on the early "first-brood" codling moth spray applications and substituting cryolite-oil or fixed nicotine-oil for the arsenical in later applications.

The Laboratory recommended that all packing houses be equipped with dual brush-buffer fruit wipers. On no account were fruitwashers to be installed. These costly, gargantuan devices, mandatory in Washington State where arsenical deposits were much heavier than those under the new spray schedule in British Columbia, would have added too much to the cost of production. The packing houses quickly installed the new wipers and the sales appeal of British Columbia apples was distinctly enhanced. In an industry only too familiar with crises another had been disposed of.

In 1939, at the request of the Keremeos growers, the Laboratory undertook to determine if the codling moth could be eradicated by removal of all apples before they could become infested. It turned out that total removal would have to be done for at least two successive years. That was impractical.

The experiment was carried out on an isolated orchard in the Oyama area. The orchard was sprayed at blossom-time with compounds known to be toxic to the blossoms. Two of us did the work. At harvest-time the trees that I



Experimental, low volume sprayer developed for the Okanagan.

had sprayed with dinitrocresol carried no fruit. Those sprayed by Harry Evans, the Provincial Horticulturist at Vernon, carried a crop of well-sized apples. The reason for the difference was that I had sprayed the trees to the degree necessary for control of the codling moth under the exacting conditions of Washington State, whereas Harry sprayed in the more casual manner customary in British Columbia.

This set me to thinking. Why not use a chemical to thin apples instead of clambering about on a ladder and laboriously thinning by hand, a costly business indeed? I mentioned the possibility to R. C. Palmer, then Director of the Summerland Experimental Station.

The following year the Experimental Station people undertook to examine the proposal. Using dinitrocresol as the thinning agent they got fairly good results. The news got about. Shortly thereafter word came from Washington State that the sodium salt of dinitrocresol was being suggested for trial as a spray thinning agent. Soon spray thinning became general in Washington and British Columbia. To this day dinitrocresol is one of the several thinning agents in use.

Here was a case of serendipity, an accidental "spinoff" to the horticultural industry from an entomological experiment. Spray thinning wasn't applied entomology. But what matter? The fruit growers have found it to be a great help.

In the difficult codling moth years of the early forties the Entomological Laboratory aided by Ben Hoy, Provincial Horticulturist, Kelowna, experimented with a wide range of possible subsitutes for lead arsenate, one of the most dangerous and insidious poisons ever applied to an edible crop.

At that time, malaise or "spray sickness" was common-place. Nearly every Okanagan Valley doctor had to deal with it. And since even more lead

arsenate than fertilizer was moving into the orchards the orchard soils were rapidly becoming poisoned.

Fortunately, the experimental work led to a recommendation that the application of lead arsenate for the control of the codling moth be discontinued because sufficiently effective substitutes had been discovered. The fruit industry quickly adopted the recommendation. And so it came about that the British Columbia fruit growers were the first in the world to be rid of the most hazardous of insecticides. This was truly a significant "first", and in restrospect, much more might have been made of it in the world fruit markets. People don't, by choice, eat stuff like lead arsenate.

Here is a bit about a lead arsenate substitute that backfired. One of the substitutes was a mixture of an emulsified light fraction of petroleum and micronized phenothiazine. We had handled it for three years with excellent results and without incident. Several cooperating laboratories in the United States confirmed our results. The toxicological data on phenothiazine were reassuring. We finally recommended it for grower use. That was a mistake.

All went well until the advent of very hot weather. Then came trouble. The faces of several growers swelled as though inflated. A number were hospitalized, their bodies a mass of prurient blisters. Only sedation kept them from near insanity. Those of us who were responsible (chiefly myself) sweated it out. Fortunately no one died; but it was a near thing. The unforeseen fact was that a very small proportion of us are incredibly allergic to phenothiazine. Indeed one grower, hospitalized for weeks, finally returned home long after the last spray had been applied. No sooner had he gone up the driveway through his trees than allergic symptoms recurred, and back to hospital he went. So it came about that a highly effective insecticide had to be stricken from the spray recommendations.

Coincidental with the search for better and safer insecticides than lead arsenate was a search for a more efficient, less labourious and cheaper way of applying them. With the advent of DDT we had at last, an extremely effective insecticide for controlling the codling moth. It didn't need to be heavily and uniformly applied. Would it be feasible to distribute it as a dust rather than a spray? Dusting would be far faster and far less labourious.

These speculations led to an experiment in which mortars made of eight-inch stove pipe were set up in line, upwind from an orchard in the Coldstream district. Each was loaded with a charge of black powder purloined from the explosives magazine of the Canadian Army training camp at Vernon. Packed above the explosive was a bag of finely divided hydrated lime. In the evening, with gentle air movement through the orchard, the mortars were fired. Dull booms echoed around Coldstream. Thunder on a clear night? Strange! The hydrated lime was deposited but coverage was too irregular. Evidently another bright idea had perished.

But not so. That experiment led to further speculation about air as a carrier for pesticides, speculation that was to have tremendous significance for fruit growers the world over. It generated a project for the development of a light-weight, low-volume, automatic, concentrate sprayer.

Work on this project commenced in 1946 with the collaboration of Frank Owen, a technician from the machine shops of the Canadian Department of National Defence at Suffield, Alberta. That year the Besler Corporation of California had brought a light steam sprayer into the Okanagan. The

laboratory got one of these units for examination. It produced reasonably good spray coverage but could only be operated under the most favourable conditions, generally at night. It did, however, offer further hope that a light machine suitable for the small tractors and often hilly orchards of this area could be developed.

That winter I dreamed up an experimental, low-volume sprayer and transferred the idea to paper. Frank Owen looked it over and said he could put the machine together. He set to work on this somewhat illicit job in, of all places, a Canadian Army workshop in the Prairies. Next spring he reported that the job was finished and he was sending the machine to Penticton.

Soon we were advised that our brainchild had arrived. Full of curiosity we rushed down to collect it. And there it was in the semi-darkness at the end of a freight car, a truly incredible contraption. It was a mass of gears. Motors, belts, blowers, pumps and valves protruded insanely above the four airwheels on which it sat.

We hauled it up to the laboratory and set about finding how to operate it. To our surprise it was quite tractable and we soon put it to work. To operate the thing you started the small gasoline engine that powered its Besler steam boiler. Then, while generating steam, you started the twenty horsepower motor that powered a high-pressure hydraulic pump and an axial-flow fan. By opening one valve you got a steam-atomized spray fog propelled by an airstream moving at about one hundred miles per hour. By closing that valve and opening another you got a spray mist generated by the hydraulic pump and similarly propelled.

The key to the great significance of the device was that the droplet-size of the spray mist could be varied at will by varying the steam temperature; the higher the temperature the smaller the droplets. Now we could determine the optimum droplet size to make a highly concentrated spray mixture a feasible proposition. Droplets too fine, spray fog uncontrollable; droplets too coarse, spray injury. The optimum droplet size proved to be approximately fifty microns. When that was determined we were able to approximate the same droplet size in the hydraulic system by adjusting pump pressure, swirl-plate apertures and nozzle apertures. Then we were able to tell potential manufacturers how to go about building a low-volume, automatic, concentrate sprayer for the fruit grower.

Eventually, the so-called Rube Goldberg having served its purpose, a commercial unit was produced in 1949 by the Penticton firm that had made modifications on our experimental machine as we tested it in the control of various insects, mites, and fungus diseases. Their low-volume, automatic, concentrate sprayer was an immediate success. Soon two other Okanagan firms were making their own variations on the model. And in New Zealand, Australia and Great Britain other firms followed suit. Eventually concentrate spraying, or low-volume spraying as it came to be called, was world-wide.

In a surprisingly short time the British Columbia tree fruits industry completely mechanized its spraying operations. Instead of applying five hundred gallons, or more, of spray liquid per acre with hand guns (a slow and filthy procedure), the grower now applied very rapidly, perhaps fifty gallons. He alone did the job and he sat comfortably in the seat of his tractor while he did it. And he could afford the relatively small unit that made it possible. Emancipation indeed!

As a result of our work on low-volume spraying I was invited to explain it in various countries overseas. In the fifties while on such a mission in New Zealand I had the good fortune to be one of the first to see a revolutionary method of handling fruit. A grower on the South Island had mounted large bins on surplus bomber wheels and was picking directly into them a ton at a time! I could hardly believe it! (We had been picking into forty-pound boxes ever since our industry began.) Each bin was hauled to the packinghouse and backed down an inclined ramp; a gate was opened at the bottom end and the apples slowly flowed out onto a conveyor belt that fed a grader.

When the grader was full a mercury switch cut the electric motor that powered the conveyor belt and the slow movement from the bin was halted. With amazement I watched that huge mass of apples moving like a glacial flow with never a bruise nor a bump. Then I got busy with my camera.

Could we adapt this idea in our own industry? I had more than a strong suspicion that we could. As soon as I got home I had my films developed. Then in growers' meetings all over the fruit growing area began a slow job of convincing our people that the New Zealanders were now on the verge of being years ahead of us in fruit handling and we'd better get busy and move into the twentieth century.

Fortunately there were some who could see the point. But most thought that the idea of picking into huge bins was utter nonsense. Eventually came the annual meeting of the B. C. Fruit Growers' Association. After I had waved my arms and harangued for some minutes on the platform, the president received a motion that two representatives be sent to New Zealand to look into the new procedure. He called for a vote. Unanimous approval! I was delighted. The provincial government added a horticulturist and after some argument, the federal government too, added a horticulturist. The mission then left for the Antipodes, and was soon back. "Let's get cracking," they said.

It so happened that as I had anticipated, the two men who could best determine the feasibility of the New Zealand idea were members of our staff, the engineer, McMechan, and his assistant, Halvorson, who had been refining the low-volume sprayer. They were quickly shunted into the new job.

The fact that our industry completely converted its operations to the bulk handling of its fruit within three or four years shows just how well they did it.

No longer does the grower have to swamp hundreds of forty to fifty pound boxes of fruit one by one at the end of his day in the orchard. He simply backs his tractor, fork-lift equipped, under half-ton bin after half-ton bin, pulls a lever to actuate his hydraulic pump and trundles off to the roadside. There the bins are stacked on a truck, again with a hydraulic hoist, and so to the packing house.

At the packing house the process is repeated. The seven-box manually-handled clamp unit, for over fifty years a *sine qua non* of the packing house, is no more. And the bushel picking box has joined it in history. Such is the story of bulk handling in the British Columbia tree fruits industry. Entomological it was not. But who cared?

The Entomology Laboratory had a hand in another apparently non-entomological crusade. That crusade preceded the introduction of the dwarf and semi-dwarf apple tree and so-called intensive planting.

While spreading the gospel of low-volume spraying overseas I was busy getting about in the overseas orchards. I was impressed by the diminutive apple trees, whether in New Zealand, Tasmania, England, Germany, Holland or Belgium. By comparison our trees were giants. And the larger they were the more inferior fruits they tended to produce and the more difficult and costly they were to spray, prune and pick.

After my trip to England and Europe in 1959, I decided to go flat out and urge intensive planting even if in so doing I might step on some sensitive toes, which indeed I did. I wrote a report on the journey and was quite unequivocal about our need to scrap our orchard giants. The report was well circulated among the growers and it brought results. I justified my stand as an entomologist on the basis of entomological need. Small trees would need a lesser amount of pesticide than large trees and could be adequately sprayed with smaller equipment!

Already two highly competent growers had demonstrated that the dwarf tree and the semi-dwarf tree were practical in the Okanagan area. They were George Robinson of Penticton and Louis Van Roechoudt of Okanagan Centre. But their work had been virtually ignored.

Soon after that report was circulated, the subject of intensive planting with small trees came in for careful consideration throughout the industry. The outcome was an entirely new look in Okanagan and Similkameen orchards. The small tree arrived in its tens of thousands. The large tree on its seedling rootstock was finished. And, as in the case of the spray gun and the bushel picking box, good riddance!

In the mid-fifties I came across a most interesting article in the Journal of Economic Entomology. It was an account of the eradication from the Island of Curacao of a nasty pest of cattle, the screw worm, by the liberation of thousands of male screw worm flies that had been sexually sterilized by gamma irradiation. The females mated with these neuters; but it was love's labour lost. There were no offspring. Eventually the pest was wiped out.

The life histories of the screw worm fly and the codling moth had enough in common that I became intrigued with the idea of a grand project to assess the sterile male technique against the codling moth. The possibilities were assuredly there. If we didn't need an insecticide to control the codling moth we wouldn't incidentally run the risk of killing the predators of some five species of orchard mites. And, if we didn't harm the predators, perhaps we could get back to the days when Nature herself took care of excessive populations. No expensive miticides — no continuing development of resistance to these same miticides! The prospect was alluring.

I got the staff together. What about it? They were impressed. Off went a lengthy letter to headquarters at Ottawa requesting permission to allocate a considerable portion of our budget to a new project: control of the codling moth by the liberation of sexually sterile male insects. The answer was "No." Back went a second letter, then a third. Eventually, good news, we were to proceed.

The obvious man to head this unquestionably difficult and involved project was M. D. Proverbs. Would he tackle the job? He consented. Over twenty years later and after an incredible series of difficulties, the codling moth may well be eradicated from the Similkameen by 1979. The great idea is proceeding pretty much according to plan, although it is taking longer and is costing

more than was anticipated. Should success be achieved in the Similkameen, the various Okanagan apple areas would be dealt with one by one.

This project was but part of an overall proposal to combat our orchard pests with what is called integrated control. We launched a project along that line in five orchards in various parts of the fruit growing area in the late fifties. By doing everything possible to ensure the survival of beneficial insects and mites we were able to show the growers how they could save two spray applications every year. At the current price of labour and pesticides that sort of information is as manna from Heaven.

The foregoing are a few of the more interesting highlights of the operations of the Entomology Laboratory from 1939 to 1963. During that time the essential, though unheralded, investigations on the control of injurious insects and mites were continually going forward. The point is that while the laboratory got involved willy-nilly in a number of non-entomological activities, its main function was not neglected. No injurious insect or mite ever got out of control.

The record of the Laboratory is a matter of satisfaction for the staff. Perhaps the general air of good humour about the place, the complete absence of the stuffed-shirt mentality and the ability of the lot to laugh at themselves may have had a part in the origins of the several innovations that transformed the tree fruits industry. At any rate, the Ent. Lab., so-called, has been a happy place. May it long continue so!

THE WHELANS: PIONEERS OF THE ELLISON DISTRICT

Robert M. Hayes

The early Okanagan ranchers and farmers, through their hard work, determination and strong faith in the goodness of this valley, opened this vast region for later settlement. Were it not for the firm dedication of these individuals, the later arrivals would probably have found life in this Valley too rough and would have moved to a more civilized environment. The Whelans were among our earliest pioneers.

George Whelan was born in the village of Clayhill, Hertfordshire, England on May 14, 1844; he was one of seven children born to Peter and Sarah Whelan. Peter Whelan was a gardener by trade, and it was probably assumed that George would follow his father's occupation. However, he chose not to become a gardener and in 1865 announced that he intended to leave his native England and sail for New Zealand where gold had recently been discovered. Thus he quit England, sailing from the East India docks. The trip to New Zealand was a long one and, unfortunately, the rewards did little to justify such a journey. After five hard years in New Zealand, with no great success in the hunt for the elusive gold, Whelan became restless and decided to leave that island country.

In the spring of 1870 Whelan arrived in Victoria, at that time the main centre in the Crown Colony of British Columbia. Victoria was still feeling the effects of the Cariboo gold strikes and Whelan was soon consumed by the gold fever which had trapped so many. As thousands before him had done, Whelan made the long journey to the gold fields, but once again his golden dreams were not to be realized.

In 1871 the Colony of British Columbia concluded negotiations with the Dominion of Canada and it was announced that the colony would become the sixth province in the young country. It was agreed that a railway would be built, spanning the country and linking the Pacific province to the eastern parts of the nation. Whelan was able to turn his eyes towards this venture; he found work on the preliminary survey of the Canadian Pacific Railway, between Kamloops and Fort Edmonton. He was later assigned to work on the Fraser Canyon section and spent some time near Spence's Bridge. One year of railway work proved enough for Whelan and in 1873 he once again decided to seek greener pastures. He quit the railway and headed for the Okanagan Valley.

The Valley was settled by not more than a few dozen families. Whelan travelled south through the Valley, passing Ellison (Duck) Lake where he met George Simpson, the pioneer rancher. Whelan was informed that he might find employment on the ranch of Eli Lequime who was at that time the wealthiest man in the central Okanagan. For a time Whelan worked on Lequime's ranch, but by the summer of 1874 he was once again ready for a change.

Gold fever had not completely left Whelan and he spent the summer of 1874 panning for gold on Mission Creek. That winter and for several years to follow he worked on a trapline which extended to the Kootenays. This was a most strenuous occupation and several years of it proved sufficient for Whelan!

Sometime in the late 1870's Whelan chose to return to ranching and he

George Whelan: pioneer Ellison rancher.

settled on a piece of land near Mill Creek which had been staked in the 1850's by William Pion, a Sandwich Islander. Whelan later disposed of this property for several head of cattle which he sold for fifteen dollars each.

About 1880 Whelan preempted land which formed the nucleus of the Cloverdale Ranch in the Ellison district. He chose the name "Cloverdale" because he was the first man to introduce clover into the Okanagan Valley. Whelan was a most successful and industrious farmer. He, like all the early ranchers, possessed few tools and was obliged to make many of his implements. His wagon wheels were made from large trees and harness from rawhide. He was fortunate to own a grindstone and mower which had been brought in on the back of a horse over the Hope Trail. He continued to expand his holding and by the time he sold his ranch in 1907, he owned more than three thousand acres of fine land.[1]

The Whelan home, Ellison, B.C. Lucy Whelan is seated; George Whelan is on horseback. Photo taken in 1887.

The first Whelan home was a log cabin built by Whelan. It was large for the times, with a living room and kitchen combined, two bedrooms on the ground floor and a large room upstairs, under the pitch of the roof. Whelan was now well established and was considering marriage.

In 1882 Whelan sent for his betrothed, Lucy Freeman. She had been born in the village of Great Chesterford, Essex, England on January 1, 1852, the daughter of Samuel and Lydia Freeman. She had been trained as a domestic cook and for a time found employment in a large home in Essex. She departed from Liverpool and sailed for Victoria by way of Cape Horn. Having been forewarned not to talk to anyone on board the ship save the captain, much of the voyage was spent in her small cabin waiting for the long hours to pass. Eventually the ship reached Victoria where Lucy disembarked. From Victoria she travelled by boat to Yale and then by stage to Cache Creek, by way of the canyon road. At Cache Creek she changed stages and took the Kamloops stage to the Spallumcheen Valley, north of Vernon. While waiting for the arrival of her fiance, Lucy found accommodation on the Fulton farm.

Whelan arrived shortly thereafter and they were married by the Justice of the Peace at the ranch of Alexander Leslie Fortune on September 22, 1882. With his new bride Whelan then headed south to his ranch in the Mission Valley.

Lucy Whelan (1852-1911).

Pioneer life was quite a change for Lucy Whelan, but she had the choice of adapt or perish. It was not a sense of heroism which caused her to change lifestyles; it was a necessity that she learn how to bake over an open hearth, to make candles and soup, and to work alongside her husband in the field. However, she could not completely forget the relative comfort of her home in England and she was determined to make her new home as pleasant as possible. In an effort to bring some look of comfort to her home, she tore up her petticoats and made curtains for the small cabin windows.

There was little time for rest and even a pregnancy was not allowed to interfere with the daily pioneer life. Thus, in April 1883, although expecting her first child, Lucy was called to the fields. A neighbour's pigs had escaped their pen and were rooting among Whelan's crops. Forgetting her condition, Lucy siezed a broom and rushed out to help George chase the porkers from

the field. These exertions brought on labour and Lucy was taken to the cabin where she gave birth. The infant girl was two months premature and was so small that it was remarked that she could have fit into a quart jar! There was no doctor available and the only assistance was that of Mrs. Brent, a neighbour. It was not expected that the baby would live, but with great care Nellie Florence did survive and lived until 1973, when she died at the advanced age of ninety years.

About 1884 Whelan planted the first commercial orchard in the Ellison district. He had inherited from his father the ability to make things grow and flourish. As well as growing the usual Okanagan crops, Whelan experimented with more exotic plants; he successfully cultivated plums, almonds and several types of melons. Although he took delight in such projects, his major enterprise was still raising cattle and he had a herd of five hundred fine animals. He also raised hogs which were driven to Vernon to be sold.

Whelan was a strong believer in the community. His family was strong in its support of schools and the church. In 1885 he donated an acre of land on which a school, the Whelan School, was built. Prior to this, the children of the Ellison district had attended school in an upstairs room of the Joseph Christien home. One of the teachers at the first school was Miss Dorothea Thomson of the Okanagan Mission. Miss Thomson lived with the Whelan family during the week and returned to her Okanagan Mission home for the weekends.

While relations between the Whelans and Miss Thomson were very cordial, such was not the case with another Ellison teacher who had a long standing feud with Whelan. Both combatants had strong characters and thus frequently clashed. This teacher was known to wear a wig and Whelan was determined that he would see her without her hairpiece. Naturally the poor woman would not consent to remove her wig, especially for Whelan. Late one night, after all of the Whelans and the teacher had gone to bed, suddenly there was a loud cry, "Fire! Fire!" Everyone piled out of their beds and hurried outside, to find Whelan standing there yelling as loudly as he could. In her haste to vacate the house, the teacher naturally neglected to don her wig and was seen, for the first time, in her natural state. She had been a victim of Whelan's prank. No doubt she protested loudly but few would listen because she was anything but popular, due to her hot temper and sharp tongue.

The Whelan family had grown as the years passed. In 1884 another daughter, Margaret Annie, was born. This was followed by the birth of Lucy Laura in 1886, and Minnie May in 1887. A son, Robert George, was born in 1892. Two Whelans, Mary and Robert, died in infancy and were buried on the Cloverdale Ranch. The Whelans were not alone in experiencing the death of an infant child; death was very much a part of the pioneer life and few families did not lose at least one child to the grim reaper.

With the family growing, Whelan decided to vacate the log home and in 1893 the family moved into the larger Cloverdale home. This lofty, Victorian home was described by *The Vernon News* as one of the finest of its day.[2]

In 1904 the Whelan family (seven in all) returned to England for an extended holiday. While in that country the Whelan children were able to meet their English kin and the elder Whelans were able to renew old acquaintances. The great city of London must have seemed such a contrast to the unsettled Okanagan Valley.

Whelan was anxious to reduce the size of his ranch and in 1907 he sold the Cloverdale Ranch to William Henry Cross of Winnipeg. Included in the sale were ten acres of orchard, the Cloverdale home, outbuildings and barn, 475 head of cattle, 1,292 acres of bottomland and two thousand acres of rangeland. The selling price was $69,430. One can only speculate as to today's value of such an immense holding. Cross owned the ranch for only a short time, selling it to Thomas Bulman in whose family the ranch remained for many years.

George Whelan had a new home built to the south of Cloverdale and here the Whelans once again settled. The family was, each year, becoming smaller in size as the young Whelans married: Nellie (1883-1973) married J. Ferman Bell in 1903, Laura (1886-1919) married Ernest Leslie Clement in 1909, and Minnie (born 1887) married Augustus "Gus" Macdonnell in 1914. The house did seem large but no doubt the Whelans were counting on having many grandchildren with whom to fill the many upstairs rooms.

In 1911 Lucy discovered that she needed surgery and travelled to Vancouver for that purpose. In September she underwent a successful operation and it was predicted that she would soon be able to return to her family. After the operation, despite her greatly weakened condition, she tried too quickly to resume her normal activities. While up and around in the hospital she caught a chill which developed into pneumonia. Lucy died on September 10, 1911. The funeral was held in Kelowna and burial was in the Kelowna Cemetery, at the foot of Mt. Dilworth. She was survived by her husband and five children.

Whelan chose to remain in Ellison near his family. Son Robert never married and lived with his father. In 1919 the Whelan family suffered the passing of Laura who died at the age of thirty-three years and left her husband and two young children to mourn her.

George Whelan remained active for most of the rest of his life. The family continued to centre about him and his home in Ellison. His daughters doted on him and lovingly did as he bid. His long life was brought to a peaceful conclusion in August 1927; he was eighty-three years old at the time of his death and he had resided in this valley for fifty-four years.

The Kelowna Courier wrote a glowing tribute to this pioneer rancher. Many of Whelan's accomplishments were carefully listed. One of the kindest things which was said of him was ". . . when he had made a competence and had retired from active work, he did not desert the valley as others have done, but continued to make it his preferred choice of abode and was happy in it." A cortege extending fully two miles accompanied Whelan's body to its final resting place.

The Whelan children, like their parents, chose not to abandon this valley and lived here for their entire lives. Robert Whelan died in Kelowna on January 17, 1944. Margaret (Mrs. Clement) lived on in Kelowna and district until her death in April 1962. Nellie lived all of her ninety years in the central Okanagan. The youngest of the Whelan girls, Minnie May Macdonnell, still lives in Ellison not far from the ranch on which she was born in 1887. She has lived almost all of her ninety years in Ellison and has seen much change in those years. She is currently Kelowna's oldest native-born resident and is truly a pioneer. Minnie Macdonnell, like her parents, brother and sisters, worked to develop this valley so that others might enjoy it.

FOOTNOTES

1 For a description of the Cloverdale Ranch, see *The Vernon News,* September 10, 1891.

2 For a description of the Cloverdale home, see *The Vernon News,* October 5, 1893.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The information for this biography has been collected from newspaper clippings, the Whelan family bible, a short autobiography written by George Whelan about 1908 and personal interviews. The following persons were the main informants: Minnie May Macdonnell (nee Whelan); Nellis Florence Bell (nee Whelan); Mrs. F. L. Jameson of Northumberland, England, daughter of Thomas Wood and Nellie Whelan, George's sister; and Mrs. J. H. Hayes, daughter of Margaret Annie Clement (nee Whelan).

Deserted homesite on the Commonage.

AMY HAYHURST WINKLES: Matron of Armstrong Hospital

Mrs. W. D. Blackburn

Edith Amy Hayhurst, Matron of the Armstrong-Spallumcheen Hospital for seven years, was born in New Westminster in 1890. She was definitely a product of her time. Her Victorian upbringing, which produced qualities of conscientious hard work and dedication to duty, were to fit her admirably for the job of matron of a new hospital in a fast-growing community.

Her mother, Edith Mary Hardy, came from Barnston, Yorkshire, when she was sixteen years old and settled with her parents in New Westminster. Miss Hardy, in her late teens, worked at the B. C. Mental Hospital in New Westminster at a time when the total staff of that institution numbered only three persons. She married a sea captain by the name of Cowan and in 1890 a daughter was born to them. They called her Edith Amy. This marriage was later annulled and, when Amy was six years old, her mother married William Thomas Hayhurst, a childhood sweetheart from Yorkshire. Mr. and Mrs. Hayhurst and Amy came to live on the 178-acre homestead in the Hullcar district where William Hayhurst had built a very lovely home for his bride. It was all of cedar logs and with five bedrooms on the upper floor and four rooms on the main floor it was one of the finest log homes in the district. There were three children born of this marriage: Ellen Victoria in 1897, John William in 1898, and Clifton Arthur in 1900. For the first two births, Mrs. Hayhurst returned to her mother in New Westminster, but Cliff, the youngest child, was born at home in Hullcar.

Amy attended the small Hullcar school, which has long since disappeared. She and her friend, Connie Weismer,* walked the two and a half miles to school and enjoyed together all those games and secrets shared by small girls of every era. She spent her childhood on the family farm at Hullcar where William Hayhurst was a hard-working and successful farmer. He ran a few cattle but concentrated on root crops and produced the finest of turnips and sugar beets. Amy loved the farm and rural life. From her mother she learned to cook, sew and keep house. Before Amy was able to attend high school, first Mrs. Hayhurst and then her mother became ill making it necessary that Mrs. Hayhurst reside in New Westminster. Amy ran the house and cooked for the family. By the time Mrs. Hayhurst was able to take over management of the household at Hullcar, Amy felt that she was too old to go back to school. While Amy was visiting in Edmonton, about eighteen months after she had left the Hullcar school, she decided to train as a nurse. At that time, a high school education was not essential for nurse's training and she was accepted at the Royal Alexander Hospital in Edmonton. Amy was now twenty-one years of age.

The City of Edmonton proved a very fascinating place and she spent much of her free time walking about, window shopping and enjoying the sights and the sounds of the big city. She threw herself into the new training with enthusiasm, conscientiously performing all the very arduous duties required of a probationer in those times. Nurse's training was very hard work in 1912 and the discipline was very strict. While she was thoroughly enjoying the life she began to suffer with her feet and legs. Doctors and staff of the Royal Alexander did everything they could to relieve the pain and to correct the condition, but her arches continued to give her so much trouble that,

after five months, she had to stop her training and return home. It was a bitter disappointment to a girl who, by then, felt that becoming a nurse was the one thing she really wanted to do. After a few months rest, Amy returned to resume her training but, unfortunately, although she wore especially made and fitted box calf boots and tried various types of arch supports, she could not stand the continual pain in her feet and legs. She made two more such attempts to resume her training, but finally decided that she would never be able to become a Registered Nurse.

While she was at home, Amy helped out as an undergraduate at the Armstrong Nursing Home, then located in a large house at the west end of Patterson Avenue. The nursing home was run by a Miss Richardson who came to hear of Amy's attempts to complete her nurse's training. She contacted Amy who jumped at the chance to gain more practical experience at a job which did not require her to spend such long hours on her feet.

After one of her attempts to complete her training, Amy accepted a position at a small but well-equipped hospital at Onoway, forty miles from Edmonton. For the first year there was no resident doctor and the nurses drove or rode horseback to visit the homesteads in the area. They had to assume great responsibilities and to exercise great resourcefulness to meet the emergencies that are always present in a farming community. Amy learned many useful remedies from farmers of many different ethnic origins. For instance, they found that using unsalted butter to cure that baby's disease called cradle cap was a never-fail remedy. She gained valuable experience during those happy years at Onoway. When this outpost hospital finally did acquire the services of a resident doctor, he asked Amy to become matron, but of course she was unable to do this as she was still an undergraduate.

Amy was called home because of the illness of her mother and she accompanied her to Kamloops to undergo an operation. At the Royal Inland Hospital Amy asked the Matron if it would be permissible for her to help look after some of the patients on the same floor as her mother. The Matron contacted her sister, who happened to be the Matron of the Royal Alexander in Edmonton and learned of Amy's excellent record while in training there. To Amy's delight, the Matron offered to have her complete her training at Kamloops and agreed to give her credit for the training previously undergone at the Edmonton hospital.

Amy had boots made for her and discovered an excellent support for the metatarsal arch which she could wear with some degree of comfort inside the boots. It was with very great pride and happiness that Amy Hayhurst graduated from the Royal Inland Hospital at Kamloops in February, 1923.

Now, Edith Amy Hayhurst, Registered Nurse, could seek a position where she wished. She was preparing to accept a position at Upper Slave Lake when she was asked to apply for the position of Matron of the new Armstrong Hospital. She decided to take the job in her home town.

The hospital to which Amy Hayhurst came as Matron in 1923 had been newly-built on Wright Avenue. The Armstrong Hospital is still situated on that site, but with many additions and alterations. To obtain staff, Nurse Hayhurst asked for registered nurses, from time to time, from the Kamloops hospital. Over a seven-year period, Amy employed six young girls who wished to nurse, but who did not have adequate schooling to take regular training. She taught them to nurse and to observe the proprieties of the time and she

Graduation photograph
of Amy Hayhurst, Kamloops, 1923.

took them to task for misdemeanors. She set a rigid pattern of discipline and expected her staff to toe the mark, both on duty and off. Although they may have thought her a martinet, she treasured friendships made in those days and she was, for all her strict upbringing, a very human person. She was very proud of her staff and took the greatest pride in their achievements.

The Hospital Board had an agreement with their Matron that she was to run the hospital entirely. The Board supplied the building, the furnishings, the equipment and the instruments, and the Matron collected the fees and paid for the food, drugs and salaries of the employees. Amy Hayhurst ran the Armstrong Hospital under these terms for seven and one half years. Her salary, at one time, was supposed to be $100.00 per month, but the actual figure made little difference. Amy paid everything else first and if there was enough left over she took her own salary. Happily, some donations were received from time to time, some of them anonymously. Fairly regular donations came through the mail from a person who signed himself "In His Steps." Considerable speculation ensued as to the identity of this generous and Christian donor and as finances often nearly reached rock bottom such generosity was very, very welcome. But money was not of prime importance to Amy Hayhurst. Running a good hospital was, and a good hospital she certainly operated. The Board of Directors left her alone beyond the monthly meeting when she accounted to them. Besides this she submitted a monthly report to the provincial government from whom the hospital received a small grant.

The new Armstrong Hospital was quite well laid out. Besides wards and private rooms on the main floor they had an operating room and they later added a nursery and a case room for maternity patients. The kitchen and dining room were in the basement, as were storage rooms and sleeping quarters and change rooms for the nurses. The building was heated with airtight heaters in the wards. Later, a furnace for hot water heating was installed in the basement. The first furnace took four-foot cordwood and it was the duty

of the nurses to keep it stoked. Later, the furnace was converted to a sawdust burner which required thirty pails of sawdust to feed its hungry hopper. This was also the job of the nurse on duty. Sometimes the thing would fret away, giving no heat at all, but building up gases which would blow back in the nurse's face as she peered hopefully, looking for some signs of life. It was a day of rejoicing when an automatic propane system was installed to heat the buildings and the water supply.

She had many memories, as when she described driving out with one of the relief doctors in his Ford car to Westwold, then called Grande Prairie, where a man a woman had been hit by a train. Both were severely injured; the woman had a broken hip and the man had lost one foot and had the other leg badly injured. She remembers that they flagged down a train and she rode in with the two patients in the baggage car. The female patient was in hospital for six months and the man for five — five long months because he was a difficult man and a terrible patient who realized that he was getting the best of care and that someone else was paying for it. Finally the Hospital Board were alerted to the situation and, to the relief of the hospital staff, it was arranged for him to stay at the local hotel.

Amy told one story with a twinkle in her eye. In the early days. before central heating, a very old patient, fairly heavily sedated, realized that he was cold in bed. He managed to start a small fire under his bed to warm things up. Fortunately for the safety of the hospital, a quick-thinking nurse on her rounds spotted the little bonfire and with great presence of mind doused the blaze with the contents of his urinal!

Dr. Peter Douglas Van Kleek arrived in Armstrong from Van Kleek Hill in Ontario in 1900. This was his first practice. During the twenty-nine years he looked after the people in Armstrong and Spallumcheen he had several temporary assistants, but only one partner. Some of the doctors who came and went were: Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Thomson and Dr. Adams. Dr. Tennant was in partnership with Dr. Van Kleek for about two years prior to Dr. Van Kleek's death and he carried on the practice for some time afterwards. Dr. Van Kleek died in 1929 from a tumour on the brain, the result of an accident at his home. He was very greatly missed.

Miss Hayhurst continued to run the Armstrong Hospital under Dr. Tennant, but, she said, things were never the same as Dr. Tennant liked things run his own way. She decided in 1930 to retire from active and permanent nursing. For seven years she had thoroughly enjoyed her job as Matron of the Armstrong Hospital, but she was no longer a young woman. The hours of work for a nurse in the early 1920's were very long, regularly from 7:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. and very often much longer than that. Miss Hayhurst frequently slept on the patients' floors to be available during the night. The Matron took a day off very infrequently and only if there was a nurse to replace her and the management of the hospital did not need her attention for a short time. Amy Hayhurst was now forty years of age, in poor health and tired from the long hours. She had been engaged in nursing for nineteen years.

Amy went back to the family farm and had a small house built for her there where she planned to live and enjoy life relatively free from responsibility. Almost at once, the Enderby Hospital Board prevailed upon her to take on the job of Matron in that city. Amy and one practical nurse were required

to do all the night and day nursing and she soon found this to be too difficult a task. She retired, once again, to her small house on the farm from where she was delighted to do special nursing when called upon and to care for old friends who needed nursing. The area was particularly fortunate to have someone with her training to call upon and Amy enjoyed these years before there was a radical change in her life.

Will and Amy Winkles, 1953.

William Winkles and his brother, Wallace, from Birmingham, England, lived on the farm next to the Hayhursts. Amy and Will Winkles were friends and close neighbours, but it was with surprise and pleasure that their family and friends learned that they planned to marry. Amy left her little house and moved to the Winkles' farm. Eventually they sold this property and moved to a charming little house near the cemetery, surrounded by a large flower garden which was Will's pride. They later moved to Rosedale Avenue where they lived until Will passed away in 1972. Amy and Will Winkles had twenty-six wonderful years together. They seemed to complement each other, both being gentle people who enjoyed their friends, their community and each other.

Amy Hayhurst Winkles passed away peacefully in 1977. What a very full and meaningful life she had lived. The girl born in New Westminster in 1890 became a career woman in a starched cap and apron, in an era when it was the exception to do so.

*Arthur Weismer, of this family, later became the Attorney-General of British Columbia.

Research acknowledgement to Sally Scales, Salmon Arm

THE THORLAKSON FAMILY OF THE COMMONAGE

Margaret A. Thorlakson

Thorlakur Thorlakson was born in Iceland in 1862. He emigrated to Canada in 1887 and settled in Winnipeg, Manitoba, where he was first employed as a labourer on the construction of the C.P.R.'s most northerly line. A little later he became acquainted with a young Icelandic girl, Ingebjiorg Johannsdotter, who had emigrated from Iceland in 1889. She had originally been bound for North Dakota, but finding employment available in Winnipeg, she disembarked and proceeded to work as a laundress in Winnipeg. After a brief courtship, she and Thorlakur were married in 1892.

They set up housekeeping in three rooms at the back of a store. Thorlakur found work as a third cook in the C.P.R. hotel. His bride helped out at banquets or whenever help was needed. However, her time was soon fully occupied as during the next few years she gave birth to three children: Benedict, Adalbjiorg, and Anna. They lived frugally, saving every cent in order to establish themselves elsewhere.

In her pre-marital days Ingebjiorg had invested in some mining shares in the Robinson Mine then operating in Peachland. (These shares can be seen in the Vernon Museum.) Time went by and she heard nothing about her investment so she, her husband and another Icelandic family, the Soffneissons, decided to travel West to investigate. In 1898 they bought railroad tickets as far as Vernon only to find when they arrived that they were still many miles from their destination. Since their money had been budgeted for travelling expenses and a small portion for later necessities, they decided that they could not afford available lake transportation. Svan Soffneisson had been a boat builder so it was decided that they would build a barge-like raft which they hoped to sell when they reached Peachland. This raft, constructed in the vicinity of what is now 34th Street and 27th Avenue, proved to be so cumbersome that transporting it to the lake proved a problem. The late Joe Harwood finally hauled it to the lake with his team and wagon.

Four adults and six children, one a baby, plus all their worldly goods were loaded on the raft which Thorlakur and Svan propelled by using two huge oars. It was decided to head for the west side of the lake in case a strong wind should arise and make it necessary to beach the boat. They sang as they rowed in order to pass the time. Late in the afternoon they reached Fintry where they camped on the beach for the night. The next day they reached Bear Creek and the third day, Peachland. Upon arrival at their destination they found that the mine was indeed operating, but not profitably.

Their first task after erecting a small dwelling was to find work. Thorlakson was employed as a camp cook while his wife helped out by washing and mending for some of the miners. While there, the Thorlaksons made their first agricultural investment, a milk cow. Thorlakson never could milk it so the neighbour did the job and they shared the milk.

They had some memorable experiences in Peachland. Ben, the oldest boy, was invited along with his mother to pick some peaches a short distance from Peachland. Neither one had ever eaten a tree-ripened peach. Both declared that peaches were the most delicious fruit they had ever eaten. Ma Thorlakson felt that this fruit was responsible for replenishing her dwindling milk supply and enabling her to continue nursing her baby.

On leaving Winnipeg, Ma, who loved coffee, feared that she would be unable to buy good coffee in the West so she brought along twenty pounds of green coffee beans. She was roasting coffee beans one evening when an Indian passed by on horseback. He smelled the coffee and said, "Skookum smell! Me buy'em." Ma, quite amused, gave him some coffee. To her dismay he was back again the next day. "Skookum smell, skookum drink," he declared, "buy more." After some hesitation she gave him more of the precious beverage. The next day he returned with a haunch of venison which was gratefully accepted.

In 1900 the Robinson Mine closed down as the seam ran out. As a result, in November 1900, the family moved again, this time to a place on the lake three miles north of Okanagan Centre which was previously owned by a Mr. Baker. The deal included a team and plough. The going was pretty rough as Pa Thorlakson had to learn from scratch how to plough, seed and tend animals. He managed to grow a crop of oats which an Indian lady helped him to harvest.

Vernon was the closest place at which the people of this area could lay in winter supplies. Pa Thorlakson would leave before daybreak by wagon and go up the canyon, over the Commonage to town. He would purchase two hundred pounds of flour, one hundred pounds of sugar, eight pounds of rolled oats and sundry other necessities. To supplement these supplies there would be salt pork, beef and possibly kokanee. He told me also that seven year rye whiskey was cheap so he bought a gallon in the fall which he used sparingly when other men called or when he was extremely tired.

While in this location, Ma met with a nasty accident while riding up to meet the stage at the head of Rainbow Canyon. Her horse bolted into the timber and she was knocked off when she struck the branch of a tree. She lay unconscious for some time but suffered no lasting injury. She was worried, however, as she was expecting a baby in a short time. On December 30, 1901 she gave birth to Solvi (the oldest Thorlakson still alive). He was born at home with the aid of Mrs. Carr, who was transported to the scene in a rowboat from Carr's Landing. Pa said that he would never forget that day as in addition to all the excitement of a new baby, the "Aberdeen" sailed up the lake with its flag at half-mast, mourning the death of Queen Victoria.

Later in the year Pa made a drive of pigs from his place on the lake across the Commonage to Vernon. He described it as a terrible job. When it was time to feed them, the grain was dumped on the ground and consumed to a chorus of squeals. The pigs were sold to Harry Knight, the local butcher. Proceeds from this sale enabled Pa to invest in a new wagon.

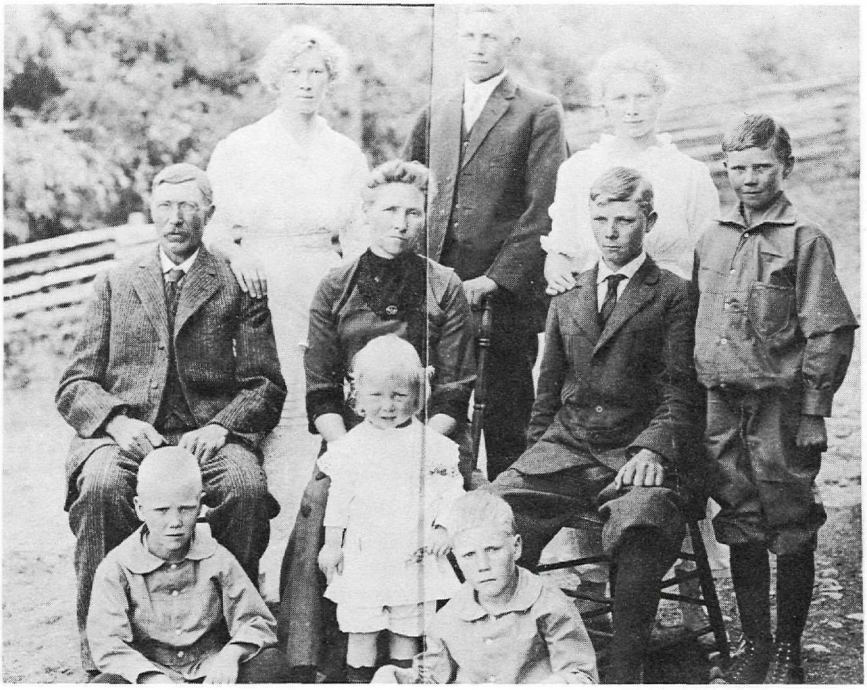
It had always been the ambition of the Thorlaksons to educate their children, as they had not had the opportunity to attend school themselves. Since there was no school in the vicinity at that time they realized that they must relocate. This was quite a challenge as they were still operating on limited funds and they did not have a ready sale for their place. A good neighbour, Mr. Caesar, came to the rescue by loaning Pa enough money to put a down payment on the John Howard place on the Commonage. This place was just a half mile from the Commonage School. The children started school on November 1, 1903.

Within two years the property at the lake was bought by the Okanagan Land Company as a winter pasture for the horses which were used in their

orchards. This enabled Pa to settle his debt and make another start. At a later date he enlarged his holdings by buying the Dayton property on the Commonage and a piece of range on Railroad Mountain called Blaines' Spring, which provided a place for his horses to water.

Isolation created many hardships for the people of the Commonage, particularly in cases of emergency. In the early days transportation was by horseback, democrat or shank's pony. Women usually gave birth to babies at home; such was the case when Edward was born in 1905 and Harold in 1909. However, when another child was expected, doctor, friends and family decided that Ma should have her baby in the hospital. When the day arrived Pa was working in a field a couple of miles away. Consequently, when he arrived home Ma was well into labour. A bed was hastily made up in the back of the democrat and the horses galloped eight miles to town over a rough road. Johann, born just after arrival at the hospital, weighed over nine pounds. Ma flatly stated that never again would she have a baby in the hospital. Tom was born at home four years later.

Ma and Pa resumed the task of establishing themselves as farmers. In the Commonage area man was truly dependant upon the elements as there was no source of water for irrigation. In some years water, even for domestic purposes, was in short supply. Every angle had to be exploited in order to ensure a living for one's family and at the same time to enable one to increase one's holdings. There was a minimum of waste in the Thorlakson manner of life. Pa worked very hard tilling the soil and reaping the crops to provide



The Thorlakson family photo, taken in Vernon, 1919. From left, front row: Harold, Tommy, Johan. Second row: Thorlakur, Ingebjiorg, Solvi, Ed. Back row: Anna, Ben, Adal.

winter feed for the livestock. He planted and cared for four acres of orchard from which apples were sold to the Okanagan Grocery to help balance the grocery account. He produced fruit until December 1924 at which time the orchard was frozen out when sub-zero temperatures followed very mild weather.

Ma was a true partner in the farming business. She tended the garden, raised chickens for eggs and meat, helped milk the cows, made butter which was sold to the Half-Way House and Okanagan Grocery and preserved fruits and vegetables. One of her hardest tasks was keeping meat on the table in the summer time, a task which was accomplished by smoking, salting or drying meat. She washed, carded and spun wool from their sheep. From this wool she knit all the family's socks, underwear and sweaters. At first she knit by hand but when the family increased she invested in a small knitting machine for socks and a large one for making underwear.

Although the going was rough and money scarce, Pa tried to establish a convenient spread. If one were to examine the old farmyard it would be evident that there had been a good hay barn equipped with a lean-to for housing horses in one portion and milk cows in another. The barn was equipped with eavestroughs from which water ran into pipes which led to a hugh cistern. This supplied soft water, a very necessary commodity in an area where water was extremely hard. Just down from the house was a cement dairy. In 1921 a new section was added to the house — a large kitchen with a huge bedroom upstairs. Underneath was a root cellar for fruit and vegetable storage. When this room was finished a dance was held which lasted until four in the morning.

All was not drudgery during this era. In his diary Pa mentions dances at Churchills', Siddons', Hendersons', Spences', Thompsons' and in the school house. The boys held stampedes on May 24th for several years (1922-1925). Church was held in the schoolhouse, the minister being Reverend Campbell-Brown, father of Dr. H. Campbell-Brown. This building was also the scene of Christmas parties and political meetings. Pa added a touch of socializing to his life when the year's reckoning-up was done at the McGaw store. Here many farmers were treated to a round or two after they settled up for the

Thorlakur and his boys.

year. It has been stated that Pa could be heard singing for some distance as he approached home. He once told me that on such rare occasions the horse always found his way home.

In August, 1931 Pa was found partially paralyzed beside the trail and after regular therapy regained only partial use of his legs. Years later Pa fell and broke his hip. He was immobilized for the rest of his life and passed away in 1943. Ma Thorlakson lived in a small bungalow built for her on the Loundsbury place. She later moved to Penticton to live with her daughter, Anna, until entering a nursing home. She passed away in 1965 in Still Waters Private Hospital at the age of ninety-three.

Thorlakur and Ingebjiorg Thorlakson succeeded in bringing up a family who made the most of their potential and practised the principle "United we stand. Divided we fall." Each one of the family helped at home a great deal, then branched out on his own.

Ben worked as a cow hand for Price Ellison and later took up land on the Commonage. After marrying Ellen Jones-Evans, a former teacher at Sunnywold, he established himself on a farm at Carr's Landing. He later sold this place and started a small apricot orchard. Eventually he retired to Kelowna where he died in February, 1978.

Adal attended high school in Vernon and later took a business course in Victoria. She remained at home until she married Lewis Marshall after his return from World War I. They lived in Glenmore where they owned and operated an orchard. They had five sons who now operate Marshall Orchards. She passed away in 1971.

Solvi attended high school in Vernon but left after breaking a leg and losing a year of school. He worked with his father for several years, raising stock and contributing much to the development of the ranch. He married Mary Rice, a former Sunnywold teacher. They set up a farming operation on the Commonage, first renting the Henderson place and then purchasing the Mackie place. In 1944 they moved to Oyama where he developed an orchard which he operated until he retired to Vernon in 1975. They have two daughters.

Harold completed high school in Vernon, took one year university and went to work for the Union Oil Company in Vernon; then to Merritt where he married Jemima Ewart, a nurse at Nicola Valley General Hospital. Here two sons were born. He moved to Edmonton and after many years left the oil company and returned to work for Marshall Orchards and to raise sheep in partnership with his brother, Tom. He subsequently started the Lavington Planer Mill which he operates with his three sons.

Johann completed high school in Vernon. He engaged successfully in athletics, being sent to Vancouver in 1930 to participate in Olympiad Sports. He later worked as a salesman for Union Oil Company in Vernon and as an agent in Merritt where he married Helen Fletcher, a nurse at the Nicola Valley General Hospital. Later he worked as an agent in Trail. During World War II he joined the R.C.A.F. where he trained bomber pilots. On his return to civilian life he owned a realty and insurance office in Vernon. He later operated a sawmill and finally ran the Ponderosa Ranch in partnership with his two sons. He passed away in 1970

Upon completion of his matriculation year, Tom took over the farm with the guidance of his brother, Harold. He bought the Palmer and Loundsbury

place to enlarge his holdings. As a sideline, he and his brother Johann engaged in commercial kokanee fishing for three weeks every fall. They shipped the catch by rail to Vancouver and Trail and netted several hundred dollars which was a welcome supplement to their income. In 1940 Tom married Margaret Whitaker of Lower Nicola, the present writer, who was then teaching at Kedleston. They took up residence in the Palmer house on the Commonage and had four children.

Tom continued to farm much as his father had done until a three year grasshopper infestation struck the Commonage. It was useless at that time to try to take grain through to maturity so he grew rye and hay. I personally remember going away on a first of July weekend leaving full heads of leaf lettuce in the garden. Upon returning not only had the heads been eaten, but a cone-shaped hole penetrated into the root. After this period my husband used the fields mostly for pasture and bought what hay he needed. In 1945 we bought the former Gaven place on the outskirts of Vernon so that our children could attend school. My husband commuted to the farm every day.

Tom switched mainly to the sheep raising business, at first in partnership with his brother Harold and then on his own. The sheep were held on the Commonage until February, then were brought to Vernon for lambing. They were sheared in May and shortly afterward started their long trek to Lightning Peaks, their summer range, where they remained until early October when lambs were shipped. Tom acquired several parcels of land in the Cherryville and Lavington areas for use as grazing land to break the long journey to the peaks. In 1970 he sold his sheep, dealt in cattle for a short while and then went back into raising cattle. He died in a tractor accident while spraying for knapweed on a steep portion of his neighbour's land on May 21, 1975.

The third and fourth generations of Thorlaksons are now active in the Okanagan.

Sawing wood on the Commonage.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

1 A tape recorded interview with Harold Thorlakson, Jr. and Ben Thorlakson, Sr. made in 1977 and an interview with Solvi and Harold Thorlakson, Sr.

2 Diaries of the late Thorlakur Thorlakson 1919, 1921-26, 1928, 1930-31, 1935-45.

3 Family tales and personal experience.

CARROLL AIKINS

Betty Clough

Carroll Aikins, poet, playwright and drama director was a romantic. He looked like one and lived like one. He was one of the most distinguished citizens of the Okanagan and for a while put Naramata on the map in the minds of people in eastern Canada, England and the United States.

Born in 1888 into a distinguished family, Carroll Aikins might have been expected to follow a successful business or political career. His maternal grandfather, the Honourable C. C. Colby, represented Stanstead, Quebec, in the House of Commons from 1867 to 1891. He was President of the Privy Council under Sir John A. Macdonald and author of a book, *Parliamentary Government in Canada*. He was described as one of the ablest debaters ever heard in the House. His uncle, C. W. Colby, was professor of history at McGill University, author of *Canadian Types of the Old Regime* and *The Founders of New France*. Later he became a very successful businessman. His paternal grandfather, James Cox Aikins, was Secretary of State under Macdonald and became Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. His uncle, Sir J. A. M. Aikins, was also Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. His father, Somerset Aikins, sat for a short time in the Manitoba Legislature.

Carroll Aikins was educated in Winnipeg at St. John's, a private school run by the Anglican Church. He told one of his Naramata drama students, Mrs. John McDougall of Vancouver, that he also spent some time with a tutor in Europe, which is perhaps where he acquired his love of the theatre. For one or two winters he went to school in Dijon, France, and he travelled in Germany with his mother and acquired enough knowledge of the language to later translate a German book on Buddhist thought.

He attended McGill University in Montreal for one term, but left because he did not take to the academic life. Because of a spot on his lung he spent several years in the dry climate of Sicily and Tunisia. Then, in 1908,

Family group, 1929. Mr. and Mrs. Carroll Aikins, children (counter-clockwise) John, Colby, Katherine, Harriet.

when he was twenty, his father bought him orchard land in Naramata.

Since he shared the aversion of the turn-of-the-century aesthetes for bourgeois respectability, he gladly left his Winnipeg environment, came West and started to clear and plough the land with the help of Chinese workers. He regarded it as a real adventure and eventually he owned one hundred acres of fruit. Aikins was very western in sentiment and particularly enjoyed the tales of pioneer times told by his rancher friends.

In 1913 he married Katherine Foster, daughter of the American Consul-General in Ottawa, and brought his cultivated bride, a graduate of Vassar College, to the raw young community of Naramata with its lack of electricity and other amenities. Mrs. Aikins later spoke of their honeymoon to Windermere in their car, an E. M. Flanders. In Windermere, where a car had never been seen, they had to have gas brought by stage coach from Golden in four-gallon cans.

During the 1914-1918 war Aikins tried to enlist in the ambulance corps but was rejected because of his health, so he enthusiastically continued to build up his orchard.

He showed a good deal of imagination and ingenuity in his work. For instance, one scorching summer a lot of the young trees were suffering so he rushed to Vancouver and, not finding a diesel engine quickly, bought an over-age fire engine. "It had a superb lot of brass," he told me, obviously enjoying the dramatic effect it made, "and a bell which was worked by a foot pedal. It arrived on a flat-car at Arawana and was driven down triumphantly, the bell clanging all the way." In the meanwhile, the Chinese workers had assembled lengths of pipe up the cliff from the lake to provide water and they were kept busy stoking the fire engine[2] with coal night and day until the weather modified and it was obvious that the trees would survive.

Another instance in which he put his imagination to practical use occurred in 1920 when he wanted electricity for the little theatre which he was building on his orchard. He found a generator in an abandoned mine and by attaching it to his tractor, provided the necessary power.

A number of picturesque stories are related about Aikins. He told a neighbour that he never opened bills or letters from the bank, throwing them instead into an old top hat. When a little money came in he would pick one at random and pay it. One day he went into the bank to see about his usual overdraft, but as it happened it had been paid by a cheque from Winnipeg, a fact of which the bank had informed him in one of the unopened letters. Asked by Charlie Bennett, the bank manager, how he knew when he had an overdraft, he replied: "I get a burning feeling in the seat of my pants!"

His daughters tell the amusing story of his youthful contempt for mundane money matters. A representative of the family in Winnipeg had been sent to warn him to stop pouring so much money into his theatre. In fact, that gentleman told him, if he continued such extravagance his children would be going without clothes. "In that case," said Carroll magnificently, "they will grow fur!"

In 1917 a book of his poems was published in Canada. One of the poems, "A Prairie Cabin," was included in an anthology of Canadian poetry for use in British Columbia schools. His poems, though few in number, deserve to be remembered by posterity. Perhaps his romantic spirit can be felt best in his poem, "In the Orchard":

I see God in my orchard every hour
And in the downward pulses of the sun
I feel His heart beat . . .
And in the vast, unventured hills I see
The awful measure of His mastery.

In 1919 the Birmingham Repertory Theatre in England produced his play, *The God of Gods,* which deals with a romantic subject: a pair of tragic North American Indian lovers caught in a web of superstition. It is doubtful if the customs described ever existed, but the situation is full of drama and colour. It was described by a Birmingham newspaper[3] writer in these words: "It is one of those rare artistic delicacies reserved for the favour of the comparatively small band of enthusiastic people who delight in 'art for art's sake'." The play was revived in 1931, playing at the Everyman Theatre in Hampstead, London. When it was produced at the Hart House Theatre in Toronto in 1922, the Mail and Empire critic wrote:

> *The God of Gods* may be taken as a milestone in the history of our native drama, so far as Toronto is concerned. It is true that we have seen other full-length plays by Canadians on our stages before now, but none of them contained the distinctive qualities of Carroll Aikins' work. If ever this continent produces a composer who desires to write a grand opera, making use of Indian musical themes, *The God of Gods* would furnish him with an excellent libretto.

In 1920 the Aikins started to build the theatre which was mentioned earlier, over the packinghouse on their orchard. The idea was to found a Canadian theatre with Canadian playwrights and actors. Aspiring young students would come to Naramata to pick fruit in the daytime and to study and rehearse plays in the evening. Their tuition would be free and they would learn all the crafts of the theatre including making scenery and costumes. They were to be billeted with local people, paying one dollar per day for their board. The following is an incomplete account of the theatre by Mrs. Aikins who died before finishing it:

> In the late summer of 1919, my husband's play *The God of Gods* was produced by the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, England. Not feeling able to go over to see it was a great frustration and my husband began to think in terms of having his own theatre, to produce his own plays and others by young Canadian authors.
>
> That November we went to Seattle to meet the Maurice Browns and see their production of *The Philanderer,* at the Cornish School of Drama. We enjoyed the production and the theatre talk that followed in the next few days, and liked Maurice Brown and his wife, Ellen van Volkenburg, who encouraged the idea of a "Little Theatre" in the Canadian west. In the course of the play we heard a voice behind us say: "What is a Philanderer?" and that too convinced us that more sophisticated theatre was needed west of the Rockies.
>
> My husband became very busy with plans for building a small theatre combined with a utilitarian packing house. He worked out the architecture himself and then secured the help of Lee Simonson, dean of New York Theatre architecture and lighting, to help with all the details. The building started in the spring of 1920. It was the first "Little Theatre" in western Canada or western United States.
>
> To have a cyclorama, or sky dome, that received all the sight-lines from the audience, the stage was not raised at all but all seats were raised and were twenty feet from the proscenium. This gave an unexpected sense of distance and illusion of reality and intimacy.
>
> The lighting was a fascinating innovation to all of us, again designed by Mr. Simonson. The dimmer-box, with flexible levers for changing and lowering lights, was on a platform in the floor just in front of the seating and was raised or lowered from the packinghouse below by a jack system. Spot lights and larger banks of lights

were used both on the beams, high above the stage, and from the wings on both sides.

Above the stage, on both sides, were dressing rooms and on the south side was a large work room for making scenery, with a large paint table designed by my husband with compartments for different colours of calciums, brushes and all painting requirements. In this room were also tools for making scenery flats, covered with burlap, beaver-board for silhouettes of mountains or houses and towns, and lumber for simple platforms and steps for interiors. There were gray flannelette curtains that took the light beautifully. And also material for making costumes was there. Everyone had to turn his or her hand to the various arts or crafts of stage sets and lighting.

At the entrance to the theatre, at the top of the long stairs, was a small "foyer" with small gate-legged table, Chinese chairs, chests of drawers, and on the walls were hung a few photographs: the English actress who took the leading role in the English production of *The God of Gods,* a signed picture of Pavlova, and some photographs of our own group.

Beside this really charming foyer, a sort of green-room, the tiers of seats rose, ninety-nine in all, in fir, stained moss green. The whole "Little Theatre" was a distinguished achievement.

There were write-ups of this enterprise in papers and magazines in the east and west and a call went out for students who might like to earn their way by picking fruit, and the response was astonishing. It appealed strongly to the mood of the twenties.

The formal opening of the theatre took place in the summer of 1920. The prime minister of Canada, the Honourable Mr. Meighen, and his wife got off the train at Arawana and were met by Mr. J. M. Robinson and my husband, and that was the occasion for speeches by Mr. Meighen and Mr. Robinson and the written statement and program of the objectives of the theatre by my husband.[4] Our son, Colby, aged three and one half, presented a bouquet of flowers to Mrs. Meighen.

When the building was completed and after the formal opening by the prime minister, we had a trial production of *The Tinker's Wedding,* using boys working on the farm and other locals, including Gladys Robinson, who was a steady and charming recruit to our group. Dorothy Robinson became a skilled manipulator of the lights and "dimmer-box." It was a ridiculous play to attempt as a "first." We played it just once to a farm audience and friends and there wasn't a smile to encourage us. We knew how terrible it was but learned a lot from it. That was the early fall of 1920.

That winter we worked recruiting a group of students and a teacher of dancing from the New York Neighbourhood Playhouse; also a brilliant pianist, Henrietta Michelson. Students came from Vancouver, Toronto, Hamilton, Calgary and London, Ontario.

After a busy winter of organization, including turning the old barn into a communal dining-room which continued to have a slight horsey odour in spite of much scrubbing and calcimining, we found ourselves with a local group that wanted to help, both with the technical side and acting, and proceeded with our first public production of two short plays, *Neighbours* by Zona Gale and *Will o' the Wisp* by Doris Halman. Taking part in the first were Mrs. Ruth Rounds, Miss L. Young and Mr. and Mrs. Alex McNicoll of Penticton. In *Will o' the Wisp* were Miss G. Robinson, Miss Beryl May, Mrs. Miller, and behind the scenes music was provided by Mr. Keith Whimster on violin and myself on piano.[5]

These two plays went very well and we had a good audience. Harold Mitchell was a tower of strength behind scenes, changing scenery, adjusting lights. I remember fluffing some lines in *Neighbours,* to my horror, but the rest of the cast carried on nobly and no one knew that I had skipped some lines.

Our next event was a delightful evening provided by Ellen van Volkenburg who did a "one woman" production of *Alice Sit by the Fire,* by J. M. Barrie. Francis Armstrong, of Seattle, gave us a violin concert. Meantime we were working on a short version of *The Trojan Women* from *The Greek of Euripides,* translated by Gilbert Murray.

In 1922 *The Maker of Dreams* by Oliphant Down and *The Trojan Women* were produced. A critic said:

> This famous tragedy [*Trojan Women*], translated from the Greek by Sir Gilbert Murray, professor of Greek at Oxford and one of the greatest living writers,

> has been entrusted to the production of Mr. Carroll Aikins by Sir Gilbert Murray himself, who has taken a great interest in the 'Home Theatre' and its work. Sir Gilbert's refusal to take any royalty for the production here enables Mr. Aikins to put on his second bill at his former low price.[6]

Mrs. Aikins took the part of Queen Hecuba, mourning over the fall of Troy. A clipping from an unknown newspaper in the family scrap book says:

> The regal acting and splended elocution of Katherine Aikins was entirely in keeping with the really wonderful setting of the scene, which displayed at its best the unusual resources of the Little Theatre in the matter of lighting. The perfect control of varying colouring and degrees of colours is a revelation and a delight to the spectator. In the presentment of the walls of Troy, the gradual changes were most skilfully made and the whole picture was a work of art.

Another production, in 1923, took the form of a Passion Play depicting scenes from the life of Christ, called *Victory in Defeat*. The acting was done in silhouette, with music but no words, except for a reading of the appropriate Bible passage prior to each scene. A monthly photographic magazine printed an article and pictures by Charles P. Nelson of Summerland which illustrated the care which Aikins took to perfect stage effects.

A scene from Synge's *Riders to the Sea* performed in the Canadian Players Theatre. Left to right: Peter Goldstone of New York, Doro Adams, Shirley White and Katherine Aikins.

Entrance hall of the Canadian Players Theatre, Naramata.

> The stage is backed by a white curved plaster wall and for these silhouette pictures the only light permissible was the light thrown on to this wall from above, below and the sides the source of the light being altogether from behind the actors. Of course no reflected light was allowed or it would tend to destroy the clear-cut silhouette effect; and to ensure this, everything about the stage was painted a dead black, while walls, ceiling and floor up to a distance of about twenty feet in front of the stage, were covered with black cloth. The lighting effects in colour were very beautiful.[7]

From a Toronto paper regarding *Victory in Defeat:*

> The conception and execution was so perfect that, at the fall of the curtain, the audience remained motionless for more than two minutes, and there was not even the sound of breathing to break the intense silence.[8]

Riders to the Sea by Synge was produced in 1923 as well as a dance drama under the direction of Florence Levine of the Neighbourhood Playhouse in New York.

Plans were made for producing Masefield's *The Locked Chest* and Shaw's *Candida.* Adolph Bolm was to appear in a dance recital series of marionette plays and four dramas by Ellen van Volkenburg and Maurice Brown were to be given. Then it was planned to tour the small towns of British Columbia, performing outdoors "in the manner of the old Chester plays." A tent would be used as the stage and the lighting provided by attaching the dimmer-box to an electric pole. An impractical way to provide lighting? No doubt — but enthusiasm and ingenuity would have found a substitute if necessary.

Such were the ambitious plans made by the Aikins and their enthusiastic students. "What a dream we all had of a national theatre!" wrote one of the first students, Doro Folger (nee Adams), recently. Who knows if the plans might have been carried out if the fruit business had not gone into a sudden decline and Aikins had not found himself heavily in debt. The company never went on tour and an ironic fact was that so far as can be determined no Canadian plays were performed. The theatre had to be abandoned. It and the packinghouse were later torn down and only the first floor, which was used for storage, is still to be seen from Aikins' Loop.

The demise of the little theatre must have disappointed the residents of the Valley for it had had the enthusiastic support of the Naramata people and had played to interested audiences from all the little settlements around Okanagan Lake, who used to come by steamer for the plays. Mrs. John McDougall says that the Indians were the best audience: "They were just fascinated. You could hear the intake of their breath." She describes Aikins as a "fantastic director" and a "terrific perfectionist."

Finances being difficult, he taught drama in Vancouver for a winter or two. Then in 1927 he accepted Vincent Massey's offer to direct the Hart House Theatre in Toronto, which he did very successfully judging from an account by the *Toronto Globe* critic who called his production of *Anthony and Cleopatra* "clearly superior" to other major productions in New York, at Oxford University and at London, England's, Old Vic Theatre.

However, after two seasons Aikins resigned due to a difference with Massey over programming and left for New York where he was unsuccessful in finding employment.[9] He turned next to Hollywood, hoping to have a play he had written about Paul Bunyan filmed or to be allowed to produce *Midsummer Night's Dream,* which he had done at the Cornish School of Drama. Since he refused to abandon his artistic standards in commercially-minded Hollywood, it was a frustrating winter, but one which gave his daughter

Katherine (Mrs. W. G. Clarke of Telkwa, B. C.) the opportunity of going to school with Jackie Cooper and other child actors.

After Hollywood Aikins seems to have given up any connection with the theatre except for one unsuccessful attempt at writing a play in the 1950's. By that time his romantic themes were no longer popular.

After 1929 he directed his creative energies into building and began working on the Aikins' future home near the lake. Not having money for a house, he began with the extensive stone walls, which his elder son, (the Honourable Mr. Justice John S. Aikins of the British Columbia Court of Appeal) remembers working on in the summers. As money came in from time to time the stately pyramadalis which line the curving drive were planted as were the large gardens along Arawana Creek, which flows through the property. He also built a large and attractive cabin on Beaconsfield Mountain where he occasionally sought refuge.[10] After the Second World War an inheritance permitted him to build his beautiful house.

Meanwhile he and his wife had become interested in theosophy which professes to attain a knowledge of God by spiritual ecstasy and direct inspiration. This led to the study of Buddhism. Over the years they acquired a large number of books on the subject which they left to the University of British Columbia library along with a gift of money to buy books on Oriental philosophy.

In later years Aikins and his wife spent their winters in the southern United States, Mexico or Europe, where Mrs. Aikins died in 1964 while on a cruise around the world. She is buried in Aden. Aikins died in Vancouver in 1967 and is buried in the Naramata cemetery.

Carroll Aikins has left a memory of himself as a man of artistic talents both as a romantic poet and playwright. He was many years ahead of his time in his attempt to found a national theatre. He is also remembered for his generosity in lending books from his extensive library, which was described by a newspaper in the early twenties as containing what was perhaps the most complete collection of dramatic and poetic books in Canada. He was a cultivated man with a charming manner who enjoyed living in gracious surroundings with all the luxuries he could afford.

FOOTNOTES

1 H. J. Morgan, ed., *Canadian Men and Women of the Time.*

2 About ten years later the fire engine was sold to Hugh Leir for his lumber mill, where it burned down along with the mill.

3 Name of paper unknown. Dated November 10, 1919.

4 "We feel that we have reached that point in our history where we may look for a Canadian literature to record Canadian achievements, and it is in that faith that we have built this theatre for the giving of Canadian plays by Canadian actors. We hope that it will be used by the young actor as a training ground for his work; for the service of beauty and for a true expression of the Canadian spirit."

5 Monica Craig Fisher played the piano and her sister, Mrs. Elsie MacCleave, sang during several of the performances.

6 *Penticton Herald,* date unknown.

7 *Camera Craft,* March 23, 1923, p. 103.

8 *National Life,* a Toronto newspaper, no date on the clipping in the family scrapbook.

9 His daughters say that before leaving he gave a hot-headed account of the disagreement to a newspaper, which may have earned him the reputation of being a difficult man and prevented him from finding work in New York.

10 The cabin was later donated to the Boy Scout Association.

MR. AND MRS. G. E. PARHAM: PIONEERS OF VASEUX LAKE

F. C. Mac Naughton

Those who have lived in the Okanagan Valley through a growing season will agree that the flowers of the Okanagan are a vital and beautiful part of it. Each spring our valley undergoes a series of colour changes as the hills and flats go from yellow to white, to mauve, to pink, to blue, as the wild flowers in their millions blossom and fade, one species giving way to another. How this must have intrigued Mrs. Parham when she came here to make her home in 1919.

My first acquaintance with Mrs. Parham was when she visited our school in 1927 to introduce us to wild flowers. Mrs. Parham was a crack botanist and will be remembered as the first resident botanist to collect, name and preserve the flowers of the South Okanagan. Her large collection is housed in the Provincial Museum at Victoria.

Mrs. Parham was born on June 24, 1871 in Cardiff, Wales. She had had extensive training and a varied life before coming to Vaseux Lake. We are indebted to Mrs. Parham's nephew, Chris Jolliffe of Leatherhead, Surrey, England, who contributed most of the information we have. A copy of an application Mrs. Parham made for a position as Head Mistress of a girls' school lists her many accomplishments and qualifications.

234 Newport Road
Cardiff
13th February, 1913

To the Governors of the Barry Country School

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I beg to apply for the post of Head Mistress of the Barry County School for Girls.

For 10 years I was a pupil at Miss Tullis's School, St. Catherine, Park Place, Cardiff, and for four years a student at University College, Cardiff, where I graduated, taking my B.Sc. Degree in 1900 in Botany, Zoology, and Pure Mathematics.

On the completion of my College Course I joined the staff of the Cardiff Intermediate School for Girls as an Assistant Science Mistress — a post which I still occupy. During the earlier part of my work at the School, I had charge of a large Middle School Form, and beside teaching Botany in the higher Forms, taught arithmetic and Scripture in my own Form, and Geography in the Middle and Lower School.

Each year I have sent in pupils for the Junior and Senior Central Welsh Board Examinations in Botany, and for several years I have had students taking the Honours Course in Botany. I have also taken courses in Biology in the VIth Forms, Elementary Chemistry needed for the higher Stages of Botany and Nature Study in the Lower School. I have helped to organise a Field Club, and for the past three years given lessons in practical gardening at the allotment taken by the School.

During my vacations I have had opportunities of continuing my University work, and seeing modern methods of research work in Natural Science. In the summer of 1905 I worked at Bergen under Dr. Hjort. In 1910 at Port Erin under Professor Herdman, and in 1912 at Roscoff under Professor Delage, as the guest of the University of Paris. While at work in these places I came in contact with students from other countries, and had many opportunities of discussing modern educational methods and problems with those engaged in teaching in other countries. In Norway I had opportunities of seeing their successful methods in teaching modern languages.

In 1907 I had an extended tour in the Malay States, Ceylon, and Southern India, where I visited vernacular schools, where chiefly handworks were taught. Missionary Schools, Schools for Europeans, and the College at Madras, where they train Indian students for London Degrees. I have also seen something of the working of

modern types of English Girls Schools, such as Notting Hill High School, Blackheath High School, and the Cheltenham Ladies College.

Outside my School work, I have given lectures to the Biological Section of the Cardiff Naturalists on the work done in my vacations; Popular Science lectures at the Cardiff Free Libraries, Workers' Educational Society, and University Settlement in Cardiff.

I have been a member of the Executive Council of the Association of Past Students of my old College since 1900, and have acted in an official capacity to that Association for many years.

I am 41 years of age, with a good health record, and am a daughter of the late John Jones, Secretary of the Taff Vale Railway.

Should the Governors appoint me, I shall esteem it an honour to serve the Governors in the best interests of the School.

The following have allowed me to submit their names for reference concerning me: —

The Right Hon. LORD MERTHYR, The Mardy, Aberdare.
The Right Hon. LORD PONTYPRIDD, Bronwydd, Penylan.
Councillor Dr. J. J. E. BIGGS, Chairman of the Cardiff Education Committee.
Alderman CHARLES BIRD, J.P., 38, Newport Road, Cardiff.
Mrs. HENRY LEWIS, Greenmeadow.
Professor W. N. PARKER, Ph.D., F.Z.S., Summerau, Llandaff.
Mrs. G. CARSLAKE THOMPSON, Park Road, Penarth.

Yours faithfully,
HELENA JONES

Edward Parham was an agriculturist and from 1912 to 1919 was superintendent of the Experimental Farm at Invermere, B.C. The Parhams were married in Penticton at St. Saviour's Church on July 12, 1913. In 1919 they came to Vaseux Lake and took over the ranch started by Harry Parham, Edward's brother. It was almost a daily sight to see the Parham light delivery truck chugging past, as eggs, butter, and other farm products went to market. L. J. Bettison, a neighbour, wrote:

Almost twice a week the Parhams would stop and see if they could do anything for me or to get things for me in town. In those early days money was scarce and people did without rather than go in debt. I sorely needed a mowing machine but could not afford it. One day a brand new mower was delivered to my yard, a gift from the Parhams. I was then able to cut my hay and Mr. Parham's. My family will always remember them as dear friends and wonderful people.

The Parhams were not only botanists and orchardists but also great community workers. To this Mrs. F. Briscall, wife of a former minister of the Oliver Anglican Church, gives testimony:

Whatever Edward and Helena Parham did, they did wholeheartedly. During the years they spent in Oliver they did splendid work as enthusiastic members of the Anglican Church congregation. In the present Church of St. Edward the Confessor two memorials pay tribute to their faithful service. The stained glass windows given by Mrs. Parham's sister have an inscribed plaque worded "Mr. Parham was a member of the first Church Committee here in 1929 and was also Churchwarden in 1931 and again from 1934 to 1949. Mrs. Parham was the first Sunday School teacher, and was also president of the Women's Auxiliary from 1938 to 1948." Behind the high altar, the carved oak reredos is another memorial to Helena and Edward given by Helena's sister and family in England, and described by the donors as "a memorial to the faithful witness of Edward and Helena Parham."

The Parhams were indefatigable workers for their church. Mrs. Briscall continues:

In the early days in Oliver when there was no Anglican Church building, services were held in various local halls. In 1935 a parish hall was built by the men of the parish, with Mr. Fred Hardie in charge, and Mr. Parham acting as his right-hand man.

The Parish Hall, dedicated on March 17, 1935 and still in full use, was a project to which Edward Parham gave much time and hard work, and by his leadership and participation established a centre for the Anglicans then living in Oliver. In all his planning, Edward was helped by the advice and support of his devoted wife, Helena. The hall served the dual purpose of hall and church until the new Church of St. Edward the Confessor was opened for worship in June, 1951.

It was unfortunate that neither Mr. nor Mrs. Parham lived to see that day, as Edward died in October, 1950 and Helena died early in 1951 at her sister's home in England, where she moved after the death of her husband.

Mrs. Gordon Thompson describes the efforts made by the Parhams on the occasion of her confirmation:

Transportation to Penticton was a problem, but soon solved, when old friends, Mr. and Mrs. Parham of Vaseux Lake, offered to drive the five students from Fairview to Penticton. Those dear people drove over very dusty, washboard roads to take us to Penticton. I often think of the dear, kind people who worked so lovingly to see us off to a good start in life. How weary the Parhams must have been when they finally reached their home!

Edward had talents appreciated by many people, for in 1935 by command of His Majesty, King George V, he was awarded a medal to be worn in commemoration of Their Majesties' Silver Jubilee.

We who knew Helena and Edward Parham will remember them as dear people, dedicated to their church, community and friends. Their names and Vaseux Lake will ever be interwoven in the history of the South Okanagan.

EDITH ST. BARBÉ ROBINSON, CHIEF OPERATOR OF THE ENDERBY TELEPHONE OFFICE

Antoinette Paradis

I have many fond memories of working in the Enderby Telephone Office. The chief operator from the 1920's to 1943 was Edith St. Barbé Robinson. Barbé, as she was affectionately known, came from England with her mother, Mrs. Charlotte Robinson, and joined her brothers who had settled in the district. Barbé's father had been an Anglican minister in various places in Somerset, such as Weston-super-Mare, and Hewish, near the Cheddar Gorge, which Barbé remembered as her favourite childhood playground. The Reverend Robinson passed away in January, 1910, and shortly afterwards Barbé and her mother came to Enderby. A few years later, Barbé followed Mrs. James as chief operator in the local telephone office, a small room with living quarters attached, where she lived with her mother.

I joined the staff at the telephone office in 1922 as a junior relief operator and worked full time from 1929 until 1936. The office was a homey place, with a pot-bellied coal stove for heat in the winter and Barbé's two beautiful Persian cats adorning the top of the switchboard and a big chair. Subscribers were few, and we knew almost every one. A 1933 copy of the telephone directory lists 121 telephone numbers including Mabel Lake, Grindrod, Mara and Sicamous.

The subscribers received many unofficial services, such as the correct time, the time the C.P.R. train was due, and the progress of the hockey game! Hockey was big in Enderby in those days — we boasted a splendid team under the expert coaching of Sid Speers, and actually won the Coy Cup on at least two occasions. When it was 'hockey night in Enderby,' it was a toss-up between which we enjoyed the most, going to the actual game or staying at the

Barbé Robinson Bigg.

telephone office to relay news of the game to the subscribers; news which was phoned in to us periodically from Sid Speers' house, the nearest to the rink.

We had to be a jack-of-all-trades in those days — we did all our own record-keeping, rating and routing and, on occasion, when no lineman was available to come from Vernon or Salmon Arm, repairing. Although it didn't happen very often, it was not unheard of for Barbé to go and change batteries in a telephone (of the large wall box type!) and after a thunderstorm, during which we kept at a safe distance from the switchboard, we sometimes had to trace the wires in the rack at the back of the switchboard in order to clean

Antoinette Paradis,
Violet Grant,
Kitty Folkard.

the carbon that had accumulated when a particular line was struck. I remember one occasion when a subscriber called in from somewhere on high ground in the direction of Salmon Arm. We couldn't hear him but there was a possibility he could hear us, so Barbé told him to pour a bucket of water down his ground wire outside the house. It worked! We had had such a dry spell that there was no moisture whatsoever around the ground wire. Those were the days!

Barbé loved getting away from the office on her days off, and in the early thirties she became the proud owner of an Erskine, a small car put out for a few years by Studebaker. Sometimes I went with her. We would drive to Mara or up the Mabel Lake Road and then walk for miles.

In 1943 Barbé married a longtime friend, Capt. Clement F. Bigge, who had served in India and later in the First World War. 'C. F.' as he was called by his friends, was a fine-looking man and a popular figure in Enderby. He was an ardent tennis player and he was also a very popular singer and performer at the many local talent shows. Barbé resigned her job in the telephone office when she married and the position was filled by Kitty Folkard. She was followed by Agnes Miller Engles, an Enderby girl.

In 1952, Barbé and C. F. returned to England, but unfortunately, ill health made their return to the land of their birth an unhappy one. After a long illness, Barbé died in Cornwall on February 20, 1965, her husband having predeceased her in 1960.

J. H. WILSON: FIRST FREEMAN OF THE CITY OF ARMSTRONG

James E. Jamieson

A quarter century ago the City of Armstrong instituted an award specifically designed to honour citizens for outstanding contributions to the civic life of the city. When John Halfpenny Wilson set foot on Canadian soil, in 1903, little did he envisage that fifty years later he would become the first recipient of Armstrong's Freeman of the City citation.

John Halfpenny Wilson was born June 1, 1884 at 29 James Place, Dunfermline, Fife, Scotland. He commenced his schooling at six years of age, attending McLean School (McCleery's) in that centre for about one year. The family then moved to Limekilne where they resided for two years, and he completed his schooling at Lochgelly. At the age of thirteen he commenced an apprenticeship with an engineering firm at Kirkcaldy but resigned after one and one half years. He worked in the coal mines at Lochgelly for another eighteen months before becoming an engine wiper and locomotive fireman with the National British Railway at Dunfermline.

His emigration to Canada had been on his mind for some time. Among his notes discovered after his death in 1956 was the following: "At the end of three years on the railway I had saved enough to pay my passage to Canada." This great adventure began March 21, 1903, when Wilson sailed from Glasgow on board the S. S. Sardinian. The voyage took thirteen days during most of which stormy weather was encountered. The ship docked at Halifax on April 3, 1903.

He arrived at Elgin, Manitoba, on April 10th and the next day hired on as a farmhand with C. Dunnett of that area. A year at this occupation found

J. H. Wilson

young John H. Wilson on the move, this time to Revelstoke deep in the B. C. mountains and a key divisional point in the Canadian Pacific Railway system. It did not take him long to secure employment, working in the C.P.R. paint shop. For the next year there were a sequence of jobs at widespread centres, closely related to the railway. Returning to Pasque, Saskatchewan, he drove team on a well-boring outfit and finished off the season working for a homesteader. Having gone full circle in his travels, he arrived back at Elgin in October, 1905. Wilson married Miss Alice Harvey at Pretoria, Manitoba, on March 18, 1908.

The Wilsons settled in Armstrong in 1910. It was to be their permanent home where they raised their family of four daughters: Mrs. K. B. McKechnie (Lily) of Armstrong; Mrs. W. Athol McDonald (Edna) of Lancaster, Ontario; Mrs. J. W. Sutherland (Edith) of North Vancouver; and Mrs. J. Spall (Doris) of Kelowna.

Wilson was first employed by Wm. McNair who operated one of the district's large vegetable warehouses. In 1923 Wilson became manager of the Armstrong Growers Exchange. In 1928 he established his own warehouse business known as J. H. Wilson Ltd. Early in 1940 this firm amalgamated with E. Poole Ltd. and Fairfield Ranch Ltd. to form Armstrong Packers Ltd. This business was sold in 1953 to Dolphe Brown of Vernon.

For nearly half a century in Armstrong, John Halfpenny Wilson's civic and other activities included: Elder of the Presbyterian Church (1921); member of the Police Commission, 1921-1925; School Board member and Chairman, 1926-1936; City Alderman, 1938-1942; City Mayor, 1943-1946; Hospital Board member and Chairman, 1941-1945; Red Cross President, 1945-1946; Cancer Society President, 1947; Board of Trade President, 1945; Lawn Bowling Club President; Curling Club President, Victory Loans Chairman, Armstrong Historical Society President, 1950-1953; Fraser Valley Flood Relief Chairman, 1948; and Winnipeg Flood Relief Chairman, 1950.

To mark the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in June, 1953, special events were observed by countless communities throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations. It was on this occasion that the City of Armstrong chose to honour John Halfpenny Wilson as its first "Freeman of the City."

FIVE PROMINENT ARMSTRONG CITIZENS: A UNIQUE GROUP

James E. Jamieson

Seldom does an organization at one time honour five citizens with life memberships as the Armstrong-Spallumcheen Board of Trade did in 1954. By coincidence, all those in the group were active in the work of Zion United Church as well as the Board of Trade. Their span of service extended as far back as the days before World War I. With the exception of the Reverend F. E. Runnalls, all have passed away.

The acknowledged dean of the group is Job Z. Parks. In all aspects of church and community life his contribution was long and completely involved. He came to Armstrong in 1911 and, in association with the late Herbert Best, operated a stationery, variety goods and shoe store on Okanagan Street. Parks, trained and apprenticed in England as a cobbler, managed the footwear aspect of the business. Of a strict Methodist persuasion, he quickly became aligned with that denomination's followers, who held services in their commodious church on Patterson Avenue. Parks' primary interest, even following church union in 1925, was with the Sunday School which he served over a long span of years as superintendent. In addition, he was an elder in the Methodist and United congregations until his death in 1954. Parks was equally generous with his commitments in community life. For well over a quarter of a century he took a prominent role in civic affairs. First elected to City Council in 1916, he served nine years as alderman and five years as mayor, retiring at the end of 1933. He held the office of Justice of the Peace for many years. Completing his civic responsibilities he held the presidency of the Board of Trade in 1931 upon its reorganization as an active community organization. He was also a past Noble Grand of Coronation Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and was chief officer in the In-

From left to right: Reverend Dr. F. E. Runnalls, R. Grant Thomson, O.B.E., William F. Youngblud, Job Z. Parks, John E. Jamieson.

dependent Order of Foresters.

R. Grant Thomson, O.B.E., was a noted farmer-agronomist-journalist. A native of Saskatchewan, he graduated from Guelph Agricultural College in 1911. In his early professional career he served as editor of the *Farmers' Advocate,* a widely known prairie farm journal. Coming to Armstrong in 1933, he turned his vast agrarian knowledge to the propagation and production of certified seeds, much of this work being the forerunner of similar enterprises today. Thomson also operated a large chicken hatchery on his Highland Park property, his special strain of Rhode Island Reds having a widespread national and international demand. For his work in agriculture, Thomson was made, in 1943, a member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire. Again in 1952 he was honoured by being awarded the Robertson Associate Token of Merit by the Canadian Seed Growers Association.

As an elder of Zion United Church, he played a prominent role in the building of the church hall and the subsequent renovation and modernization of the church itself. He served the Board of Trade as an influential and active committee member. He died in 1962 at the age of seventy-seven.

William F. "Bill" Youngblud and John E. Jamieson, the writer's father, were both businessmen in the early years of this century in the growing and bustling town of Arcola, a Canadian Pacific Railway centre. They had each held the position of mayor, were fraternal brothers in the Masonic Lodge and were prominent members of their respective churches, Youngblud the Methodist and Jamieson the Presbyterian. Bill Youngblud operated a quality men's wear store; my father was printer-manager effective in establishing Arcola's first and only weekly newspaper, the *Moose Mountain Star,* in 1901. In 1920 Jamieson's family moved to a small hamlet some eighty miles north of Regina with a much mis-pronounced name, Punnichy. Here, my father established his second Saskatchewan weekly naming it the *Touchwood Times,* as the small population centre was located in the Touchwood Hills. This was the Jamieson home for seven years before they journeyed to British Columbia in 1927 and eventually settled in the North Okanagan and purchased the *Armstrong Advertiser.* Jamieson's editorial pen was an effective instrument in recording and advancing the good and welfare of his adopted land.

John Jamieson became totally entrenched in the community which was to be his home for the remaining twenty-seven years of his life. He spread his interests wide: Board of Trade presidency in the early thirties; a long-time elder and Clerk of Session in the United Church; Master of Spallumcheen Lodge (Masonic) and later, until his death, its secretary; secretary of B. C. Weekly Newspapers Association for a record fourteen years, retiring with an honourary life membership; service with the Gideons; and membership on the Library Board. He was active in the curling club and numerous other local organizations.

W. F. "Bill" Youngblud, on the recommendation of his friend in Armstrong, left the flat, depleted wheatlands of southern Saskatchewan to join the Armstrong Co-op Society as manager of their men's and boys' wear department. The two men took up the pattern of their former life. Youngblud, whose fine tenor voice was widely known in earlier years, became a welcome addition to Armstrong's community and church circles. For years he served as an elder and conducted Zion Church's choir and enhanced the ser-

vice with its music. He affiliated as a Past Master with the Masonic Lodge, filling the chair of chaplain until his death in 1954.

The surviving member of this rather unique group of five men now lives in retirement at White Rock, B.C. Reverend Frank E. Runnalls is a distinguished clergyman-historian. Following pastorates in several large centres, Reverend Runnalls came to Armstrong in 1946 and continued his ministry there for the next seven years, leaving in 1953 for Steveston where he concluded his active ministry. While in Prince George Reverend Runnalls had undertaken a comprehensive history of that northern city which is still highly regarded for its thoroughness. During Reverend Runnalls' service as minister of Zion United, he brought honour to the local congregation when he was elected president of the B. C. Conference of the United Church of Canada, and subsequently was conferred an honourary Doctor of Divinity degree. Since his retirement, the Reverend Dr. Runnalls has completed an exhaustive volume detailing the history of the United Church in British Columbia. This fine work was published to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the church in 1975.

The accompanying Board of Trade photograph portrays five prominent residents of Armstrong-Spallumcheen. Their careers clearly reveal the close relationship between service to the church and to the community. They were instrumental in forging the strong and viable community that Armstrong is today.

HENRY MILTON WALKER: PIONEER EDITOR

Margaret Walker McHallam

"H. M.," as he was referred to in newspaper circles, established the Enderby Press and was owner and editor of the *Enderby Commoner* for thirty-four years from 1906 to 1940. He was "a public spirited journalist of the old school — a master craftsman and printer, noted as an editorial writer."[1]

Henry Walker was born in 1871 in Simcoe County, Ontario, one of a large family. He was an adventurer and dreamer by nature, and left home when in his early teens, to go west. His wanderings led him to California where he learned the printing trade. He came north to British Columbia and into the Kootenays where the lure of gold had led his father in 1890. With his father and brother he worked their own little mine in the Slocan, then went back to newspaper work with Colonel R. T. Lowery, famed editor of *Lowery's Claim* and the *New Denver Ledge*.

Of these days, one of Dad's favourite stories was of a celebration in Slocan City in 1898. To quote from his account as published in *Tales of the Kooetnays* by F. J. Smyth:

> One of the main attractions advertised for the celebration was the walking of a tightrope by Eli Carpenter, discoverer of the Payne mine, the property that glued the eyes of the world upon the Silvery Slocan.
>
> The tightrope was stretched from the Gething-Henderson Hotel to the roof of a building across the street.
>
> When the hour came for the tightrope walker, out popped Eli Carpenter — then quite an old man, clad in his red flannel undies. Stepping to the platform from which the tightrope was stretched, to the rope, he reached for his balance pole and was away.
>
> All the stunts usual to the professional rope walker were given by Carpenter as he

H. M. Walker, 1871-1944.

went forward and backward over the street with a wheelbarrow. He coaxed, cajolled and pleaded with his miner friends to let him take them for a ride, but none would venture. They did not know that in his young days Eli Carpenter had been a professional tightrope performer in a circus, and had drifted to the hills to shake off and forget the pigmies of infidelity that follow men in life's struggle upward.

After a short time in the Kootenays, Dad moved to Vancouver to try his fortune and there worked for the daily *News Advertiser*. Soon, the Okanagan beckoned and in 1906 "H. M." established the Enderby Press and published the *Edenograph* — so called because the valley was a veritable "Garden of Eden." The name signified a thought Dad hoped to create and build upon in relation to the Enderby District of the North Okanagan.

Before the *Edenograph* was a year old, however, Dad was offered a position in Los Angeles in the magazine business. He sold the Enderby Press and moved to California. Other members of the family had also settled in California by this time, among them Dad's cousin, Anna Gertrude Walker. The year 1906 was the time of the catastrophic earthquake. Both Dad and Mother were working in the area at the time, and Dad wrote a moving article on this event which was published in his book *The Heart of Things,* from which I quote:

Last night the citizens of San Francisco went to their beds happy and contented with life and with themselves. This morning they were rudely awakened by an earthquake shock that tumbled them from their beds. Great massive buildings of cement and brick and steel and stone were twisted and torn, and their towers toppled and fell into the streets. The devastation was terrible enough, but it was nothing compared with the horrors that followed. Today the city of the Argonauts is in flames, and tomorrow will be in ashes. Three hundred thousand souls are made homeless, and the loss of property will amount to half a billion dollars. The awful experiences of those brave people will never be known. Hundreds were killed beneath falling walls; thousands were injured, and other thousands lost all they had but what they could save in a pillow case. Their loss and their suffering was appalling.

America never witnessed anything like it in all her history, and in the world few catastrophies have compared with it in their devastation. Already we hear talk about "the hand of God" and He is blamed for all of it.

Poor God!

Mahogany furnishings and velvet carpetings were no match for the call of the mountains, and in two years Dad was back in Enderby with another

printing plant, bringing with him his young wife and infant son, Henry Davis. *Walker's Weekly* was established and before long was catching the attention in newspaper circles for the strong, forthright editorials, be it on politics, education or sports. Many of Dad's observations have become family maxims which clearly emphasize his philosophies. Two come easily to mind: "Give me health and a tin whistle, and you can take the gilded palace and the band wagon." "There won't be any shadows to frighten you, sweetheart, if your face is toward the sun."

Walker's Weekly and the *Armstrong Advertiser* were amalgamated into the *Okanagan Commoner* for the duration of World War I. At the end of the war the two papers went their separate ways again, *Walker's Weekly* becoming the *Enderby Commoner.* A difficult readjustment period followed. It was a struggle to keep the newspaper publication on a paying basis, and many were the long hours spent in order to meet the Thursday publication deadline.

With the arrival of three daughters over the years, Sarah Emily (Sally) 1909; Margaret Annabelle (Peg) 1911; Mary Katherine 1914, the home was a busy place. As the living quarters were above the office, (a building since destroyed by fire) the family members were often recruited to fold papers for delivery to the Post Office, or to assemble the *Okanagan Telephone Directory,* which Dad printed twice a year.

Henry Walker was never a church-going man, but found God in Nature and the out-of-doors. He was not large in stature, but large in the things that count. His greatest love, apart from the family, was Mabel Lake. Every summer the family was transported to the camping ground by horse and buggy, there to revel in the freedom of the wilds — and 'wilds' it surely was! Dad would bicycle up the twenty-three miles from town each weekend, bringing with him food rations, books, fruits and candy treats to which we had no access at the lake.

On August 5, 1925 Dad purchased for $1800, seventy acres at Mabel Lake then owned by A. C. Leighton, an officer with A. R. Rogers Co. Part of it was subdivided into beach lots, most of which had fifty foot frontage and listed for sale at $200. The lots moved slowly and any money realized went back into development of the road behind the lots and survey costs. Dad visioned this area as a "family resort" as opposed to a commercial development. For years the lake holdings provided delightful holidays for the family and the many friends to whom Dad enjoyed showing the beauties of the lake.

In the thirty-six years in Enderby both Dad and Mother devoted much of their time and effort to promoting community projects. Dad was one of the founders of the Okanagan Historical Society and a Director for ten years. He was a staunch Conservative and was Provincial Secretary for the party for several years. As a member of the British Columbia Weekly Newspapers Association he served many terms on the executive, always actively promoting the best interests of that association. Mother's interests were with the Hospital Auxiliary, of which she was a founder, and the Women's Auxiliary of St. George's Anglican Church. She served as Superintendent of St. George's Sunday School for many years.

Henry Davis Walker grew to manhood learning the printing trade as he worked with his Dad. He had joined the army with the Rocky Mountain Rangers in 1939. When ill health forced "H. M." to write "30" to his publica-

tion and hang up the "Printer's towel," Henry Jr. took leave from the army to take over the responsibilities as editor of the *Enderby Commoner* for a short time before going overseas. The business was sold to F. Rouleau in 1940. Henry Walker passed away in 1944.

Henry Walker made a great contribution to his community as a forthright and prophetic newspaper editor. Those who knew him recognized that he was a man of keen insight with a humane philosophy. Many of the predictions that he made, of settlement patterns and community developments, have been fulfilled. In this sense Henry Walker looms even larger than when he was a busy editor and active community worker.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *A History* — British Columbia Weekly Newspapers.

GILBERT CULLODEN TASSIE

Peter Tassie

Gilbert Culloden Tassie was born to a merchant family in Dresden, Kent County, Ontario on September 16, 1883 and died at his home in the Coldstream near Vernon, B.C. on September 20, 1973, a few days following his ninetieth birthday.

Gilbert came west to Calgary in April, 1908, and was engaged in surveys for irrigation works east of Calgary by William Pearce, a prominent figure with the Department of the Interior and the C.P.R. in the settlement and development of the prairie provinces. He was articled to Mr. Pearce, BCLS in 1910 and transferred articles to H. Neville-Smith in July, 1911. He completed his articles and was commissioned as a British Columbia Land Surveyor on November 10, 1913. He obtained his commission as a Dominion Land Surveyor in 1917.

He enlisted in the Canadian Army in Vancouver in May, 1918 and served overseas in France in that year. After taking his discharge in Montreal in July, 1919 he went to Vancouver that same month. Later in December of that year he obtained a position with the British Columbia Department of Public Works (now the Department of Highways) as Assistant District Engineer at Golden. While there, he worked on the location of the first Golden to Field highway through Kicking Horse Canyon, now forming part of the Trans-Canada Highway.

He was registered as a Professional Engineer with the Association of Professional Engineers of B.C. on October 15, 1920. In September, 1923 he was married to Adolphina Thornton Pearce, the daughter of William Pearce to whom he was articled in 1910.

In 1925, he was transferred to Vernon as Assistant District Engineer and remained in that position until 1929 when he resigned to enter private practice as a Consulting Engineer and Surveyor. In 1935, he was appointed General Manager of the Vernon Irrigation District and remained until 1948. During this thirteen year period he implemented a policy of reconstruction of the irrigation system, which had hitherto been neglected, by providing more durable and efficient water distribution works.

In 1948, at age 65, Mr. Tassie resigned his managership to establish an

engineering and surveying practice in Vernon, which he maintained until 1968. For most of this time his son, Peter, was associated with him professionally. During this period he and his firm surveyed many of the subdivisions that were developed in this period of rapid expansion in the North Okanagan. This expansion followed upon two decades of relative inactivity, in which the survey structure had deteriorated, requiring extensive investigation to re-establish it.

In addition to the subdivision surveys other work included resurveys of part of the boundary of Okanagan Indian Reserve No. 1, parts of Mount Revelstoke National Park, and portions of Highways 6 and 97. Several municipal water systems in the North Okanagan were also designed by him.

He sold his business in 1968 and entered retirement. Throughout this period he maintained an active interest in the Rotary Club, Canadian Power Squadrons and the North Okanagan Naturalists Club. His last survey, completed in 1971, was on behalf of the latter group, by which a portion of ecologically significant meadow land was reserved from alienation and set aside for public use.

He was predeceased by his wife in 1970 and is survived by one sister, Miss R. W. Tassie of Buffalo, New York; one brother, J. S. Garth Tassie of Port Carling, Ontario; two sons, William J. of Victoria and Peter of Vernon; and five grandchildren.

He was a Life Member of the Canadian Institute of Surveying, the Corporation of B. C. Land Surveyors, the Association of Professional Engineers of B. C., and the American Water Works Association.

THE MELDRUM SAGA

Eric Sismey

George Meldrum can look back over the centuries with the aid of his family tree which has been kept up to 1911 in the old family bible. It begins in the year 1250 when Sir Philip Meldrum was granted four oxbows of land in Argyll, Scotland. The family history is verified in the book "Tartans and Clans and Families of Scotland" and can be found on page 290 of the book printed in Edinburgh.

Through the centuries several of George's ancestors were granted knighthood. Others served the church and armed services. George's grandfather, George Murray Meldrum, was born at Crail, Fifeshire on June 8, 1834 and died on May 16, 1913 at Chateauguay, Quebec. Grandfather Meldrum was only ten years old when he went to sea aboard one of the ships of the Honourable East India Company. In 1849 he was among a landing party exploring the legendary Garden of Eden at the head of the Persian Gulf. He took part in the Burmese War in 1852 where he was wounded. Through the Crimean War, 1854-1856, he served with the Naval Brigade and took part through the battles of Inkerman and Sebastopol and also at Balaclava, scene of the Charge of the Light Brigade. On his return to England at the end of the war, while still in his ragged campaign uniform, he was decorated by Queen Victoria at St. James Palace in London. Four days later his company was ordered to India where George served through the Mutiny, 1857-1858, and where he took part in raising the siege of Lucknow. After India, Meldrum

Warhorse George Murray Meldrum wearing several of his medals.

served in the war with China. There were, he rememberd, eighteen engagements in this campaign. After discharge, George Meldrum set sail for Canada.

In Canada George Meldrum, along with hundreds of Loyalist Canadians, crossed to the United States where they enlisted in Union forces in the Civil War. George, with naval experience, was assigned to USS Pensacola, one of Admiral Farragut's fleet, as signal quartermaster and during action an exploding shell severed his left foot. His honourable discharge from the Grand Army is dated August 9, 1862, and states that he served 362 days. Other official papers granted him a pension for the loss of his left foot.

Grandfather Meldrum's medals are too numerous to list in detail. Sufficient to state that the Crimean medals with bars for the three major battles are beside the Turkish and French medals, whose forces were allied with the British against the Russians. The Indian Mutiny medal carries a bar for Lucknow and there are several United States medals for service in the Civil War.

Around the edge of the frame are many little patriotic buttons, which date back to the Boer War and show portraits of British royalty and commanders, whose names most of us have forgotten — Lord Roberts, General Buller, Baden-Powell and others.

George Murray Meldrum was an active member of the Masonic Lodge for more than fifty years. He was a good speaker and often sought at gatherings of Masonic and other institutions at which he told stories and highlights of his participation in forty-nine battles and he usually expressed his regret that there had not been one more to make it an even fifty.

James Andrew Meldrum, son of George Murray, was born March 4, 1870 at Chateauguay, Quebec. After schooling but before he was old enough to

vote he ventured west to arrive at Port Moody on the first transcontinental train in 1886.

Looking for work, he found his first job with Canadian Pacific Railway at Kamloops; and so began his life in steam. Leaving Kamloops, James took a job as engineer in the large Enderby flour mill built in 1887. It was an important operation at the time, milling the crops from the surrounding country. It is of note that the first shipment of Canadian flour to the Orient came from the Enderby mill. Forty 100-pound sacks marked "J3, Kobi, Japan" were shipped January 28, 1904. After leaving Enderby James Meldrum worked as engineer at several sawmills, including those at Naramata and Okanagan Falls. Then in 1908 it was Penticton where he took charge of boiler room and steam heating during the construction of the Incola Hotel until around 1915 when he became one of the early locomotive engineers on the Kettle Valley Railway.

He served both east and west from Penticton and also the Copper Mountain section of the road from Princeton. His later years were spent largely in yard service and on special runs and during that time he initiated his son George into steam — George was often his fireman in yard work. James Andrew Meldrum died in Penticton on July 29, 1939.

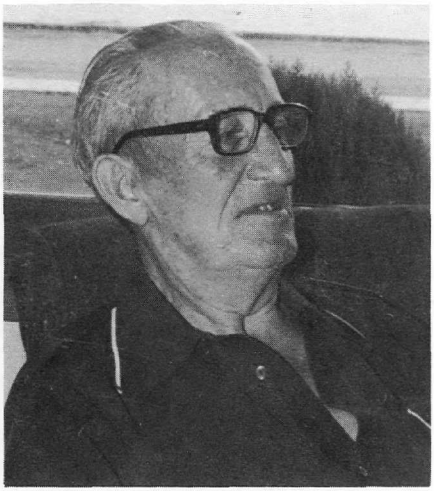
After his stamp-licking apprenticeship in the South Penticton office, George began engine wiping around the yard. On Labour Day, 1918, when the railroad was short of help, fifteen year-old George was called for a short westside trip. Bobby Hanson was engineer. George remembers he was not tall enough to reach the spout at water tanks, even though he knew how to handle the shovel and keep a good head of steam.

The trip was a short turn-around helper to Kirton and George was dressed in knee breeches, his usual schoolboy attire. On his return to Penticton George was met by the yardmaster who said in no uncertain terms: "Get your mother to buy you a pair of long trousers before you come back here."

In 1926, George Meldrum, on his twenty-third birthday, had become a regular engineer after a half dozen years of firing and crawling up the seniority ladder. For the next sixteen years George tooled his trains, passenger, freights and extras. He saw motive power become more powerful as engines changed and boiler pressures rose and hand firing with scoop shovels, changed to chain grates, to oil and finally to diesel. This change most "Hoggers" did not like. Every steamer, George said, was an individual whose peculiar ways had to be learned. Some engines had to handled with kid gloves.

For the more than quarter century that George had ridden the rails he knew the roads from Penticton to Nelson and Penticton to Hope as well as he knew his garden path. He had seen from the right hand side of his cab the joys of summer. He had bumped into unexpected rock slides around some corner. He knew the Coquihalla at its worst when slides came down to trap the train. In all undertakings there is a law which states: "Whatever can happen will happen," and that is the way with trains. But taking it all round George remembers railroading as a good life most of the time and even when things turn wrong side up there is usually time to jump.

In December, 1949, George Meldrum was appointed assistant superintendent at Bassano, Alberta, followed by transfers to Lethbridge, Medicine Hat and Calgary. He was at Calgary for two years before being transferred to Montreal to learn the ropes of a large terminal. This was followed by transfers



George Meldrum, grandson of the Warhorse, at his home in Peachland.

to Revelstoke and Nelson where he was retired after forty-five years of service. George was superintendent at Revelstoke for a few days short of seven years. This was his longest stint and one of the most demanding, since there are mountain passes both east and west, frustrating snow problems and heavy main-line traffic.

In May, 1959, George acquired a nickname "Dog Man Meldrum." Not to his face, mind you; one does not address supervisors that way. This is the story. One day a little girl's dog was run over by a train at Sicamous. Of course George heard about the affair. Some days later when business took him to Vancouver, George went to the dog pound where he found a dog, almost a twin of the dog killed by the train. On his return with the dog in the baggage car he presented the little girl, Rita Hopper, with a new pet. She was delighted and at a small celebration photographs were taken of which George still has copies in his collection.

The highlight of George Meldrum's career was his association with the Royal Train on July 10 and 11, 1959, and his presentation to Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip. George still has a copy of the detailed orders among his treasures. The general order details the movement of all trains, of passing points and the spiking of certain switches. George was on the train which was diverted at Sicamous to the branch line to Vernon. And it was there George was presented to receive their gracious thanks.

George has lived in quiet retirement at Peachland, his house a stone's throw from the lake, since 1963.

CLARA GUIDI

Rudolph Guidi

A long-time resident of Kelowna died March 28, 1974. Clara Santina Guidi was born in Italy in the little town of Pontecosi which lies in the beautiful rolling mountainous area of the province of Lucca. Pontecosi is located

Clara Guidi
1909 - 1974

roughly midway between the world-famous cities of Florence and Pisa in northern Italy.

Clara was born on November 2, 1909. She was the eldest of three children born to Angelo and Letizia Guidi. Two other children born later were a brother Rudolph, also born in Italy in 1911 and sister Lucia, born in Kelowna in 1917.

Clara's parents, Angelo and Letizia, did as many others were doing at this time. They left the two children, Clara and Rudolph, to the tender care of the grandparents while they immigrated to Canada to take part in the opportunity to work and hopefully accumulate some of the wealth that was reported "easy to find in America." The parents planned to stay a few years only and then to decide either to return to Italy or to make Canada their new home. The latter turned out to be their desire — to make Canada their new home. Angelo and Letizia came directly to Kelowna where other family relatives had come before them. And so it was that Kelowna provided the opportunity for work and a friendly attitude toward these new Canadian immigrants.

The next move on the part of the parents was to have their two children in Italy join them here in Kelowna. Arrangements were made with Letizia's sister to bring Clara and her brother to Kelowna. However, because of the First World War, the trip from Italy to Kelowna had to be postponed for some *eight* years until the Atlantic sea lanes were again safe for passenger traffic. In 1920 Clara and brother Rudolph came on the long slow journey from Italy under the care and guidance of dedicated Aunt Ersilia Pellini, arriving in Kelowna February 20th of that year.

In September Clara and Rudolph registered at the Kelowna Central School and were placed at the second grade level because they had had two years of schooling in the old country. The two students were not sufficiently familiar with the English language and so it became necessary to place them at the beginners level. However, by the end of their first school year both

Clara and Rudolph had mastered the language sufficiently to progress through three grades to the level of the other students of their age. Clara proved to be a very good student. She always enjoyed learning and was most appreciative of the efforts put forth by a number of teachers. Clara completed her schooling in Kelowna and went on to take business courses that were of interest and useful to her.

Clara was married to Ralph Guidi in 1953. Ralph came a few years earlier from the same district in Italy. He was a trained electrician and worked with the Kelowna City Electrical Department until his death in May 1971. Clara felt the loss of her husband greatly but she stoically carried on with her good work — in her church and in the district.

Clara passed away peacefully but rather suddenly of heart attack on the evening of March 28, 1974. The following selection by Max Ehrmann she always kept handy. She liked the thought and philosophy expressed. Those of us who knew her, realize that this "prayer" was directly attuned to her thoughts and philosophy.

> Let me do my work each day; and if the darkened hours of despair overcome me, may I not forget the strength that comforted me in the desolation of other times. May I still remember the bright hours that found me walking over the silent hills of my childhood, or dreaming on the margin of the quiet river, when a light glowed within me, and I promised my early God to have courage amid the tempests of the changing years. Spare me from bitterness and from the sharp passions of unguarded moments. May I not forget that poverty and riches are of the spirit. Though the world know me not, may my thoughts and actions be such as shall keep me friendly with myself. Lift my eyes from the earth, and let me not forget the uses of the stars. Forbid that I should judge others, lest I condemn myself. Let me not follow the clamour of the world, but walk calmly in my path. Give me a few friends who will love me for what I am; and keep ever burning before my vagrant steps the kindly light of hope. And though age and infirmity overtake me, and I come not within sight of the castle of my dreams, teach me still to be thankful for life, and for time's olden memories that are good and sweet; and may the evening's twilight find me gentle still.

The evening twilight did find her gentle still.

OBITUARIES

Kae Adams
1904 - 1977

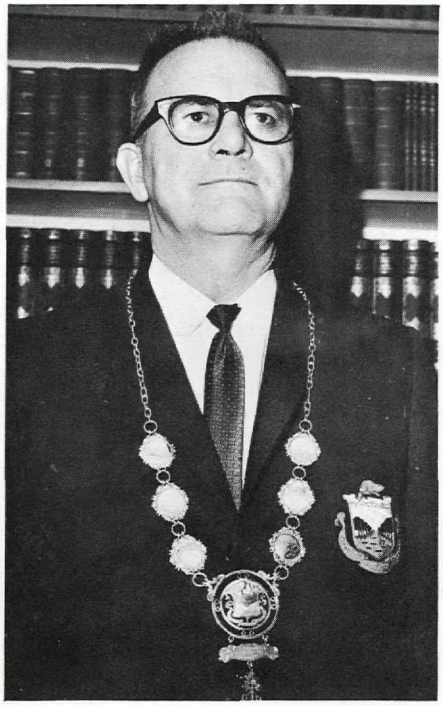
IDA KATHLEEN ADAMS

Family and friends were shocked and grieved to learn of the sudden death on December 13, 1977, of Mrs. Ida Kathleen Adams (nee Snowden) who died while spending a Christmas vacation with her daughter at Swan Lake, Manitoba.

Born in South Africa on January 22, 1904, she spent her early life in England and in the foothills of Manitoba. Later, she became a pioneer public health nurse, graduating in the first class of public health nurses from the University of British Columbia in 1927. Her work took her to the Keremeos-Cawston area where she served for over two years. "Kae" often spoke of the difficulties of those years and of the kindness and help she received in this rural area.

After she married and settled in Summerland, she served her community in a number of ways. She was a devout parishioner of St. Stephen's Anglican Church and a dedicated member of the Summerland Hospital Board. Her work with the Hospital Auxiliary continued to her death. She was president of the Summerland Museum & Arts Society during its reorganization (1968-1976) and Curator of the Summerland Museum. Kae was also a member of the O.H.S.

She was predeceased by her husband, Clarence Reginald, on January 21, 1977. Four sons and two daughters survive her.



Maurice Finnerty
1913 - 1977

MAURICE P. FINNERTY

G. J. Rowland

Maurice P. Finnerty, a valuable activist in a widespread field of interests, found his greatest achievement and his greatest joy in the contribution of his talents to the service of the community of Penticton. His sudden death at the age of sixty-three, on June 11, 1977, brought an end to his participation in a multitude of affairs. He had participated in and contributed greatly to every phase of Penticton life. That his fellow citizens fully realize this was shown in the massive attendance at his last rites.

Though born in Fort Frances, Ontario, on July 19, 1913, Finnerty grew up in New Westminster and served in the war before coming to Penticton. He was with the Seaforth Highlanders of Vancouver and saw service in England, Italy and Canada as a sergeant instructor early in his army life and later as a lieutenant and captain. He was wounded twice while serving in Italy.

On returning from the war, Maurice Finnerty settled in Penticton, working in the insurance business at first. Then he became co-owner of CKOK Radio. It was a 250-watt station then, with seven employees, and had been licensed in 1948. Moves were soon made to boost the station to 1,000 watts and later to expand to Osoyoos, Grand Forks and Summerland. He sold his interests in the radio operation in 1972.

During his early years in radio Finnerty organized the company which built the Okanagan television network. He was involved in the television system for eight years prior to it being sold to Okanagan Television Company.

He was a president of the B. C. Association of Broadcasters and a direc-

tor of the Western and Canadian Association of Broadcasters.

The enterprising Finnerty didn't stay out of business long. He had the Totem Par 4 Golf Course built on part of the CKOK Radio transmitter site along South Main Street. The boggy area was filled and landscaped to become a popular golf facility.

He served for four legislative terms as MLA in Victoria. First elected in 1949 as a Liberal, he was subsequently adopted as the coalition candidate for the Similkameen riding.

Finnerty was mayor of the city from 1962 to 1967, elected the first time and then, significantly, acclaimed in the post for two more two-year terms. These were years of great momentum. The more notable of many progressive undertakings stand as monuments: the new City Hall, the Peach Bowl, the Community Arts Centre. Civic staff were reorganized and strengthened. The mayor was aided by an excellent council and there was a general feeling of progressive enthusiasm only too valuable to any community.

The singular honour of being named a Freeman of the City came to Maurice Finnerty. He was the only chief magistrate so honoured.

The long list of local, provincial and national service given to various organizations by Finnerty includes president of the B. C. Chamber of Commerce and regional vice-president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce (1960). For thirty-one years he belonged to the Rotary Club of Penticton, acting as a director at various times, and as a special representative of Rotary International in chartering the city's second Rotary Club, the Skaha Rotary Club, in 1971. He was president of Branch 40 of the Royal Canadian Legion in Penticton in 1948 and 1949 and was the first Second World War veteran to hold that post. During his presidency major renovations were made to the Legion building. Also during this time he worked to have the federal government set up the West Bench development under the Veteran's Land Act (VLA). He was also a director of the B. C. Heart Foundation and was active in recent years in the annual appeal for funds by that organization.

Finnerty was one of the early presidents of the Penticton Peach Festival Association, president of the Okanagan Mainline Municipal Association while mayor, and a director for four years of the Union of B. C. Municipalities. He served for three years on the national centennial committee, preparing celebrations for Canada's centennial in 1967.

Finnerty was a fourth degree member of the Knights of Columbus and served in various posts at St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church, including the building committee. Other community and regional organizations served by Finnerty were the B. C. Division, Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Ballet B. C., Pennask Lake Fish and Game Club, and Penticton Golf and Country Club.

In the aftermath of Finnerty's sudden death, the current Penticton council paid its own tribute. Said Mayor K. A. Kenyon: "I hope all our citizens realize how important it is to have individuals who give so freely of their time and energies for the benefit of all of us." And in an editorial at the time of the funeral, the *Penticton Herald* said of him: "Widely known over the country as a whole, it was in Penticton that he continued to live and to which he gave his whole heart. Penticton should remember him with gratitude."

Surviving Maurice Finnerty are his widow, Merle; a daughter, Mrs. Stewart (Lesley) Wells, of Kelowna; and a son Patrick.

LESTER W. ARKELL

Lester W. Arkell died July 2, 1977 at age sixty-nine years. Born in Summerland, he had been employed by the Summerland Box Company for twenty-five years and had operated his own janitor service. Mr. Arkell was a charter member of the Summerland Fire Department and a member of the Oddfellows Lodge. He is survived by his wife, Alice, and one son.

JOHN ASHTON

John Aston's death at Enderby on October 19, 1977 brought to an end a generation of pioneers. He was born at Ashton Creek on December 22, 1887, the fifth child in a family of eleven. At age twenty-four he took up a homestead near his parents' home and cleared enough land to prove his title before joining the Rocky Mountain Rangers in 1915. One year later he was posted to the Seaforth Highlanders. Severely wounded just before the Armistice in 1918, he returned to Enderby where he raised Shorthorn cattle and worked as road foreman. He was active in community affairs, serving on the Enderby School Board for many years. He is survived by his wife, Nancy. (See *Thirty-fifth Report* pp. 87-90.)

WILLIAM IRA BETTS

William Ira Betts passed away June 8, 1977 at age of seventy. He was the founder of Betts Electric Ltd. in 1933 and was a member of the Penticton Elks and Oddfellows Lodges. Mr. Betts is survived by his wife, Pearl Mildred, one son and two daughters.

AMY WILLS BOOTH

Amy Wills Booth was a resident of Vernon for seventy-four years. She died in her eighty-fifth year on December 13, 1977. She was the daughter of well-known Vernon residents John (Scotty) and Margaret Smith. Her husband predeceased her in 1960. Two sons and one daughter survive.

VIOLA BYSTROM

Viola Bystrom, a native of Armstrong and daughter of the pioneer Warner family, died in Armstrong January 21, 1978. She was a Life Member of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Royal Canadian Legion.

CYRIL JOHN (CY) CARTER

Cyril John (Cy) Carter died on April 5, 1978 at age sixty-three. He was a life-long resident of Vernon, attending school there. Mr. Carter served in the R.C.A.F. during WW II, was presidnet of the Royal Canadian Legion, Vernon Branch, and was a member of the Okanagan Historical Society for many years. He is survived by his wife, Yvonne, one son, three brothers and three sisters.

EDWARD JOHN CHAMBERS

Edward John Chambers, one of Penticton's most revered citizens, died on June 4, 1977, just four months short of his one hundredth birthday. He was born in Ingersoll, Ontario, and came to Penticton in 1914 where he became a prominent fruit grower. "Ted" Chambers served his community and his country for almost his entire lifetime. He was on the Penticton City Council from 1917 to 1924, being Reeve for the last four years. He became the first president of the Associated Growers of B. C., the organization which preceded the present B. C. Tree Fruits, and was administrator of Canada's Wartime Prices & Trade Board for fruit and vegetables during WW II. He was a member of the Penticton Rotary Club and of the United Church. Mr. Chambers received many distinguished awards, including the King George Silver Medal and the M.B.E. Survivors are his wife, Bertha, two sons and two daughters. (See detailed story in *Forty-first Report*, pp. 134-140.)

MARJORIE ELIZABETH DAWE

Marjorie Elizabeth Dawe, a resident of Vernon since 1919 and wife of an early B. C. fruit grower, died on January 21, 1978 at age eighty-two. She was active in Trinity United Church, teaching Sunday school for many years. Her husband, Stanley, two sons and four daughters survive her.

ANNIE MONROE deLAUTOUR

Annie Monroe deLautour was born in Ontario in 1886 and died in Oliver September 8, 1977. After graduating from the University of Toronto, she came to Vernon and trained as a

nurse in the old Vernon Jubilee Hospital. In Vernon she married Edward Vane Delavel deLautour who predeceased her in 1951. For the last twenty-six years she lived in Oliver where she was a Life Member of the Hospital Auxiliary and was active in both the Women's Institute and the United Church. She is survived by three daughters.

ELSIE DICK

Elsie Dick, a resident of Vernon for fifty years, died on July 13, 1977. Coming to Vernon in 1929 to teach primary grades she was very active in community life and was Vernon's Good Citizen in 1975. She was a member of the United Church Women, Trinity United Church, executive member of the Council of Women, volunteer to the Senior Citizens' Drop-In Center and was instrumental in starting the Homemakers' Service for the Jubilee Hospital while serving as president of the Hospital Auxiliary. She is survived by her husband, George, two sons, one brother and one sister.

CHRISTINE DUNN

Christine Dunn (nee Bylander) died November 11, 1977. She was the wife of Walter Dunn, a long-time resident of Enderby, who survives. The couple lived in retirement in Victoria and Vancouver for several years but paid annual visits to the Enderby area. Also surviving are a son and daughter.

SUSANNA ALLEN FENTON

Susanna Allan Fenton was born in Tora, Ontario, in 1877 and died, aged one hundred and one on February 3, 1978 in Vernon. She came West in 1894 to join her father and brother on their North Enderby homestead. Later that year she started her teaching career and opened the first school at Black Mountain near Kelowna. Later, she taught at Mara, Nelson, Salmon Arm, and Springbend. She retired in 1930 to a quiet life on a small farm at Springbend.

JESSIE FERGUSON

Jessie Ferguson, Vernon's 1973 Good Citizen, died in Surrey on August 15, at age eighty years. She had served as president of the Canadian Legion Auxiliary, as a member of the Sons of Scotland and of the Cherry Red volunteers for the Jubilee Hospital, and served as a Blood Donor Clinic volunteer. She was born in Perthshire, Scotland, where her husband was gamekeeper at a royal estate before coming to Canada in 1927 and to Vernon in 1943. Predeceased by her husband, James, she is survived by three sons and two daughters.

FRANCES E. FRENCH

Frances E. French died April 12, 1978 at age ninety-one. Born in Guelph, Ontario, she married Percy E. French, son of a pioneer Coldstream family, who was a prominent Okanagan agriculturist. Their home was the beautiful Broadview Ranch on the B.X. Predeceased by her husband in 1948, two sons and two daughters survive.

HARRY G. GORMAN

Harry G. Gorman, a long-time resident of Vernon and the Okanagan, died on February 12, 1978. He came to Kelowna in 1913 receiving his education there and moved to Vernon in 1931. He was employed in the fruit industry, first with the Vernon Fruit Union and then with A. T. Howe Ltd. He joined the staff of Radio Station CJIB as secretary-treasurer and assistant manager, resigning in 1968. He was active in All Saints' Church, serving on the vestry committee and as both Peoples' Warden and Rector's Warden. Surviving are his wife, Beryl, one son and one daughter.

JOHN LESLIE GOULD

John Leslie Gould was born in Keyes, Manitoba, and came to Summerland in 1919. He was employed by the City of Summerland and was a veteran of WW I. He was a member of the I.O.O.F. Lodge and pitcher for the Summerland Baseball Club during the 1920's and 1930's when baseball was the number one entertainment in local sports. Surviving are his wife, Amy, and three sons.

RUBY MARGARET GRAHAME

Ruby Margaret Grahame, a resident of North Enderby since 1911, died at age eighty-seven. She was active in district affairs and in the Anglican church. Predeceased by her husband, Roland Robert Grahame, in 1960, eight sons and two daughters survive.

BERTHA GRAY

Bertha Gray, a resident of Vernon for over seventy years, died on April 3, 1978 at age ninety-five. She was an active worker in both the Methodist and Trinity United Churches for many years. Predeceased by her husband, James, she is survived by three sons and two daughters.

HENRY (HARRY) JOHN HAINES

Henry (Harry) John Haines, who was born in England in 1899 and had lived in Vernon since 1914, died on May 5, 1978. He was a long-time employee of the City of Vernon and is survived by his wife, Mabel, and one daughter.

MARY ELIZABETH HALL

Mary Elizabeth Hall, died on February 6, 1978. Widow of a Vernon pioneer, William Hall, she taught school in Vernon from 1911 to 1919.

ALBERT HANKEY

Albert Hankey, moved from Alberta with his family to Vernon in 1912 and died January 6, 1978 at age seventy. In 1925 he joined the Canadian Mounted regiment and became sergeant; he was awarded a long-service medal and joined the B. C. Dragoons in WW II. As a young man he rode the rodeo circuit and held the Western Canadian Bareback Bucking Championship. Surviving is his wife, Theresa.

JOHN LAWRENCE HUNTER

John Lawrence Hunter, a life-long resident of Vernon, son of pioneer photographer John Henry Hunter, died on January 7, 1978 at age sixty-eight. He was proprietor of J. Hunter Boots & Shoes from 1928 until his retirement. An avid outdoorsman and sportsman, he is survived by his wife, Winifred, two sons, one brother and one sister.

RICHARD DEWDNEY JEFFERD

Richard Dewdney Jefferd died June 8, 1977, aged seventy-three. Mr. Jefferd came to Penticton in 1920 and was manager of Canadian Canners. He moved to California but returned to Penticton to operate an orchard. He is survived by his wife, Dorothy, one son and two daughters.

CHARLES ROBB JOHNSON

Charles Robb Johnson, a pioneer resident of Enderby since 1903, died in Salmon Arm December 5, 1977 at the age of eighty-four. He operated a barber shop in Chase from 1914 to 1928 when he returned to Enderby. He moved to Vernon in 1939, but the last two years of his life were spent in Salmon Arm. Predeceased by his wife, Minerva, he is survived by one son and a daughter.

HUGHIE JONG

Hughie Jong, born in Canton, China, came to Armstrong in 1911 and died on November 17, 1977. He was one of the last of many Chinese vegetable growers in the district.

GERALD ALEXANDER (GERRY) LAIDLAW

Gerald Alexander (Gerry) Laidlaw died on May 8, 1978 in his sixty-sixth year. Born in Cranbrook, he resided in Summerland from 1925 to 1966 where he was associated with Laidlaw & Co. He then operated Knight & Laidlaw Men's Wear in Penticton from 1963 to 1972. He was Master of the Summerland Masonic Lodge, a member of Summerland and Penticton Rotary Clubs and was active in the Penticton Golf & Country Club. He is survived by his wife, Mona, one son, one daughter and a brother, William, in Summerland.

ANICET Le BLANC

Anicet Le Blanc, born in Lavington in 1891, son of Blue Springs pioneers Joseph Le Blanc and Elmire Quesnel, died in Vernon on June 14, 1978. Mr. Le Blanc farmed and logged with his father and became a carpenter by trade. Surviving him is his wife, Ruth.

ADA McALLISTER

Ada McAllister died December 14, 1976 at age eighty. Born in Norfolk, England, she came to Lumby in 1919 and moved to Coldstream in 1960. She was the first president of the Ladies

Auxiliary to the Royal Canadian Legion Branch 167, president of the Women's Institute, a member of the Lumby Community Club, the Catholic Women's League and was an active worker in the Red Cross during WW II. Predeceased by her husband, James, she is survived by three sons and two daughters.

GRACE ELIZABETH MACKIE

Grace Elizabeth Mackie died in Vernon on January 27, 1978 at age ninety-three. She was predeceased by her husband, Hugh Mackie, founder of the Vernon Preparatory School in the Coldstream, and is survived by one son Patrick, of Vernon and one sister, Miss Rhona Marle.

AGNES MARCHAND

Agnes Marchand, a life-long resident of Vernon and mother of Kamloops MP Len Marchand, died on April 12, 1978 in her seventy-second year. She was predeceased by her husband, Joseph, in 1973, and is survived by two sons and six daughters.

JESSIE M. MIDDLETON

Jessie M. Middleton died on May 5, 1978 at age eighty-nine. She came to Vernon from Truro, N. S. in 1906 and was active in the Women's Auxiliary to the Ninth Armoured Regiment, B. C. Dragoons, and a charter member of the Vernon Country Club. Her husband, William A. Middleton, one of the first pioneers to settle the Coldstream, predeceased her in 1976. She is survived by two sons.

VIOLET K. MUNRO

Violet K. Munro, resident of Summerland area since 1905, died in Penticton on August 27, 1977. She had lived since her marriage in 1910, on the ranch in Meadow Valley, Summerland, and moved to Penticton in 1952. She was loved by all, especially by the young folk for "Mrs. Munro's candied apples" at Halloween. Predeceased by her husband, Findlay, she is survived by two sons and one daughter. (See *Thirty-first Report,* pp. 61-71)

THOMAS LEO O'KEEFE

Thomas Leo O'Keefe, son of the founders of Vernon's O'Keefe Ranch, Cornelius and Mary Ann O'Keefe, died at the age of eighty-eight in Calgary on December 17, 1977. He was born on the Vernon ranch and educated in Vernon, Ottawa and Toronto. During the First World War he served with the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France and Belgium. Following his discharge in 1918, he articled with the firm of David & Company in Vancouver and became a member of the B. C. Bar Association in 1918 and the Alberta Law Society in 1919. He was honourary Vice-Consul for Southern Alberta for Holland and Sweden; chairman of the Tenth Troop Boy Scouts; and in 1955 was named Queen's Counsel, Alberta. The Law Society of Alberta honoured him in 1969 by awarding him their fifty-year certificate. He is survived by his wife, Gertrude.

WALTER GORDON PARKINSON

Walter Gordon Parkinson died on December 9, 1977. Born in Armstrong in 1892, he was raised and educated in the Hullcar district and farmed in that area until his retirement. Surviving is his wife, Dorothy.

DELBERT GEORGE PENNY

Delbert George Penny died in Penticton on June 14, 1977, aged eighty-five. After serving overseas in the First World War he came to Penticton in 1918 where he found work with the Penticton Co-operative Growers Packing House as accountant and later secretary-treasurer until his retirement. He was Master of Orion Masonic Lodge and a member of Branch Forty, Royal Canadian Legion.

EDNA MAY POWELL

Ena May Powell, wife of the late Reeve of Summerland, Walter Powell, who predeceased her in 1954, died on September 22, 1977 at age ninety-one. She had lived in Summerland since 1923 and was a long-time member of the Okanagan Historical Society. Three sons and one daughter survive her.

GEORGE ALFRED RAND

George Alfred Rand emigrated to Enderby from the United States in 1914. He ran the first

power plant in Enderby, was the first Ford dealer in the Okanagan and for fifty-four years was the local Imperial Oil dealer. He was an active member of the Masonic Lodge and enjoyed curling, fishing and hunting. Born in 1885 in Medina, New York, he died in the Vernon Jubilee Hospital May 6, 1978. His wife, Florence, predeceased him in 1972. He is survived by a son and a daughter.

SCOTT G. RAND

Scott G. Rand died in his ninety-fifth year on July 1, 1977. He moved to Summerland in 1914 where he worked as an orchardist and operated a taxi business and second-hand store. Predeceased by his wife, Beatrice Louise; his son, Percy, survives him.

THOMAS SCOTT RITCHIE

Thomas Scott Ritchie manager of the Greyhound Bus Depot in Vernon in 1945 and a Charter Member of the Kiwanis Club, died at his home in Vernon on March 18, 1978 at the age of seventy-one. He was predeceased by two brothers.

LAURA MARY RUSSELL

Laura Mary Russell, born in Vernon in 1902, the granddaughter of Forbes Vernon for whom the city of Vernon was named, died on February 27, 1978. Her paternal grandfather was E. J. Tronson who laid out the town of Centreville in 1892 and was the owner of the first sawmill there. Mrs. Russell's husband, John L. (Jack), was teamster during the 1920's and 1930's for Penticton Sawmills and later blacksmith for the City of Penticton. One son, Bud, of Vernon survives.

ALVINA SCHUNTER

Alvina Schunter, born in Germany in 1891, arrived in Vernon with her parents, three brothers and three sisters in 1905. She married Fred Schunter and lived in the Sugar Lake area and in Creighton Valley, Lumby. The Schunters retired to Vernon where Alvina died October 24, 1977. Her husband survives her.

CECIL ALBAN STOCKING

Cecil Alban Stocking died at Kamloops March 21, 1978 in his ninety-eighth year. A long-time resident of North Enderby, he was a C.P.R. engineer until his retirement in 1949. During World War I he had served with the Royal Canadian Navy. He was predeceased by his wife.

MARY WALDRON VALAIR

Mary Waldron Valair, a resident of Vernon since 1908, died on May 7, 1978 at the age of ninety-one. She is survived by her husband, Frank, and five sons.

MARY ANNIE WARD

Mary Annie Ward, born in Montreal in 1886, died January 14, 1978. She was the youngest of the ten children of Mr. and Mrs. Baptiste Deschamps who preempted land at Blue Springs in 1892 and lived in the Lumby area until moving to Vernon in 1960. Predeceased by her husband, Raymond; she is survived by two sons and two daughters.

THOMAS WARNER

Thomas Warner, born in Birmingham, England, came as an infant with his parents to the Mabel Lake valley in 1905. Educated at Shuswap Falls and Mabel Lake Schools, he worked on the farm with his father. In his retirement he lived in Vernon and Armstrong. He is survived by one sister.

WALTER HERBERT WILDE

Walter Herbert Wilde, son of former mayor of Vernon A. C. Wilde, died on September 4, 1977 in his fifty-fourth year. He is survived by his wife, Margery, a son, two daughters and two sisters.

BOOK REVIEWS

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A Pioneer Gentlewoman in British Columbia: The Recollections of Susan Allison, edited by Margaret A. Ormsby. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1976. Pp. li, 210, *illus.*, $18.95, $7.95 paper.

A Pioneer Gentlewoman in British Columbia presents the fascinating story of a remarkable woman, Susan Moir Allison. Although her recollections, written when she was in her eighties, lack the immediacy of a daily journal, they provide an important record of the development of the southern interior of British Columbia in the latter half of the nineteenth century and make a significant contribution to the regrettably limited writings of Canadian pioneer women. The original manuscript is much enhanced by Margaret Ormsby's thorough annotation and extensively researched introduction which sets the story of the Allison family in a wider context.

Of Scottish-Dutch ancestry, Susan Moir was born in 1845 in Ceylon, where her father owned a plantation. When Susan was four, the sudden death of her father resulted in the family's return to Britain. The widowed Mrs. Moir and her three children found sympathy and support from well-to-do relatives; Susan received a good education in London, becoming proficient in French, Latin and Greek. Eventually, Mrs. Moir remarried a charming but spendthrift Scot, Thomas Glennie. Having inherited a legacy, Glennie was attracted to the gold colony by the prospect of cheap land which would enable him to play the country squire. With his wife and two step-daughters, he travelled to British Columbia via the Panama Canal in 1860. On the advice of Governor Douglas, he took up a homestead near the scenic, bustling town of Fort Hope, then the head of navigation on the Fraser River.

Like those gentlewomen who immigrated to Upper Canada several decades earlier, Mrs. Glennie found herself ill-equipped for her new life — ignorant of basic domestic skills such as making bread and washing. Her troubles were compounded when Glennie, having run through his money, deserted the family in 1864. Daughter Susan took in sewing and embroidery to help make ends meet and then helped her mother establish a school in Hope.

Although perhaps an unintended comment, the experience of Mrs. Glennie and her two daughters underlines how completely a woman's destiny was shaped by her marriage. Susan's elder sister, Jane, married Edgar Dewdney in 1864. Her lifestyle reflected her husband's financial and political success; in the 1890's she became chatelaine of Cary Castle during Dewdney's term as lieutenant-governor.

How different Susan's life! In 1868, she married a man twenty years her senior, John Fall Allison, a rancher and miner who did much to open up the Similkameen district. Shortly after the wedding, the young bride rode over the Hope Mountains to her new log home near the present site of Princeton. For many years she was practically the only European woman in the area. It was not an easy life. Cattle drives frequently took her husband from home, and he suffered several financial reverses.

Yet Susan Allison became genuinely attached to her "wild and free" life, especially during the seventies when the family lived at Sunnyside, the first European home on the west side of the Okanagan Lake. Her youth, common sense and lively curiosity enabled her to make a successful adjustment to pioneer life. Mrs. Allison's genuine interest in the Similkameen Indians, many of whom provided her with help and companionship, puts to shame the disdainful treatment often accorded the Indians by the European wives of earlier fur traders and missionaries. While she mastered native skills such as drying venison and making moccasins and straw sun hats, she also maintained the niceties of civilized living. She was not about to abandon her habit of dressing for dinner, in spite of the ridicule of her husband's crude partner, and she treasured her small library of books. Even when times were hard, the Allisons subscribed to English and Scottish journals.

Mrs. Allison tends to play down her own courage and fortitude. With the help of only the neighbouring Indian women and her husband, she gave birth to fourteen children, all of whom lived to maturity. In addition to her domestic duties, she dutifully ran her husband's trading store and post office and kept the accounts. She faced disaster and near-disaster. In one of her earliest adventures, she made it through a raging forest fire with her month-old baby while accompanying her husband to Hope. The true test of her mettle came in 1883 when the house burned down during one of her husband's absences. She managed to rescue all the children and showed great resourcefulness in fitting out temporary living quarters in an old cabin. Of this experience she observed philosophically: "I learned the real value of things by it." Further calamity struck in 1894, when flood waters devastated the Allisons' by-now substantial property, carrying away their home and thirteen outbuildings. John Allison died in 1897; his wife, who became known as "The Mother of the Similkameen," survived him by forty years, dying at the age of ninety-two.

In her later life, Mrs. Allison fortunately found time to record much of the history which she helped to make. Future generations are particularly indebted to her for preserving some of the legends and history of the Similkameen Indians. In 1899, using the family name Stratton Moir, she published a long narrative poem called *In-Cow-Mas-Ket,* an account of the Similkameen Indians from the 1860's to the 1880's when they "were still a people." She also wrote a companion piece about the great bear hunter Quinisco, and recorded the stories told her by the old wise man Tam-tu-sa-list, who was well over a hundred when she met him. One wishes that more of these writings might have been included in the appendix, which does contain her account of the Similkameen Indians published by the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1891 and two of the legends. One is about the Big Men (presumably the Sasquatch), with whose story, along with that of the famed lake monster Ogopogo, the European woman was fascinated.

Sympathetic glimpses of the Indians are provided in the narrative. Among the most memorable are that of the faithful mail carrier Poo-la-lee, whose frozen feet were doctored by an Indian companion on the Allison kitchen table by the application of hot coals, and the stately Okanagan chief Penentitza, whom Mrs. Allison entertained at lunch. The book is also a veritable who's who of early British Columbia. In Hope and New Westminster in the early 1860's, Susan Allison made the acquaintance of such figures as

Governor Douglas, Colonel Moody, the Trutch brothers and Peter O'Reilly. Their part in the history of British Columbia is succinctly elaborated in Professor Ormsby's footnotes. An interesting vignette is also given of the notorious McLean gang which terrorized the Okanagan Valley in 1879. Several notables such as the geologist, George M. Dawson, visited the Allison ranch, but the most unexpected was undoubtedly the American general, W. T. Sherman, in 1883. The sword which Sherman presented to young Jack Allison is shown in one of the twenty-three well-chosen photographs which complement the text.

The University of British Columbia Press is to be commended for undertaking a series which will make such reminiscences of B. C. pioneers available in an attractive and useful form. In this second volume of the series, however, the system of designating the footnotes by page and line instead of by number was found most irritating, especially when it breaks down, as it does on p. xxxvi.

The problem of ensuring that this expensive volume ($18.95) enjoys the wide circulation it deserves is partially resolved by the publication of a paperback edition ($7.95) which abridges the annotations but retains the full text of the memoirs.

University of Toronto SYLVIA VAN KIRK

McCulloch's Wonder, Barrie Sanford. West Vancouver, Whitecap Books Ltd., 1977. Pp. 260, $12.95.

Barrie Sanford's saga of the Kettle Valley Railway (K.V.R.) is a tribute long overdue and eagerly awaited by many British Columbians. Railroad buffs will appreciate Sanford's intense fascination for trains and tracks which pervades this historical essay. A fervent native son, he has provided us with a most explicit account of how the "world's most difficult and most expensive" railway began as a dream in the 1880's and proceeded with a "tumultuous struggle" through thirty years of construction and forty years of development, only to be coldly and anti-climatically abandoned in 1964.

Sanford has become an authority on Canadian railway history and his book is a product of much serious research, as is evidenced by his extensive bibliography and chapter notes. These, plus a generous array of maps and full page photographs, mark *McCulloch's Wonder* as a valuable and interesting reference book.

Local historians might challenge the accuracy of some of his statements. In reference to the Dewdney Trail, his pronouncement that "the project was a dismal failure" is unnecessarily harsh, as the trail provided the only artery of trade into the southern interior for many years. He gives Thomas Shaughnessy credit for "making Okanagan fruit world famous" which is a rather exaggerated claim. These are minor points which do not detract from Sanford's admirable effort to bring to our attention background information previously unknown to many of us.

The author's writing style is most impressive in the opening and final

chapters of the book. His invitation to ride "every cliff clinging, heart-chilling mile" of the Kettle Valley Railway is immediately intriguing. His early analysis and final summary indicate his clear grasp of the historical and geographical significance of this "lifeline into the interior of British Columbia." However, it is Barrie Sanford the engineer, rather than Sanford the writer, who pulls us determinedly through a maze of bedevilling details in the chapters dealing with the railway car capers in the Boundary and Kootenay districts, and the incredibly devious dealings of the politicians and railway tycoons. Despite the textbook pace of many chapters Sanford intersperses some fine phrases in his descriptive passages.

Somewhat disappointingly, Andrew McCulloch is not introduced until midway through the narrative. He is fully credited as the brilliant engineer who directed the construction and operation of the K.V.R. for twenty-three years, with colourful anecdotes to emphasize his ingenuity and the affection with which he is remembered. McCulloch shares the centre stage with C.P.R. President Thomas Shaughnessy, K.V.R. President J. J. Warren and James Hill, the intrepid "genius of the Great Northern Railway," all of whom play prominent roles.

The Kettle Valley Railroad, or McCulloch's Wonder, was "a masterpiece of mountain railroad engineering." The saga climaxes with the perilous progress of the tracks through "the unforgiving Coquihalla" Canyon which is McCulloch's ultimate achievement. Colourful humour and heroism of some individual railroaders are faithfully documented, but somehow Sanford's account lacks the dramatic impact of our local legends. Perhaps it requires a more skillful storyteller to capture that special feeling of pride and wonderment associated with the exploits of the men of the Kettle Valley Line. Nevertheless, Sanford has given us an authoritative book about British Columbia's very unique railroad — that "tenuous link" from the Coast to the Kootenays so vital to a previous generation. *McCulloch's Wonder* is a timely reminder of our heritage.

Penticton JOAN LYON

"The Ethnobotany of the Okanagan Indians of British Columbia and Washington State." Manuscript. Nancy J. Turner, Randy Bouchard and Dorothy I. D. Kennedy.

This monograph, publication of which is currently being negotiated, is of encyclopedic interest to naturalists concerned with the utilization of the flora of the Okanagan and to those studying the language, economy and culture of the Okanagan Indians. The reader should not be misled by the title. This is a comprehensive and practical book which identifies the various plants of the Okanagan and details the uses to which they were put by the Okanagan Indians.

One learns that before the European invasion the Indian way of life was full and complete. They understood their environment and lived almost entirely from the indigenous animal and vegetable resources of the Okanagan. There is little that they lacked. Their knowledge of herbal remedies and the

medicinal value of plants was thorough. They utilized certain plants for economic purposes and were cognizant of the edible plants and their preparation.

Randy Bouchard has been working with the Okanagan Indians since the summer of 1966 when he came from the University of Victoria where he was studying linguistics to spend the summer in Penticton, hoping to learn something of the Okanagan tongue. He was accepted by the native people, learned to speak Okanagan and developed a system of writing for the language. Bouchard's orthography is functional, relatively simple, with only a few foreign characters, and it has gained wide acceptance. His work has coincided with and perhaps contributed to an upsurge of interest by Indians all over the province in their language and culture.

Bouchard, now Director of the British Columbia Indian Language Project in Victoria, and his colleague, ethnographer and photographer Dorothy I. D. Kennedy, are actively involved in the documentation and preservation of ten of this province's thirty different Indian languages and cultures, including Okanagan. Additionally, they are responsible for the implementation of several public school courses pertaining to the various native languages and cultures. Numerous monographs have emanated from this Project including the "Ethnobotany of the Okanagan Indians of British Columbia and Washington State."

While Bouchard and Kennedy are mainly responsible for the collection of data for this study of Okanagan ethnobotany, Dr. Nancy J. Turner, a Victoria botanist organized the material, identified the plant specimens and did the final writing of the monograph. This is but one example of the close cooperation between Dr. Turner and the B. C. Indian Language Project. Bouchard and Kennedy provided considerable ethnobotanical data for two of Turner's recent publications, *Food Plants of the British Columbia Indians, Part 2: Interior Peoples.* Natural History Handbook No. 36. (Victoria, B. C. Provincial Museum, 1978) and "The Economic Importance of Black Tree Lichen (*Bryoria fremontii*) to the Indians of Western North America" *Economic Botany,* Vol. 31, 1977, pp. 461-470.

"The Ethnobotany of the Okanagan Indians of British Columbia and Washington State" presents a comprehensive discussion of the Okanagan flora recognized by the Indian people. Following the English name is the name used by the native people. The properties and usage of trees, shrubs, grasses, roots and fungi are examined fully.

From the myriad of plants discussed I have selected two well known plants with which we are all familiar. The first is the Spring Sunflower (Balsam-root), which decorates our hillsides in May with a blaze of gold. The description by the Indians of its properties and use takes more than six hundred words. In March, young shoots about an inch long and white in colour were dug and eaten before they emerged from the ground and then the flower and leaf were utilized, stage by stage, until seed time. Seeds were ground and eaten alone or mixed with other foods.

The second plant that I will mention is the Sand Rose or Bitter-root which grows scattered over our benchlands. Bitter-root or "Sp'itl'm" was the most important edible root of the Okanagan people. In Okanagan mythology it was the "King of all Roots." Together with Saskatoon berries it was considered the most important food, even more so that meat and fish. It was an

article of trade between the North Thompson and the Okanagan Indians who exchanged Sp'itl'm for dried salmon. The rolling benchlands around Penticton are still favoured gathering places. On several occasions, I have enjoyed seeing Selina Timoyakin of Penticton digging and peeling the roots while I stood close by with a camera.

For those who wish to delve deeper, Appendix II presents the practical phonemic writing system developed by Bouchard in 1973 with the help of Larry Pierre, Indian language specialist from Penticton. Appendix III deals with general botanical terms in the Okanagan language and is followed by a botanical index and an index of Okanagan plant names.

In summary, "The Ethnobotany of the Okanagan Indians of British Columbia and Washington State" is a fascinating study which when published, complete with photographs of the pertinent flora and of Okanagan Indians engaged in the gathering and preparation of roots and berries, will belong on the shelves of every school and public library. It is eagerly awaited by the many who have a keen interest in Okanagan history and the people who used this land to develop a completely satisfactory way of life which stretched back many centuries before the white man arrived.

Penticton ERIC SISMEY

A White Man's Country: An Exercise in Canadian Prejudice. Ted Ferguson. Toronto, Doubleday, 1975. Pp. 200, $8.95.

In 1914, 376 Sikhs and other Punjabis, led by one Gurdit Singh, chartered a boat out of Hong Kong to challenge the Canadian immigration barrier. They were not allowed to land in Vancouver and after sitting for two months in the Vancouver harbour they seized control of the ship and would not leave until faced with a Canadian light cruiser. Thoroughly politicized, they arrived back at Calcutta or, more precisely, Budge Budge, a town seventeen miles downstream from Calcutta. Some were carrying arms and ammunition which they used in an exchange of fire with police and troops on the day they landed. The affair is remembered in India and among Sikhs with a warmth that Canadians do not suspect.

For Indians, the ship became a symbol of all that was wrong with British rule and it now has an established place in the history of the Indian nationalist movement. It is, at the same time, important for Canadians, graphically illustrating Canadian exclusionism as well as Canada's curious position within the Empire in the early years of this century.

Yet, until recently, the principal published accounts in Canada have been a 1936 article by the scholar Eric Morse and a 1941 apologia by Robie Reid who acted as a government lawyer during the affair. Ted Ferguson's *A White Man's Country* has been welcomed as a much more extended attempt to tell this story. Unfortunately, it has serious failings as a work of history.

One's credulity is tested at the start of the book when Ferguson deals with Chief Justice Gordon Hunter's decision of November 1913 in which he threw out the 1910 Orders-in-Council that had been used to exclude Sikh immigrants. According to Ferguson, Hunter ruled the Orders *ultra vires* "because

every citizen of India was a British subject and could go anywhere he pleased in the Empire." In truth, the ruling was based on technical faults in the language of the Orders — not on general principle. Tidying up the language was a simple matter and the government immediatley proceeded to do so. There was a general misunderstanding on part of East Indians at the time and they were encouraged to think that there was more strength in their case in Canadian law than proved true. Ferguson shares their confusion.

In the second chapter Ferguson introduces Gurdit Singh, the character of the *Komagata Maru.* He says that Singh's motive was money, nothing more elevated. He invents for Gurdit Singh a past, a boyhood in the holy city of Amritsar, a training in the huckster's trade in his father's pawn shop, an education in British-run schools up to university level, all of which is complete cock-and-bull. But it contributes to the picture he paints — following the line of the official Indian government inquiry into the affair — of a Gurdit Singh who worshipped money and who had only personal gain in mind when he sold passages on the *Komagata Maru.*

Those who can read it, know Gurdit Singh from a well-documented, Punjabi-language biography by Jaswant Singh 'Jas.' He grew up, unschooled, in the village of Sirhali in the Amritsar District, a Punjabi peasant boy, willful and independent. He was a self-taught man who had followed his brother to Malaya in search of wages and who, having learned quickly in the employment of a Chinese contractor, accumulated a considerable fortune. He was a successful man. One suspects that behind his determination to proceed with the voyage of the *Komagata Maru* was a sense of destiny and an inability to recognize the possibility of failure.

Throughout the book, Ferguson misconceives the relationship between Gurdit Singh and the East Indian leadership in Vancouver. He assumes that Singh was much more in control of the situation than was the case — that he was directing the legal action taken on his behalf when in fact the legal strategy was plotted entirely by the Shore Committee as it had to be because the immigraton authorities kept Gurdit Singh virtually incommunicado on the ship. He could have no interview — except on two occasions — and all notes he sent ashore went in the hands of immigration authorities who were not above reading them. Ferguson says that when the *Komagata Maru* first arrived, Gurdit Singh sent a note ashore in the hands of a Japanese crewman asking Mitt Singh of the Sikh temple for the name of a good lawyer and that Mitt Singh immediately telephoned Edward J. Bird. The book is full of incidents for which there is no evidence. Bird was not hired through any initiative on the part of Gurdit Singh but had been engaged, in anticipation of the arrival of the *Komagata Maru,* by the East Indians on shore.

All this brings us to Gurdit Singh's role in the deadlock which kept the *Komagata Maru* in the Burrard Inlet for a month before there was a move to take the case into the courts. Ferguson blames it all on Gurdit Singh, who, we are told, was offered a test case by the Immigration Department on May 27 and rejected it — "bidding for time," Ferguson says, which is no explanation. By this account the Sikh's behaviour is incomprehensible. Part of the problem is that Ferguson does not understand the nature of the deal offered the Sikhs and does not explain the reasonable legal option that they were being asked to sacrifice. But he also miscasts Gurdit Singh. The attorney, Bird, took his instructions from the Shore Committee and they were respon-

sible for first advising him not to accept a test case on the government's terms, and then, a month later, for reversing themselves.

Ferguson gives some idea of the connection between the Vancouver Shore Committee and the East Indian revolutionary party, the Ghadr party, which had its headquarters in San Francisco and reached into the East Indian communities all up and down the Pacific coast. He correctly identifies Bhag Singh and Husain Rahim, leading members of the Shore Committee, as Ghadr party workers, although he perhaps underestimates Rahim's commitment. He misses completely the importance of Balwant Singh, who was a major figure in the Ghadr party and not just in Vancouver. And he has not guessed at the full involvement that these people had with the *Komagata Maru,* their correspondence with Gurdit Singh before the ship left Hong Kong and their successful mission to bring revolvers aboard at Yokohama when the ship was on its way back.

One reviewer has complained that Ferguson reduces the whole affair to a personality conflict between Gurdit Singh and the local immigration agent, Malcolm Reid; the stubbornness and irascibility of these two are used too often to explain what happens. Reid, it is true, played a very large role and bore a major responsibility for the delays in processing the passengers and in supplying them with food. But he had reasons for these delays which, however little we like them, need to be explained. Everything he did was consistent with a determination to get rid of the ship without allowing the passengers any recourse to the courts. If he seemed obsessed, one must remember that he had behind him the oriental-exclusionist H. H. Stevens to whom he was indebted for his job.

Hopkinson, the immigration interpretor who was assassinated by Mewa Singh in the aftermath of the *Komagata Maru,* is also somewhat misconstrued. The notion of Hopkinson in Vancouver sleuthing around, dressed as a Sikh with a grease and berry preparation smeared on his face is hard to accept because Hopkinson was too well-known among the Sikhs and his command of Punjabi was not good enough for him to get away with it. Ferguson's source is B. A. McKelvie, who did know Hopkinson, but if there is any truth to the story it has been elaborated beyond all proportion. Hopkinson was in the business of intelligence alright, but in a much more important way than Ferguson has guessed. He was the chief channel of information for the India Office and the Government of India on East Indian revolutionary activity in Canada and the United States. In these years, San Francisco was a more active centre than London or Paris, so Hopkinson occupied a critical position.

The story of the *Komagata Maru* has been told many times in many ways: in official reports, in Ghadr propaganda, in memoirs, interviews, and in scholarly books and articles, most of them published in India. Faced with wildly conflicting accounts Ferguson performs a crude balancing act, accepting the official version at one point and Gurdit Singh's at another. So, on the Budge Budge riot he takes the government line that the first shot fired was the one that killed Eastwood, while on the Vancouver temple shooting in September 1914 he names the immigration department informant, Bela Singh, as the aggressor. In both cases the evidence is controverted. In neither case does Ferguson explain the basis of his judgement.

The whole book displays a cavalier attitude towards research and a disrespect towards the reader who, Ferguson must presume, won't know the

difference anyway. There are examples on almost every page, many which would demand some space to explain, but some which will do as a brief indication. The report of the official inquiry into the *Komagata Maru* mentions several men by surname only. Ferguson does what no daily newsman would dare to do. He makes up Christian names. Thus for James Donald, a District Magistrate, he gives T. E. Donald; for J. H. Eastwood of the Reserve Police, who was shot and killed at Budge Budge, he supplies George Eastwood; for the railway official Malcolm Lomax, also a casualty, he provides William Lomax. He willingly makes up descriptions where he feels they are needed for colour: "The short, plump and middle-aged Dr. Singh" was, by contemporary accounts, a youthful man; "the elderly, gray-bearded Bhag Singh" was probably in his early thirties; "the thirtyish, slender-bodied Rahim" was forty-nine years of age in 1914.

Any scholar would cringe at his treatment of transcripts of conversations between H. H. Stevens and Dr. Rughunath Singh, and between Malcolm Reid and the passengers, which he has rewritten and abbreviated, sometimes destroying the sense of the original, but which he presents as faithful copies. Perhaps he means to declare himself on page eighty-eight, at the end of a long, exciting account of an incident on board ship in which Gurdit Singh supposedly saves Malcolm Reid's life. He has no sources and he admits that this singular event is mentioned neither in the press nor by Reid in his report to Ottawa. "So it was," he says, "up to an ancient and remarkably durable form of communication, malicious gossip, to distribute the real story helter-skelter throughout the city."

Ferguson ends on a moral note, linking the racial attitudes of 1914 to those of today. The connection really isn't made in the body of the book and the style tends to put a distance between ourselves and the main participants in the *Komagata Maru* affair. But then, how can we achieve understanding without a scrupulous regard for evidence?

Simon Fraser University HUGH JOHNSTON

Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890, by Robin Fisher. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977. Pp. xvi, 250. Illustrations, maps, index, bibliography. $18.00.

Contact and Conflict has won Robin Fisher the Sir John A. Macdonald Prize awarded jointly by the Manufacturers Life Insurance Company and the Canadian Historical Association for the book "judged to have made the most significant contribution to an understanding of the Canadian past in a given year." The medal and $5,000 prize were presented 1 June 1978. The book examines Indian-European relationships from July 1774 when the Spaniard Juan Perez met a group of Haida off the northwest point of Langara Island until 1890 by which time European settlement had been consolidated and the native people had become a minority in British Columbia.

Contact and Conflict is both scholarly and readable. The 211 pages of text are painstakingly documented from bibliographical sources which run to twenty-six pages. A comprehensive index is included. For the most part the

author's thesis is presented by means of skillfully chosen quotations from correspondence, government reports, and newspaper articles which are generally the work of Europeans participating in the affairs of the period under discussion. Hence events come alive. Editorializing is kept to a minimum. Fisher's style is direct, clear and interesting.

According to Robin Fisher fur traders, whether they came by sea or land, made little impact on native cultures. Both Europeans and Indians had roles to play in the trade and were mutually benefitted. Change came slowly enough to allow the Indians to adjust and thus maintain control over their societies.

Serious conflict began in 1858 with the influx of miners, many of whom were rough and brutal and talked of "cleaning out all the Indians in the land."(p. 98) In November 1858, a group of miners travelling through the Okanagan north of the border destroyed, "for fun," the winter provisions in an unattended village and the next day massacred a group of unarmed Indians.(pp. 98-99) Such incidents would have been more numerous had not Sir James Douglas acted so quickly to establish in the field his able and energetic gold commissioners. Miners soon learned that the law protected Indians as well as whites.

Douglas, in fact, emerges from the pages of *Contact and Conflict* as an outstanding administrator whether in the office of Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company or as Governor of the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. In him the Indians had "a sympathetic advocate who stood between them and the unrestrained pressure of settlement."(p. 146) The only treaties made with British Columbia natives were negotiated by Douglas before 1858 while he was still in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company and could use company trade goods to buy out the Indian interest in the land. The Imperial Government supplied no funds for later agreements. Before resigning as Governor of the colony at the end of 1864, in an attempt to protect Indian interests, Douglas ordered reserves to be staked in consultation with the Indians who were to be allowed all the land they required. Under this order W. G. Cox staked off the reserves along the Thompson Rivers, at the head of Okanagan Lake and between Okanagan and Dog (Skaha) Lake.

Once Douglas had withdrawn from the colonial government, policies with respect to the Indians changed radically. Pressures on native cultures became inexorable.

> The quintessential conflict between the settlers and the Indians was over land. Land was as crucial to the continuation of Indian culture as it was to the aims of the settlers . . . . The settler . . . had come to acquire land . . . and he was in no mood to take the claims of the Indians into account . . . . As far as the Indians were concerned, the land was theirs, as it had been from time immemorial . . . . The Indians' relationship with the land was spiritual as well as material. The conflict was simple and inevitable: the Indians had the land and the settlers wanted it.(pp. 102-103)

Settlers tended to follow pseudo-scientific racial ideas current in the nineteenth century which affirmed that aboriginal peoples were meant to live in the world only until "races of greater capacity were ready to occupy the soil." (p. 87)

Fisher writes: "The process of whittling away the reserves began in 1865 when Philip Nind, the gold commissioner at Lytton, reported on Indian land claims in the Thompson River area."(p. 162) The author appears to be un-

aware of events in the Okanagan. Nind's letter is dated 17 July 1865 and the adjusted reserves were gazetted in October 1866. On 7 April 1865 J. C. Haynes, while in New Westminster, wrote a letter to the Colonial Secretary's Office reporting complaints from would-be preemptors that all the best land in the Okanagan was in Indian reserves. Haynes believed that the reserves were too large and after receiving instructions, proceeded to reduce the Okanagan reserves and open the land to settlement.

After 1864, the most influential figure in government policy towards Indians was Joseph Trutch in his successive offices as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Dominion Agent for British Columbia regarding Railway Matters, and finally Lieutenant-Governor. Under Trutch's influence, Douglas' minimum of ten acres per head of family became the maximum allowed each Indian family. The right of Indians to file for homesteads was practically discontinued. Reserves were cut back. European land owners were compensated for railway rights-of-way; Indians were not. Trutch's attitude is expressed in a report of 28 August 1867, regarding Fraser Valley reserves:

> The Indians really have no right to the lands they claim, nor are they of any actual value or utility to them; and I cannot see why they should either retain these lands to the prejudice of the general interest of the Colony, or be allowed to make a market of them either to government or to individuals.(p. 164)

Confederation did little for the native people. The Dominion Government complained about the smallness of the reserve allotments, but because the confederation agreement made no specific requirements concerning aboriginal rights, nothing was done. Responsible government was settler dominated. In 1877 George Forbes Vernon told Reserve Commissioner Gilbert Sproat that "he agreed with the commissioner's views on the land question in the Okanagan but that, owing to the approach of his election in the district, he could take no action."(p. 197)

In 1877 Indian discontent reached such a pitch that during the summer Okanagan and Shuswap bands met in council at the head of the lake to plan facing the government with a united front. The use of force was considered. Settlers were justifiably alarmed. Trouble was averted when the Reserve Commissioners were able to effect a settlement with two of the bands involved. Writing to Sproat at the time, the Dominion Minister for the Interior termed the provincial policy "not only unwise and unjust, but illegal."(p. 193)

Fisher's chapter on "The Missionaries" is objective, but superficial. He sees the missionaries as bent upon destroying primitive culture, although their desire to "save" the Indians put them on the side of the natives in the land issue and in economic matters. The missionary condemnation of pagan practices is kept to generalities in this book which is otherwise remarkable for being specific. Surely the time has come for an honest and in-depth study of the confrontation of the primitive and Christian world views. *Contact and Conflict*'s chapter offers a reasonable starting place.

The book is something of a myth-breaker in its portrayal of the Indian as an intelligent, shrewd and often sophisticated trader. Fisher makes clear that the old story of precious furs being traded for a few cheap trinkets had no validity in British Columbia. For example, Kwakiutl traders were able to divert Salish furs ordinarily sold at Fort Langley to Fort Simpson where the price offered was double that at Fort Langley.

Fisher questions the general views regarding the effect of communicable

diseases on Indian population. According to him, this matter has not been given the scholarly examination warranted. Those concerned with the marked decline in the native population and, indeed, the alcoholism and the present inordinately high rate of native suicides may find interesting a quotation from Gilbert Sproat's submission to the Ethnological Society in London in which he talks of the psychological effect of contact on the Indians. The natives became "listless" and "illness increased for no apparent reason" as the Indians lost confidence in the old ways.(pp. 117-118) One of the strengths of *Contact and Conflict* is the stimulus it gives for further study in a number of directions.

After reading *Contact and Conflict* one has some understanding of what is behind Indian land claims including a spiritual dimension which may not otherwise occur to those inured to the physical rootlessness of our mobile society. Some may feel that Fisher underestimates the effect of the fur-trading era on native cultures. Certainly the introduction of firearms, alcohol and, perhaps, prostitution had far-reaching and destructive effects on individual status, but Indian institutions may have been left intact for that period. There will be those who do not like what Fisher has to say. If Robin Fisher, with his "lawyer's case," is "too damned cocksure" as Alan Morley claims in his review in the *Vancouver Sun* of 15 April 1977, let those who disagree with the premises and conclusions of *Contact and Conflict* put forth their views with as meticulous documentation.

Victoria JEAN WEBBER

Ben Snipes Northwest Cattle King, by Roscoe Sheller, Portland: Binfords & Mort, 1957
Ka-Mi-Akin the Last Hero of the Yakimas, by A. J. Splawn. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers Ltd., 1917, second edition, 1944.

These two books are both worth reading for anyone interested in the history of Oregon and Washington, that of the Indian people on both sides of the border and, to a lesser degree, that of the whites in British Columbia. The cattle drives to the Cariboo were truly worth recording and our good neighbours have seen that it was done, although, when they deal with B. C., some salt should be taken with their accounts. If only we had as complete an account of the return trip from, for example, Babine Lake to Vancouver or to Fort Langley such as the fur brigades made year after year! The Hudson's Bay Company's Kamloops journal entries for the days when the Americans arrived there are distinguished by their brevity. For instance, the account of 4 July 1859 reads:

> General Palmer arrived from the Fountain and reports excitement about Quesnel River. A courier arrived from Hope with orders to stop all work at Fort Bearens. Another mare found dead — glanders.

The Thompson River post had seen many comings and goings since 1812.

As literature, *Ben Snipes Northwest Cattle King* is something between one of the Alger stories and a Disney scenario; it is rather childish. However, it is the story of an exceptional man in a fascinating period, an era in which few had the time or ability to record. One can skip over Ben's conversations

with his horse and be thankful that the author did write the book.

Snipes, like Splawn, was one of that curious phenomenon, the American immigrant to the far west sprung from the backwoodsman of the old west; a queer lot on the whole. Francis Parkman describes them well.[1] They seemed to be driven to move on almost like the lemmings, a tide which only the counter tides of the Pacific could stop and which was the real reason why the land between the Columbia and the 49th parallel could not remain British. Two admirable qualities these people had in plenty were perserverance and courage. Snipes was the epitome of these. The last scene where he is seen leading one cow to market is poignantly sad and yet inspiring. He, having been the cattle king and having survived four devastations of his herds by bad winters, was starting over with one cow. Whatever drove him to accumulate more and more cattle had eventually landed him in financial endeavours beyond his depth and the panic of 1893 did the rest.

There were other qualities of the wagon train people not quite so admirable. In the winter of 1861-62 cattle and horses died by the thousands on the Yakima ranges. To quote the author, "For the moment, pity for them pushed aside thoughts of his own terrible loss." It must have been only "for the moment" because three more such winters, 1871-72, 1880-81 and 1886-87 were to come and go before Snipes decided, partly because of over-grazed range, to stop adding to his immense herds. After each of the first three decimations he shrewdly bought up at "sacrifice prices" the herds of ruined neighbours; there was no thought of helping the odd one to survive along with himself.

On the other hand Snipes' treatment of and trust in the Indians was of a far better standard than normal for the time and place. He never wore a gun and without arms survived the dangers of the day, like the HBC traders, to continue his business without undue interference.

The claim made for Ben Snipes that he, "made a trail 800 miles long . . . to the Fraser River and the Cariboo mines . . ." is rather amusing. From Fort Okanagan to Fort Alexandria the fur traders had been using the trail for almost half a century and for twenty-two years from 1826 the Hudson's Bay Company had travelled it twice a year with hundreds of laden horses and with some cattle and many small parties had gone back and forth on errands for the Honourable Company, both in summer and in winter. Sheller has Snipes making his first drive to Kamloops in 1856. The gold rush must have started earlier than is generally recognized! Or perhaps it was just a printer's gremlin such as plague us all. However, he has David Thompson establishing Fort Okanagan, Kamloops has been transported to near Lytton, this side of the border is called "Canada" in 1856 and so on.

It is amusing also that McIntyre and Gallagher Bluffs were perhaps "carried down from some far northern birthplace by a glacier." The river, it seems, filled all the space between the bluffs and was almost up to a rider's feet! It is interesting that they travelled by the trader's lower road rather than by the upper one used by the big brigades. Or did they? There are statements tending to show otherwise. Ben's Indian scouted ahead for a day to see if the snow had gone, hardly necessary if they were following the lower road. No mention is made of Vaseux or Skaha Lakes. My guess is that the author some hundred years after Snipes' trip drove along the highway following the general route as he imagined it and, adding a few embellishments, described the journey. He might not have known of the brigade trail back in the parallel

valleys to the west. It is most remarkable that Snipes "saw no human being" between the border and the Thompson, particularly if travelling by the lower road. It would be a sure thing that he was seen by plenty.

The American legend that north of "49" is the frozen north seems to have been fully shared by the author in spite of the fact that Snipes wintered a herd of cattle without loss near Cache Creek while cattle in the Yakima were perishing. One smiles at such phrases as, "summer was arriving even in the northern country" and "barely escaping ahead of the snow."

Hero worship and folklore are more trademarks of the book than is any careful research. *Ben Snipes Northwest Cattle King* is by no means as good a book or as useful as *Ka-Mi-Akin* but it is interesting and amusing.

Ka-Mi-Akin is not only much better written but is altogether a more mature and substantial book. The author has the advantage of being part of the scene himself. It is really a collection of stories and observations relating to the author's life in Oregon and Washington between 1860 and 1917. The first eighteen chapters deal with the Indian wars and Chief Ka-Mi-Akin of the Yakimas. The next fifteen cover the early settlement of the Yakima country by the whites and the writer's adventures on cattle drives and pack-trains including four trips to British Columbia, the first in 1861 as a lad of sixteen. Following are nineteen chapters on a variety of subjects including settlers, cowboys and cattle. There are chapters on "Characteristics of the Inland Native" and "Indian Folklore" which include a lot of informative description. Something not commonly realized now is the former prevalence of slavery among the interior tribes.

The last chapter gives a long list of firsts for the Oregon territory. This is slightly slanted to favour Americans but is generally quite accurate. The part of the Hudson's Bay Company in bringing in cattle is a bit overlooked. After all David Douglas did travel up the Okanagan with a cattle party in 1833. Finally there is a short biography of the author and, something unusual, two eulogies. One sentence in the latter is curious, "To democracy he was native born and every throb of his generous heart hated every form of aristocracy." He presumably would have had no use for the Virginian aristocrat George Washington and it is strange that he had so many friends among the Indian Chiefs.

The illustrations are superb and add a great deal to this interesting book. The notes at the back are full of information and show some careful research, and there is a useful index of names. Although a map would have been beneficial, generally this is a good book.

For those of us north of the 49th parallel there are more references of interest in *Ka-Mi-Akin* than in *Ben Snipes Northwest Cattle King*. The name of Snipes himself crops up frequently as does that of Joel Palmer of the famous wagon train. Father Pandosy, his missions and work, are often mentioned and one realizes how peaceful and satisfying, despite the hardships, his life in British Columbia must have been after his experiences south of the line. Judge Haynes of the Osoyoos Customs and W. G. Cox are mentioned and McLean and others of the HBC in Kamloops. Others mentioned and familiar to us include Chief Trader Angus McDonald and his daughter Christina of Fort Colvile, Thomas Ellis and Haunce (sic) Richter. There is the usual fulsome praise for Dr. McLoughlin with a somewhat exaggerated description of his powers as the Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver.

For those of us studying our own old trails there are incidents and descriptions of interest, for example, the loss of horses in snow on the mountains, the use of aparejos and Indian saddles, the crossing of summits on solid snow in May, the migration of Spanish horses with Indian assistance into the Northwest, and the reference to the Hudson's Bay Fort Hope Trail. As in *Ben Snipes* there are descriptions of the winters of 1861-62 and 1880-81 when cattle died by the thousands. It only gradually dawned on the stock ranchers on both sides of the line that hay had to be put up to carry their animals over the winters.

It must be noted that while the local references for our area are interesting and often informative they are not always accurate. Moody, presumably Colonel Moody of the Royal Engineers, becomes "Governor." Kelowna is "Corona" and Cache Creek is "Cash" Creek, which it was to those who sold cattle there. Splawn's description of some of the Overlanders coming ashore on a raft at Quesnel when he was there in 1862 is most interesting but his hearsay description of the fate of those who went by the North Thompson is completely in error. There is obvious confusion, I think, in the description of Joel Palmer's wagon train route between the head of Okanagan Lake and Kamloops. Actually I would like to see more confirmation of these wagons reaching Kamloops. Unfortunately the HBC journals for 1858 are not available, at least not locally.

There is a sweeping statement in the book which should be mentioned, not that it is altogether incorrect but because it is all too often made by people and leaves a generally incorrect impression. Referring to the Okanagan tribe it says, "They were a powerful tribe when the fur traders first came among them in 1811, introducing veneral diseases, smallpox and fire water; the natives simply vanished." This sort of statement loads an unfair portion of the blame on the fur trader, certainly insofar as British Columbia is concerned. The Americans seem to have found plenty of Indians thriving in Oregon even though the fur traders had been there for half a century. Except for the smallpox which spread across the continent through both whites and Indians, reaching these parts in the 1830's, most of the damage was done in the days of the miners from 1858 on.

The Americans on their trips as far north as Barkerville encountered no actual violence once north of the border. The young Splawn was duly impressed by Begbie when brought before the Judge. Notwithstanding his democratic principles, Splawn had taken after, with an axe, a black man who dared to try to eat at the same table with him. Before this, at Kamloops, the party he was with were about to lynch a suspected thief when Donald McLean suggested it might not be a good idea in this country and they desisted.

It is true that there were some instances of bad treatment of the Indians by HBC men and others in the British territories but in general they were fairly dealt with and a mutual respect developed. As a result the Company was spared participation in the Indian wars south of the border and there were no really serious troubles north of it, when the HBC was in control or in later colonial days. Two cases showing the treatment given the Indians south of the line after the Oregon settlement, among others mentioned by Splawn, show why the wars broke out there. He tells of an American trader giving a troublesome Indian strychine and in another incident we are told, "After many skirmishes they rounded up a bunch of Indians on Grave Creek and

killed them all, which ended the outbreak."

Splawn's own attitude toward the Indians showed a strange ambivalence. He displayed a sympathetic understanding of the whole sad and impossible situation in which the natives found themselves. He says, "It is to present the Indian side of the War of 1855-58 that the writer has undertaken this work." One has the feeling that he has done it honestly. On the other hand the typical American frontier feeling does come out sometimes. Passing an Indian camp he helped himself to "all the salmon I could carry" apparently leaving nothing in return. He describes the whipping to death of an Indian horse thief by a settler with apparent approbation. When describing how an old man had drowned in a valiant attempt to rescue his wife he says, "It was a noble deed of a noble man, even though he was a redskin."

Ka-Mi-Akin is a book well worth reading for those interested in the history of the southern interior of British Columbia.

Penticton HARLEY HATFIELD

FOOTNOTES

[1] Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail,* New York: Doubleday & Company, 1946, p. 91.

Old stockyards in Penticton before the sale of the Ellis Ranch, circa 1905.

Photo credit — Mrs. R. B. White Collection

BUSINESS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NOTICE

of

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Okanagan Historical Society

1979

Notice is hereby given that the Annual Meeting
of the Okanagan Historical Society
will be held

SUNDAY, MAY 6th
1979

11 a.m. — Vernon Lodge Hotel
32nd Street North (Hwy. 97)
Vernon, B.C.

—BUSINESS—

★ Presentation of Reports
★ Election of Officers

MINUTES OF THE 53rd ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY HELD IN THE SANDMAN INN, KELOWNA, B. C.

Sunday, May 7, 1978-11 a.m.

President Hume Powley called the meeting to order and welcomed a large number of members and guests from all Valley points to the Fifty-third Annual General Meeting of the Okanagan Historical Society.

One minute's silence was observed in memory of those who have died since the last Annual General Meeting.

1. **NOTICE OF CALL.**
   Notice of Call was read by the Secretary.
   MOVED by W. J. Whitehad and seconded by K. Ellison that the agenda be accepted as circulated. CARRIED.
2. **MINUTES of the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of May 1, 1977.**
   MOVED by Mr. Morrison and seconded by Mrs. Broderick that the Minutes be adopted as printed in the *Forty-first Report*.
3. **BUSINESS ARISING FROM THE MINUTES.**
   Mrs. Broderick mentioned the availability of a picture of Queen Victoria, sought by the Pandosy Mission Committee. V. Wilson replied that it is available to the Committee.
4. **CORRESPONDENCE.**
   The Secretary reported that there was no outstanding correspondence.
5. **REPORTS OF OFFICERS.**
   These will be printed in the *Forty-second Report*.
   President's Report ..... Hume Powley
   Editor's Report ..... Duane Thomson
   In connection with the Editor's recommendation that a committee be struck at each branch to be responsible for a local archives, F. Pells queried the location of such archives, Mrs. Steinburg reported from Princeton on work being done there, Mrs. Broderick suggested that each branch have a specific person designated for collecting material and Mr. Robey reported that the Vernon branch executive has already accomplished this.
   Secretary's Report ..... Dorothy Zoellner
   Treasurer's Report (Membership & Finances) ..... Edna Oram
   MOVED by J. Armstrong and seconded by A. Bradbeer that these reports be adopted. CARRIED.
6. **REPORTS ON BRANCHES AND SPECIAL COMMITTEES.**
   These will appear in the *Forty-second Report*.
   Armstrong-Enderby ..... J. Armstrong
   Vernon ..... R. Robey
   Kelowna ..... Dr. W. Anderson
   Penticton ..... Mrs. M. Broderick
   Oliver-Osoyoos ..... C. MacNaughton
   Father Pandosy Mission ..... G. D. Cameron

The new O.H.S. Life Members, the Reverend E. Fleming and Mrs. A. E. Berry.

Photo credit — Molly Broderick

Mrs. G. MacDonnell being presented with a corsage.

Photo credit — Molly Broderick

Mrs. Dorthea Allison being presented with a corsage.

Photo credit — Molly Broderick

Trails Committee ..... H. R. Hatfield

Victor Wilson rose on a point of privilege to pay tribute to Harley Hatfield's work.

LUNCH INTERMISSION

A well-appointed smorgasbord luncheon followed the morning business meeting.

Special guests honoured at this time were Mrs. D. Allison and Mrs. G. MacDonnell. Also honoured, but unable to be present, was Mrs. V. Mavenkamp.

Life memberships in the Society were bestowed upon Mrs. A. E. Berry, Vernon, and the Reverend E. Fleming, Kelowna, in recognition of their long service to the preservation of the history of the Okanagan Valley.

Guest speaker was Carleton MacNaughton who gave an informative and witty discourse on the subject of the West Coast Trail.

President Powley called the meeting to order.

7. **UNFINISHED BUSINESS.**

V. Wilson reported that the film, *Fifty Years of Okanagan History,* being compiled by R. Manuel and himself, should be ready for a proposed workshop in Penticton next fall.

8. **NEW BUSINESS.**

a) Annual Field Day. R. Robey, president of the Vernon branch, announced that the Annual O.H.S. Field Day is planned for June 4th at the O'Keefe Ranch, commencing at 11 a.m. Refreshments in the form of tea and coffee will be provided by the Vernon branch. Please bring your own lunch.

b) Oliver-Osoyoos president C. MacNaughton issued an invitation to that branch's annual Father's Day meet at Tamarack on June 18th. Tea and coffee will be provided by the Oliver-Osoyoos branch.

c) *Forty-second Report.* Editor Duane Thomson gave June 30th as deadline for submissions. He answered several questions from the floor.

V. Wilson reported on printing estimates for this *Report.* Following a lengthy discussion, it was MOVED by Mrs. J. A. Gamble and seconded by D. Buckland that an Okanagan printing firm be selected to print the *Forth-second Report.* CARRIED.

MOVED by C. MacNaughton and seconded by J. Armstrong that a committee consisting of the president, V. Wilson and D. Thomson be empowered to make the final decision on a printer for the *Forty-second Report.* CARRIED.

d) MOVED by H. Hatfield and seconded by V. Wilson that the Executive Council of the O.H.S. take under consideration a membership in the Outdoor Recreation Council of B. C. CARRIED.

e) V. Wilson suggested that branch presidents set up action committees regarding protection of wilderness areas.

f) The Reverend E. Fleming voiced his thanks for his life membership.

g) Mrs. M. Orr reminded the meeting of the motion to be presented to the A.G.M. from the February 26, 1978 Executive Council meeting. This motion read: "All present stock of annual *Reports* 6 to 41 inclusive be listed in the *Forty-second Report* at $4.00."

MOVED by Ivan Phillips and seconded by C. MacNaughton that this motion be adopted. CARRIED.

h) V. Wilson asked that the list of O.H.S. Life Members be corrected for the next *Report*. It should read:

Bagnall, Guy P., Vernon
Buckland, D. S., Okanagan Mission
Cameron, G. D., Kelowna
Cawston, A. H., Keremeos
Dewdney, Mrs. W. R., Penticton
Hatfield, H. R., Penticton
Ingersoll, Mrs. H., Sicamous
Manery, S. E., Cawston
Ormsby, Dr. M., Vernon
Piddocke J. L., Kelowna
Porteous, Major Hugh, Oliver
Sismey, Eric D., Penticton
Wilson, Victor, Naramata
Fleming, Rev. E., Kelowna
Berry, Mrs. A. E., Vernon

9. ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Nominating Committee Chairman, V. Wilson, chaired the meeting. On a motion by Ron Robey, seconded by H. Hatfield, the following slate was elected as officers of the Okanagan Historical Society for 1978-79:

President ..... Hume Powley
First Vice-President ..... Jack Armstrong
Second Vice-President ..... F. Pells
Secretary ..... D. Zoellner
Treasurer ..... E. Oram
Directors: W. J. Whitehead, J. A. Gamble, K. Ellison, L. Christensen, D. Buckland, F. Pells, M. Orr, C. R. Blacklock, H. Weatherill, D. Corbishley.
Directors-at-Large ..... H. Hatfield (Chairman, Trails Committee)
G. D. Cameron (Chairman, Father Pandosy Mission Committee)
Editor ..... D. Thomson was appointed by Executive Council.

10. ELECTION OF PARENT BODY EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

Committee members are chosen from each branch. For 1978-79 the members are:

Armstrong-Enderby ..... R. Lidstone
Vernon ..... B. Gorman
Kelowna ..... M. Wostradowski
Penticton ..... I. Phillips
Oliver-Osoyoos ..... D. Waterman

11. ELECTION OF AUDITOR.

The present auditor, Fred MacKenzie, was appointed.

12. COMPLIMENTARY RESOLUTIONS.

MOVED by C. MacNaughton and seconded by M. Broderick that thanks be expressed to the Kelowna branch for the excellent arrange-

ments made for the Annual General Meeting. CARRIED.

MOVED by E. Sismey that the caterers be thanked.

MOVED by V. Wilson that H. Hatfield be thanked for his work in naming mountains, lakes and streams after pioneers.

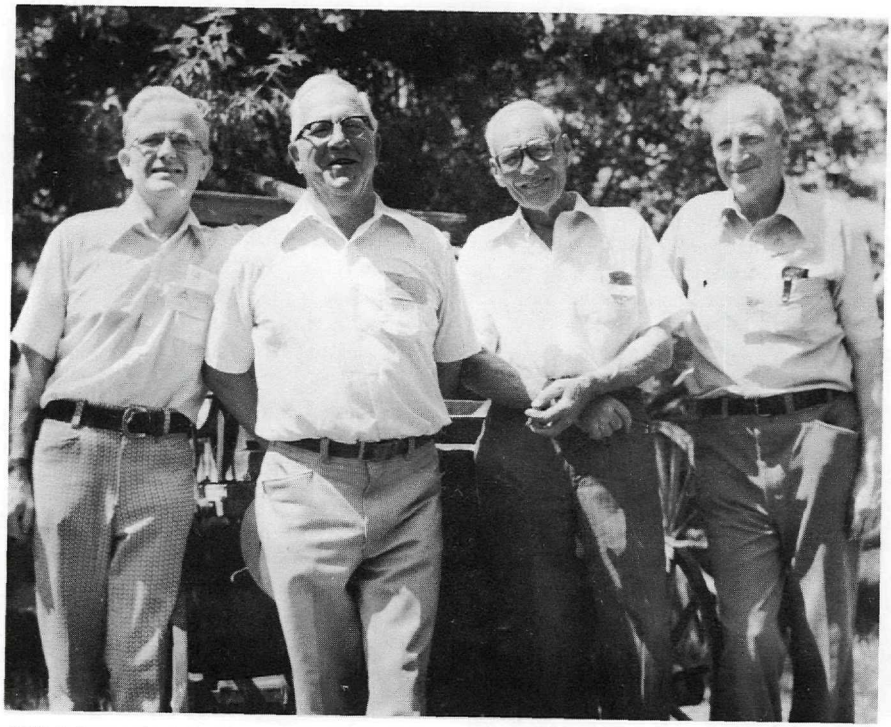
MOVED by M. Orr that a vote of thanks be given to all the Valley news media.

13. **SETTING NEXT A.G.M.**

At the invitation of Vernon branch president, R. Robey, the 1979 A.G.M. of the Okanagan Historial Society will take place in Vernon. MOVED by J. Armstrong and seconded by L. Piddocke that the 1978 format of luncheon and Annual General Meeting be followed.

14. **ADJOURNMENT** on the motion of R. Robey.

Mrs. W. J. Zoellner
Secretary.



O.H.S. Executive Members at the O'Keefe Ranch. From left: Hume Powley, President; Ley Christensen, Past-President Vernon Branch; Len Piddocke, Life Member; and Ron Robey, President, Vernon Branch.

Photo credit — E. Alderedge

PRESIDENT'S REPORT TO THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 7th, 1978, KELOWNA, B.C.

It gives me great pleasure to report to you that the Okanagan Historical Society has had another successful year which will be borne out by the various reports to be presented later.

In addition to the annual meeting held in Penticton, two executive meetings took place in Kelowna, one in July and the other last February. Attendance was good and the members were brought up-to-date with the Society's affairs. I am sorry I was not able to attend as many branch meetings as I did the previous year, but weather conditions, bad roads and the flu bug intervened.

In 1977 the *Forty-first Report* was published with changes in its format, and I am pleased to say it has been well accepted as the Treasurer's report will show. I would like to congratulate and thank our Editor, Duane Thomson, on the success of his first *Report* and I know we all will be looking forward to his next one.

Last year the Society had two excellent field days. The first one, sponsored by the Armstrong-Enderby branch, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. W. Simard near Mabel Lake on June 5th and the second one, sponsored by the Oliver-Osoyoos branch, at Keremeos on June 19th. I would like to thank all those responsible for making both of them so successful.

In addition to the two field days there were several events which involved many of our members. On June 4th the official opening of the O'Keefe Ranch near Vernon took place, and I would like to extend our wishes to this group which operates under the watchful eye of our Treasurer, Miss Edna Oram.

June 12th saw the official opening of the Kettle Valley Museum at Midway. The ribbon was cut by one of our Life Members, Mrs. W. R. Dewdney, and the guest speaker was another Life Member and immediate Past President, Victor Wilson.

In July and August the B. C. Museum train was on display at all centres in the Okanagan and many people took the opportunity to see the train and its exhibits when it was in their locale.

In October I was privileged to attend part of the ceremonies to commemorate the work of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate which began with Father Pandosy in 1859 and ended in 1977. Again many thanks to all who helped make these occasions so successful and enjoyable.

The Fur Brigade Committee under the chairmanship of Harley Hatfield, who is so ably assisted by Victor Wilson, continues to work industriously for the preservation of the various Fur Brigade trails between Hope and Tulameen. I sincerely hope their efforts will be rewarded, not only by having Manning Park enlarged, but by getting logging operations prohibited in the area where, if it were allowed to continue, it could lead to the destruction of parts of the trails forever. Closer to home — here in the Okanagan others are endeavouring to preserve the original fur trail which paralleled the west side of Okanagan Lake from opposite Kelowna in the south to the north end, and eventually to Kamloops.

The Father Pandosy Mission has enjoyed another successful year with plans finalized for the implement shed to be built this year. We are indeed in-

debted to G. D. "Paddy" Cameron and Len Piddocke for many hours spent at the Mission. The results of their efforts are visible to all.

As you are well aware, the chief project of the Society is the publishing of our Annual *Report*. At the last annual meeting it was moved and accepted that all new *Reports* be copyrighted. I am pleased to state that we were able to have the *Forty-first Report* copyrighted as the procedures involved in having our publications protected by copyright were not as complicated as we thought they might be. All new *Reports,* including reprints when they are done, will be protected by copyright.

I have now seen two *Reports* unfold and I can fully appreciate the tremendous job our Editor has in order to put out a *Report* in keeping with the high standard established over the past years. Any way we can lighten his task, either singularly or through the Editorial Committees, will, I know, be greatly appreciated by the Editor, whoever he or she may be. To reach the high standard of recognition that our *Reports* now enjoy has been no accident or good luck. It has resulted from the dedication, hard work and the co-operation of all involved. We must not forget our contributors — the backbone of any publication. We are indeed fortunate to have in our midst some who have written many fine articles. One has only to look at the past *Reports* to see certain names appearing many times. To those I extend a very sincere thank-you from us all. There are many of us who have contributed one or two articles and there are some of us who are planning to write a story sometime in the future or when we get around to it. We must get started now while the information is still at hand. Too much is slipping away and will be lost to us forever. What is not written today cannot be read tomorrow — it's as simple as that!

In closing this, my second report as your President, I would like to thank all of you for the support and co-operation extended to me. Special appreciation goes to our Secretary, Mrs. D. Zoellner, Treasurer, Miss E. Oram and Editor, Duane Thomson.

With so many dedicated members, all with a common goal to record and preserve the history of the Okanagan, the future of the Okanagan Historical Society seems assured. We must, however, be prepared to work to keep our Society as highly esteemed as it is today. This respect is a result of years of hard work by many individuals and we must not let them down.

Respectfully submitted,
Hume Powley

EDITOR'S REPORT TO THE A.G.M. OF THE OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 7, 1978

The task of editing the *Report* of the Okanagan Historical Society has been interesting and challenging and has been made pleasant by the co-operation received from the editorial committees, the executive and individuals throughout the Valley.

The format of the *Report* has been changed somewhat and more changes are planned, including the addition of a book review section. The student essay contest has been reactivated, with a one hundred and fifty dollar ($150) prize offered by the O.H.S. for the best essay. A further fifty dollar ($50) prize has been offered by the Vernon branch for the best essay from that district. The contest is open to secondary and post-secondary students. Enquiries on submissions should be made to the Editor and papers submitted by June 1, 1979.

The Okanagan Historical Society has not shown enough leadership in collecting and preserving documents relative to Okanagan history. Too frequently diaries, photographs, records and letters have been burned or thrown out because no one intercepted them. If the O.H.S. is to fulfill its responsibilities there are positive steps to be taken. A committee should be structured with responsibility for identifying materials and arranging for their disposition; work should begin on establishing an Okanagan archives; a library of Okanagan history should be established; and financial resources should be put into acquiring newspapers and documents on microfilm or by photocopy.

Without a collection of primary source material which can be made available to local historians, little research of consequence can take place. Surely it is a function of the Okanagan Historical Society to actively work to protect our documentary heritage. Future *Reports* will reflect the energies which are applied today to the task of acquiring historical documents.

Respectfully submitted,
Duane Thomson

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY TO THE OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MAY 7, 1978

During the year, Minutes of the Annual General Meeting were circulated and annual reports of all committees and branches were typed and sent to the Editor for publication in the *Report*.

Minutes of the two executive meetings were recorded and circulated. Routine correspondence was answered.

I have enjoyed this year as your secretary and wish to thank all of the executive for the consideration and help given to me at all times.

Respectfully submitted,
Mrs. W. J. Zoellner

TREASURER'S REPORT TO THE OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MAY 7, 1978

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES
JANUARY 1 — DECEMBER 31, 1977

RECEIPTS		
Book sales - Armstrong-Enderby	579.50	
Kelowna	1,838.50	
Oliver-Osoyoos	355.50	
Penticton	1,656.60	
Vernon Branch	654.00	
Treasurer	927.44	
Donation	50.00	
Interest received	255.06	$6,316.60
DISBURSEMENTS		
Postage	27.00	
Printing of *Report*	6,171.14	
Report expenses	38.10	
Honorariums	200.00	
Refunds	18.20	
Miscellaneous	59.15	
Expenses of Secretary	24.79	
Donation - Pandosy Mission	1,000.00	7,538.38
Loss on year's operation		1,221.78
Balance on hand December 31, 1976	1,073.21	
Term deposits	3,000.00	
	4,073.21	
Income during 1977	6,316.60	
	10,389.81	
Expenses	7,538.38	
Balance on hand December 31, 1977	2,851.43	

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES
JANUARY 1 — MAY 3, 1978

Balance on hand December 31, 1977	2,851.43	
Receipts	4,986.21	7,837.64
Expenditures		
Balance to Friesen Printers	932.40	
Editor's expenses	46.28	
Flowers	20.00	998.68
Balance on hand as of May 3, 1978		6,838.96
Bank balance	1,338.96	
Term deposits	5,500.00	
	6,838.96	

Respectfully submitted,
E. Oram

ARMSTRONG-ENDERBY BRANCH

President's Report, 1977-78

This small branch, comprised of thirty members, held a most interesting meeting on March 25, 1977 when Victor Wilson of Naramata was guest speaker. Wilson gave a most enlightening and informative illustrated lecture of the Dewdney and Hudson's Bay Trails and spoke of efforts being made to save a tract of land in Manning Park for future generations. To save this land Wilson asked for co-operation through letters to MLAs.

Mrs. Joy Farmer of Enderby was present at the meeting to show members a most interesting historical scrapbook with pictures and histories of the area from Revelstoke to Osoyoos. W. J. Whitehead of Armstrong reported on an Armstrong meeting to make application for a government grant to restore the Lansdowne and Hullcar cemeteries and the Round Prairie School. If approved, this grant would give employment to five people. The meeting bore fruit and the grant of $16,632 was approved. Work began in December under the supervision of Bob Nitchie at the Round Prairie School. One side of the roof was re-shaked, the building was jacked up ready for a new foundation, and the partitions were removed, so it is back to its original structure. Work stopped during the winter but will recommence in April with a new overseer in the person of Tommy LeDuc whose grandfather was the first teacher at the Round Prairie school. Work will also be done at the Lansdowne and Hullcar cemeteries.

The Okanagan Historical Society will keep watch and promote the survival of the Greek Orthodox Catholic Church building at Grindrod.

On June 5th a very successful Field Day was held when 150 persons gathered at the lovely home of Mr. and Mrs. Wilfred Simard at Kingfisher, near Mabel Lake. Tables were set up under the beautiful shade trees on the spacious lawns and guests relaxed there and ate their picnic lunches after visiting the Simards' private museum in their old log house, their collection of antique cars and their coin and gun collection in their residence.

In August, members from Armstrong and Enderby assisted at the Museum Train which was in Armstrong for two days. The sum of $534.73 was realized for the branch from proceeds from the train.

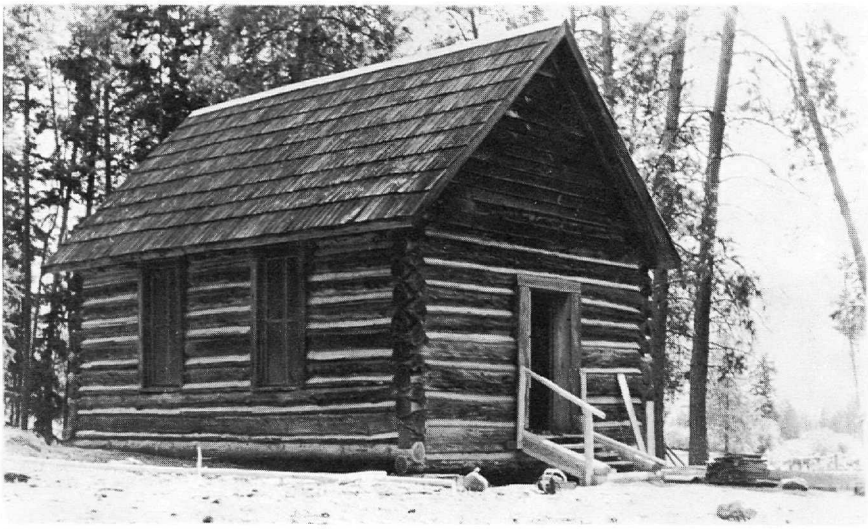
W. J. Whitehead manned a booth at the Armstrong Fall Fair and again at a downtown store to sell the annual *Reports* and he did a good business.

On March 28, 1978, the annual meeting was held at the Parish Hall in Armstrong. John Shepherd, Curator of the Vernon Museum, was in attendance to give advice on the proposed museum society for Armstrong.

The Historical Society will lend aid to the museum societies in Enderby and Armstrong, but will continue to work independently of them.

Work is proceeding on articles for the *Forty-second Report* and obituaries are sent in from time to time to the Editor.

Jack Armstrong



Round Prairie School restored. Lee McKenzie-Low photo

ROUND PRAIRIE HISTORY REVIVED

Lee McKenzie-Low

The Armstrong Advertiser

Round Prairie School, the original log schoolhouse in the Spallumcheen area of North Okanagan, is now almost completely restored.

The work has been funded by part of a $16,032 Canada Works Grant, made available in response to an applicaton by Armstrong-Enderby branch of the Okanagan Historical Society. The balance of the grant provides for rehabilitation of the cemeteries at Lansdowne and Hullcar. This work is also proceeding.

Mildred Inglis, organizer of Community Services in Armstrong, said that Jack Armstrong, branch president of the Okanagan Historical Society, and members Bill Whitehead, Gerald Landon and Bob Nitchie were prime movers in submitting the project for Canada Works approval. Much perserverance was needed, she said, to obtain funds and save the old building.

Tom Leduc, who worked on the project as foreman in the early stages of the restoration, has a deep interest in the building as his grandfather was schoolmaster at Round Prairie in early days. Pressure of work obliged him to leave the restoration, however, and the ensuing stages have been carried out by Brian Klassen (foreman), John Kanaka and Bert Morin.

In these capable hands the old schoolhouse has been given a new lease on life. New fir bottom rails have been inserted, regrouting carried out and doors, stairs and window sashes replaced in the pine-log building. Inside, the original undressed panelling has been exposed and water-damaged sections of the old ceiling replaced with aged panels taken from partitions used in the building after its "school" days were finished.

Future generations of Spallumcheen children will have the opportunity to see at first hand the conditions in which children of pioneers got their education.

VERNON BRANCH
President's Report 1977-78

During the past year the Vernon branch has held two general and three executive meetings.

At our annual meeting in March, 1977, Peter Tassie gave an interesting talk on the Okanagan Brigade Trail. John Corner was the guest speaker at the general meeting in October. His lecture and slide presentation on Indian petroglyphs and pictographs were enjoyed by all present.

We were involved with the Museum Train during its four-day visit in Vernon. The Vernon Museum, O'Keefe Ranch Society and Vernon branch O.H.S., joined in sponsoring this venture. There was an attendance of over 12,000. Members also helped with a pioneer photo display held in conjunction with the train's visit at the City Hall. Special thanks to all who helped in these events.

There was good attendance from our branch at the Annual General Meeting in Penticton last May. Our Directors attended two Executive Council meetings and one Pandosy Committee meeting.

Several of our members attended the Field Day and picnic at the Wilfred Simard home at Mabel Lake sponsored by the Armstrong-Enderby branch. Our thanks to the Simards and the Armstrong-Enderby branch for an enjoyable day.

A sale of O.H.S. *Reports* was held at the Polson Park Mall in December.

Lee Christensen retired as President at our 1978 annual meeting on April 11, 1978.

Respectfully submitted,
Ron Robey

Sam Manery, Life Member of the Okanagan Historical Society was born in the Similkameen. On Saturday March 28, 1978 he celebrated his 90th birthday at Cawston surrounded by his family. Many friends from the Similkameen and the Okanagan gathered to extend their congratulations and to wish him Many Happy Returns. Eric Sismey photo

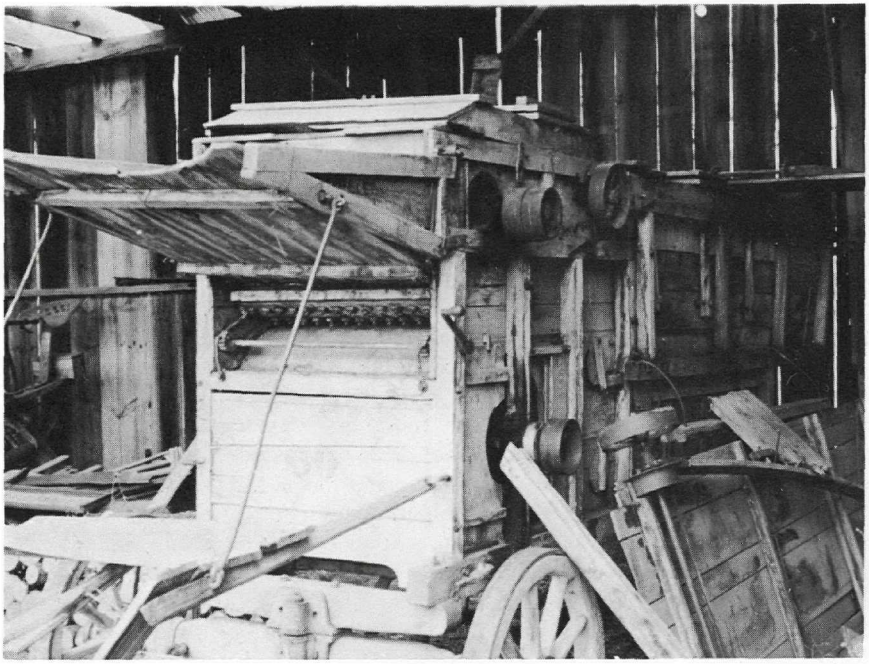
FIELD DAY AT O'KEEFE RANCH

Eric D. Sismey

On Sunday, June 4, 1978, the Vernon branch of the Okanagan Historical Society played host to more than one hundred historians and their friends at the O'Keefe Ranch. Under bright, sunny skies friendships were renewed and picnic lunches enjoyed in the shade of giant cottonwoods planted more than a century ago. Many came from both ends of the Valley in their own cars and a chartered bus was filled with a Penticton-Summerland contingent.

To many, including this reporter, the visit to the historic ranch was a first. We enjoyed the old church of St. Ann, the original house, the post office and store filled with heirloom furnishings and antiques.

My greatest interest was the bronze plaque mounted on the face of a large cottonwood log which acknowledged with gratitude, acceptance by the City of Vernon of the gift of buildings and land by the Devonian Group of Calgary. To many enjoying this day it was a welcomed surprise for there had been fear that the historic site would pass into alien hands. Now the plaque informed us that the site belonged to the City of Vernon and to the Okanagan. Yes! To British Columbia and all of Canada.



A pioneer thresher, one of many pieces of equipment on display at the O'Keefe Ranch.

KELOWNA BRANCH

President's Report 1977-78

The activities of the Kelowna branch to the end of February were reported to the executive council meeting on February 26th by President Frank Pells.

Our annual meeting and dinner were held on March 22nd with 130 members present. At that time Frank Pells retired after two years as president and the undersigned was elected to succeed him.

Several new members were elected to the executive and we hope they will bring new vigor and initiative to our branch. At the same time we have retained the knowledge and experience of our past executive members. This gives us an executive of twenty-three members which should be enough to carry out some good projects this year.

We have also appointed an editorial committee of six members which we hope will increase the contribution to the *Report* from the Kelowna area.

The sales of the annual *Report* are going well and the last printing of *Ogopogo's Vigil* is practically sold out. We are planning a new printing of this valuable book by the late Frank Buckland before long.

I report with great regret the sudden death of Len Leathley, a native son of Kelowna who was always keenly interested in the history of the Valley and was a strong member of our executive.

We were also saddened by the sudden death of Elaine Cameron, wife of Paddy Cameron and long-time resident of Kelowna. Mrs. Cameron contributed greatly to the cultural life of Kelowna by her activities in musical and gardening circles.

We are looking forward to an active year.

W. F. Anderson

PENTICTON BRANCH

President's Report, 1977-78

Mr. Chairman, fellow members and guests. I am pleased to report a busy year with our membership totalling two hundred and two which includes sixty-six family memberships and seventy singles. Membership chairman J. W. Watson has done a splendid job mailing notices of coming events to all members.

Three general and six executive meetings were held. I attended four special meetings and one with the South Similkameen Museum Society at Keremeos as well as all Executive Council meetings of the parent body. At the fall meeting, the *Forty-first Report* was introduced and well received. Guest speaker at this meeting was Barrie Sanford, author of the Kettle Valley story, *McCulloch's Wonder*. His lecture was illustrated by many interesting coloured slides. At our winter meeting our member Bob Gibbard, a naturalist and excellent photographer, was guest speaker. He showed slides and gave an interesting lecture on his recent trip through Russia as well as a series on Paradise Valley in the Cascade Wilderness Area.

In late March we were invited by Okanagan College to hear a lecture on Captain Cook by Commander David Waters.

For our annual meeting in April Victor Wilson shared with us coloured slides showing his trip through Scotland, many taken of the Guisachan Estate in the Highlands where Lady Aberdeen spent her childhood.

Highlights of the past year began with our branch being privileged to host the Annual General Meeting of the O.H.S. at the Penticton Inn when guest speaker was Provincial Archivist Allan Turner whose appropriate topic was "Archives — our documentary heritage." We gratefully acknowledge thanks and compliments received for this affair.

In June a chartered bus as well as many private cars took our members to the Annual Field Day and Picnic held near Mabel Lake hosted by the Armstrong-Enderby branch. We enjoyed a superb outing and the warm hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Wilf Simard. Some of our members attended the official opening of the Kettle River Museum at Midway and also the Father's Day Picnic hosted by the Oliver-Osoyoos branch at Keremeos. In July we had the pleasure of joining with Art Gallery personnel in hosting the provincial Museum Train and my sincere thanks are extended to all members who helped in so many ways. This began on Dominion Day with a colourful ceremony and we thank the Sweet Adelines singing group and the Old Time Fiddlers for adding extra nostalgia to the occasion. The train proved to be a tremendous attraction for thousands of tourists and local residents.

In October we were involved in another memorable occasion when we joined the Knights of Columbus in ceremonies to commemorate the departure from this area of the missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Our branch supplied a plaque which is affixed to a cairn erected by the Knights of Columbus and the Penticton Indian Band just west of the Indian Reserve cemetery, very close to the place where Father Pandosy died in the arms of Chief Francois in 1891.

During the summer we were fortunate to have the assistance of three students hired under the government Youth Employment Program. Extensive work was done sorting, filing, indexing and documenting various archival material including a quantity of old Provincial Police files, under the supervision of Museum Curator, Joe Harris, and our editor, Duane Thomson.

Our request to the Devonian Foundation for support for the acquisition of the Keremeos grist mill was turned down with regret. The South Similkameen Museum Society has set aside a special acquisition fund of five hundred dollars and has recently held a further drive for funds to augment this amount. The Keremeos grist mill and the accompanying Hudson's Bay Company building form an important part of our local heritage, ranking with such other historic sites as the O'Keefe Ranch. It would be a real tragedy if it were not preserved and the Keremeos group needs our support. A joint meeting between the South Similkameen Museum Society, the Okanagan Similkameen Parks Society, the Penticton branch O.H.S., and the Minister of Recreation and Conservation has been arranged for May 27, 1978. We look forward to seeing the old mill restored and put into working order to become a tourist attraction.

Sincere thanks are extended to my executive and all others who helped to further the work of our society during the past year including Bill Titheridge and his staff at Okanagan Books for their assistance and co-operation with annual *Report* sales and for a generous donation to our branch.

To our new president, Alan Bradbeer and his executive, my sincere

wishes for success and harmony in all your efforts in the future.

Respectfully submitted,
Mollie Broderick

OBLATES LEAVE THE VALLEY: FATHER PANDOSY'S WORK ENDS AFTER 118 YEARS

Eric D. Sismey

Father Charles Pandosy, O.M.I., came into the Okanagan in 1859 after working as a missionary in Washington. Writing to his superiors, Bishop Mazenod in France and Father D'Herbomez in Esquimalt, from L'Anse au Sable on October 9, 1859, Pandosy described his situation. "Last night we arrived at the place which we have chosen for our Mission. It is a great valley situated on the left bank of the great Lake Okanagan and rather near the middle of the Lake . . .. L'Anse au Sable is the largest valley of all the surrounding country; all who know it praise it. The cultivable land is immense . . . ."

The following spring a permanent site for the Mission and model farm was chosen on the banks of Mission Creek. There he, Father Richard and Brother Surel built a chapel, living quarters and later the first school in the Interior. In 1885 the Oblates built the log church at the Indian village of Penticton. The bell in the steeple was cast in France. It still summons worshippers to the Church of the Sacred Heart which was built in 1911.

On February 6, 1891, when returning from Keremeos in bad weather, Father Pandosy arrived in Penticton a very sick man. He died in the arms of his friend, Chief Francois. His remains, ferried back to Okanagan Mission, were buried in the cemetery across the road from the old Mission buildings. Marked only by a simple wooden cross the grave has been lost.

Father Pandosy and other dedicated missionaries of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate served the people of British Columbia, particularly the Indians of the Interior, as priests, teachers and advisors. Their selfless efforts on behalf of the poor and underprivileged are an example to all.

In 1977 it was decided that their work as missionaries was complete. On October 5th, on the Penticton Indian Reserve, a solemn mass terminated 118 years of service to the southern Okanagan by one of the largest missionary congregations of the Roman Catholic Church, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. The autumn sunlight slanted through the golden cottonwoods on the scarlet, black and white ceremonial dress of the Knights of Columbus as they joined Oblate Fathers in formal vestments in procession to an outdoor altar. A number of Fathers had returned to Penticton to once more share a mass with those they had served. Members of the Penticton Indian Band and their children sang hymns in the Okanagan language while a large number of residents of the area stood honouring these Fathers and the work they had done. The solemnity of this formal farewell changed to pleasure as the priests joined the congregation and warmly greeted old friends.

The congregation turned to the stone cairn erected jointly by the Penticton Indian Band and the Knights of Columbus to commemorate the memory of the forty-three Oblates of Mary Immaculate who had served the southern

Interior of British Columbia. The cairn bears a memorial plaque donated by the Penticton branch of the Okanagan Historical Society.

REFERENCES

For a more complete description of the work of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, see Kay Kronin, *Cross in the Wilderness:* (Toronto Mission Press, 1976), and numerous references in past O.H.S. *Reports.*

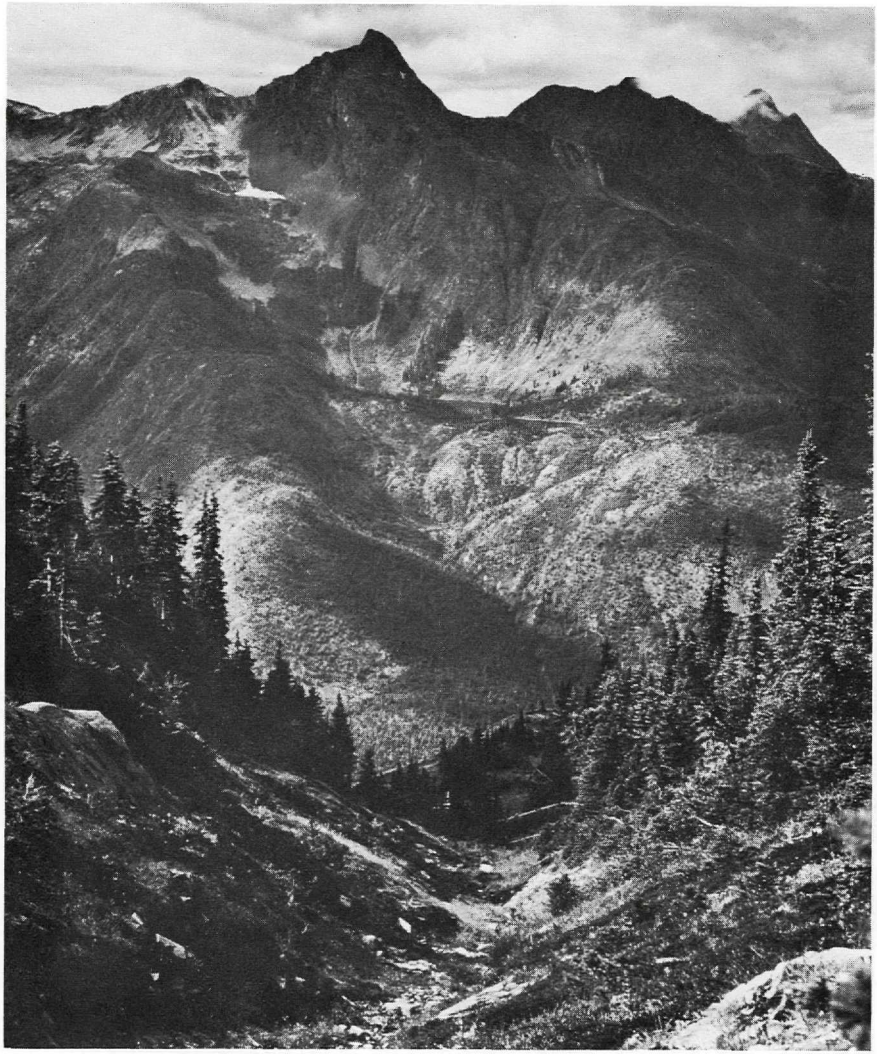
A ceremony marking the passing of an era. The Oblates leave the Valley.

O.H.S. LIFE MEMBER, HARLEY HATFIELD, HONOURED

Duane Thomson

Harley Hatfield, Life Member of the O.H.S., and his late father, Seaman Hatfield, have been honoured by having a mountain named after them. This distinction is in recognition of their contribution to the life and development of communities in the southern interior of the province. Harley is best known to O.H.S. members as the inspiration behind the drive to identify and travel over trails in the Okanagan and those between the Interior and the Coast.

Mount Hatfield, the 7,200 foot summit on Manson Ridge of the Hozameen Range east of Hope, will be listed in the Gazetteer of British Col-



Mount Hatfield, British Columbia.

Photo credit — Robin Draper

umbia Geographical Names and will appear on future maps.

Looking west from the Campement des Chevreuil on the Hope to Tulameen trail, Mount Hatfield is prominent in the spectacular coastal mountains. It is appropriate that this mountain be designated Mount Hatfield as it is within the boundaries of the proposed Cascade Wilderness Area which Harley is attempting to have established. It is also fitting that Harley be honoured in this way as over the years he has quietly researched the history of the area and submitted names of pioneers which have been applied to various rivers, lakes and mountains. For example, he was instrumental in naming Batstone Lake after a Princeton pioneer and Mount Atkinson after E. O. Atkinson, a pioneer of Penticton.

The O.H.S. is proud to have this worthy member receive this distinction.

OLIVER-OSOYOOS BRANCH

President's Report, 1977-78

We are happy that our branch has gone international. We now have two directors from Oroville and we have excellent attendance at all our meetings from both sides of the border. We will be having more combined meetings as time goes on. We were honoured when Mrs. Lewis was elected as vice-president of the parent body.

Our Father's Day picnic and outing had a good attendance of seventy-five. Our ranks were swelled by a bus load of thirty-two senior citizens from the Oroville area. The camp-out on the Saturday evening was much enjoyed and our thanks go to Pine Park Camp for free camping. Sunday was a busy day with the 11 a.m. outdoor church service followed by a picnic dinner and tour of the grist mill and the Museum.

Oliver sponsored a Spring Fling Day where almost every group in the district puts on displays or runs booths. Don Corbishley and Bob Iverson did a fine job for our branch by running an information booth at the high school where they displayed many historical things and answered questions about local history.

The Museum Train came to Oliver on July 7th and 8th. Branch members and friends staffed the sales car and arranged a local display. Our special thanks to Bob Iverson and other willing workers and contributors. We increased our local funds by two hundred and forty-six dollars and three thousand, five hundred people went through.

Mrs. MacNaughton and myself represented our branch at the official opening of the O'Keefe Ranch and at the annual society picnic at the Simard Museum at Mabel Lake. We had good representation at the A.G.M. in Penticton, at the opening of the Midway Museum and at the Oblate Fathers commemoration in Penticton.

Once again we will be holding our annual branch picnic at Tamarack on Father's Day, June 18th, with the usual camp-out Saturday evening and open air chapel at 11 a.m. Sunday. Residents from the whole Valley are invited.

We are indebted to Ivan Hunter who is doing our old-timer taping for us. We now have over four hours of quality reports.

My thanks to every member and director. Everyone did their best. The

branch is active and progressive. The branch voted two hundred dollars for the work on Father Pandosy Mission.

At our general meeting the program was in the form of a round table discussion with two old-time residents from each side of the border. We regret that one of these speakers, Mr. Frank Robinson, has since passed on.

At our annual meeting our guest speaker was Mrs. F. W. Hack (nee Lucy Crafter) speaking of her experiences in early V.O.N. work in the Oliver-Osoyoos area. Her talk was enjoyed by all.

F. C. MacNaughton

In the Chapel, Tamarack.

Among the Lupins, Tamarack.

OLIVER-OSOYOOS BRANCH ANNUAL PICNIC

Carleton and Buddy MacNaughton

The Oliver-Osoyoos branch annual picnic was held on June 8, 1978, Father's Day, at Tamarack on the old stagecoach road to Camp McKinney. Five groups arrived on Saturday for the camp-out and campfire.

Sunday service was held in the St. Francis Chapel of the Birds. It was lovely to cross the little bridge and go up the path to the chapel accompanied by Ivan Hunter's music sounding through the woods. Carleton MacNaughton led the service, opening with a Scout prayer. Accompaniment was the murmer of wind in the treetops, the music of Baldy Creek water and the morning sunshine streaming through the high branches.

A picnic dinner followed with everyone around four big tables. Home-grown salad greens, old-fashioned baked beans, cookies, pies and strawberries were enjoyed by all. Walking tours followed, either to the giant Tamarack with Hank Lewis or to the edge of Inkameep Creek canyon to view the wild-flowers with Carleton MacNaughton. Rare white shooting-stars in good array and displays of larkspur, heart-leaf arnica, scarlet gilia, yarrow, plumed avens, gaillardia and blue lupin enchanted the viewer.

Dot Lewis kept the coffee hot all afternoon and Ivan Hunter played his old-time tapes for those who didn't go on the walks.

Fifty-eight people registered for the event and had an enjoyable outing. The branch is grateful to all those who attended and helped in so many ways.

REPORT OF THE TRAILS COMMITTEE

May 7, 1978

This committee actually consists of Victor Wilson, myself and one hundred or more people from Winnipeg to Victoria and the international boundary to Kamloops who have helped in one way or another. Some have given a great deal of help and to all we are most grateful. Time simply does now allow for a proper tally and acknowledgement.

At least half a dozen people at the Coast are doing a lot of work, including our Society member Bob Harris with his great knowledge of the trails of B.C. and ability as a map-maker. We are getting fine support from the Outdoor Recreation Council of B. C. and practically every outdoor and historical group in the province.

In looking at our report for last year it is plain that little if any progress has been made toward the preservation of the wilderness northwest of Manning Park with its seven historic trails. Although he had tentatively agreed to come, as the time approached for the brigade over the Campement des Femmes to Fort Hope Trail last year, the Honourable Sam Bawlf found himself unable to go. The Okanagan Similkameen Parks Society has not yet been able to arrange a meeting with him. The present political and social climate is not favourable to the preservation of history or the environment where it might mean the loss of any immediate dollars.

On the other hand, however, an increasing number of people are taking an interest in this area and its trails and an increasing number are actually hiking or riding the trails. Roads have not as yet penetrated the area so we feel that there is still some hope.

Harley Hatfield
at work in the field.

The O.S.P.S., in defence to some people in Princeton, is now referring to the Cascade Wilderness Area rather than to the Manning Park Extension. One name is as good as another if we can keep the roads out of the area.

The Vancouver Natural History Society together with naturalists from the southern Okanagan had a weeks camp in Paradise Valley last summer. It was most successful and, largely due to the work of guide Pat Wright of Princeton, the Blackeyes'-Whatcom Trail up from the Dewdney to the Punch Bowl was cleared for horse travel. A short section of the original Dewdney was relocated and cleared.

In September a mixed brigade of Coast and Interior people went by the Brigade Trail from Lodestone to Hope. The packtrain carrying the baggage was unable to cross Manson Ridge due to a large windfall still across the trail, but the remainder, on reaching Hope, took part in the Brigade Days Parade. Another brigade is planned for this year. If you feel able to walk the route, you should get in touch with Randy Manuel of the O.S.P.S. right away at 488 Hansen Street, Penticton. Otherwise, you might plan to be in Hope for the Saturday after Labour Day to view the brigade as it comes in and takes part in the parade.

The Parks Branch crew completed the clearing and marking of the Brigade Trail last summer; all but the part over Manson Ridge where an accident in the final stage hurt one of the party and smashed their saw. Nevertheless, Pat Wright and a small party had earlier completed the trip by horse to Hope — the first passage by horse for many a long year.

As a matter of interest, last year's brigade left Lodestone on the morning of September 4th and arrived at Hope on the morning of the 10th. It consisted of nineteen hikers aged ten to seventy-three, three riders, eleven horses, one mule and one dog. Two parties already have plans made for going over the trail this year. The area and its store of history is gradually becoming known and a continued pressure from us all could bring results. Many people

from the Okanagan and the Coast have been writing and giving speeches to support the cause.

We are looking forward to a meeting with the Honourable Sam Bawlf on the 27th of May.

H. R. Hatfield
Chairman

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TRAIL

Harley Hatfield

What might you see in the area northwest of Manning Park from which the Okanagan Similkameen Parks Society is struggling to have roads banned?

If you are perceptive to ghosts, perhaps Henry Peers, who built Fort Hope, and Edouard Montigny, whose father Ovide came to the mouth of the Columbia on the Tonquin in 1811, will be seen as they struggle over the hills locating the Hudson's Bay Company Brigade Trail. Or you might even overtake the brigades of 1849 making the first crossing of the mountains by this trail. They were headed for Forts Kamloops, St. James and Colvile. The same combined brigade of the year before, by the Kequeloose-Yale route, we are told, had four hundred horses and fifty men. The horses would be addressed impolitely in French, several Indian tongues, Chinook, English, on occasion in Gaelic or the language of the Sandwich Islands.

Or perhaps you will glimpse Eden Colvile, co-governor of the Honourable Company in North America with George Simpson, on his inspection trip of that same year. The timothy and tall oat grass which he ordered sown are still growing at Campement du Chevreuil. The strange noise in the night might be Chief Trader Paul Fraser from Thompson's River (Kamloops) snoring. He was killed by a falling tree and buried there in July of 1855. Colvile, with whom Paul crossed the continent in 1849, claimed that he was a most abominable snorer. In the dawn, the barely audible splashing might be young Arthur Bushby bathing in the "deliciously cold water" of the little pool just below the camp. Climbing from the Sowaqua to the Campement you will understand how Bushby, having left Manson Camp with Begbie and O'Reilly on foot that morning, was glad of a pause, a cup of brandy and some raw salmon an Indian had given him. From the camp you can see across the Sowaqua valley the cascades of Matthew, O'Reilly and Bushby Creeks falling from the ridge and Mt. Outram. Above you the deer graze the open areas and about 3 p.m. the golden eagles sail by on marmot patrol.

Rising early and climbing over the top of the Cascade Divide you might discern Lieut. H. Spencer Palmer, Royal Engineer, on his horse, emerge from the fog to gaze on the beautiful Palmer Pond, perched an emerald jewel on the edge of Montigny canyon. Along with Begbie et al he travelled in company with Chief Trader Angus McDonald and his Fort Colvile party in September, 1859.

In the Podunk valley, where the Vuich Trail crosses the Brigade perhaps Ernest Rice or some other lone prospector of the 1890's will cross your path. Further down beside the trail is the ruin of a trapper's cabin and you might

perceive the owner coming out the doorway eager for a chat after the lonely weeks on the line.

At the Horseguard, on the Tulameen just above Packers Creek, all would be bustle if a brigade were camped overnight; otherwise quiet and deserted unless the brigade had gone through to Hope and not yet returned in which case the ghosts of the horses brought back here to feed would be scattered about and the several guards would be lying around a fire by their shelter. Crossing the headwaters of Squakin Creek to enter the Defile one passes the proposed boundary of the wilderness area and the ranging cattle have pretty well dispelled the ghosts. One is more likely to see a live cowboy than a ghostly trapper or sheep herder from days past and definitely when the jeep track is reached the smell of gasoline has driven them all away.

As we are using our imagination let us by that means move to Paradise Valley. Here are many ghosts to meet. The most dim are the Similkameens on their annual summer trip to harvest roots and hunt marmots five hundred years ago. Then the same, more plainly, after they acquired horses nearly two hundred years ago; a gay party of braves they would be, bows and quivers slung behind. Then A. C. Anderson of the H.B.C. in June of 1846, searching out a path to the Coast in British territory, plodding through the snow with his five rather frightened men in this unknown country.

These tobacco chewing gents with rifles, shovels and gold pans coming down Blackeyes' Indian Trail from the Punch Bowl are the 1858 argonauts coming via the trail from Whatcom and headed for Kamloops and the goldfields. Younger by two years only are the shades of Dewdney and Moberly sitting under a tree out of the rain discussing with Sgt. McColl, R. E., the location of the trail ahead while their men build the same log bridge still to be seen today.

At some later day the most optimistic agriculturalist known is plowing a field beside the Dewdney Trail. Even the plow has now gone and the field itself a vestige of a plowed field with only the outside furrows showing its outline. If the ruin of an old cabin overlooking the valley could talk it might tell us about the plowman. It may well have been his home. On the Hope or Captain Grant's revised section of the Dewdney Trail by the Skaist, pioneers of every sort might be met, including those who settled much of the Interior.

One can walk with the friendly spirits of our past on any of the trails: Blackeyes', Brigade, Whatcom, Dewdney, Hope, Vuich. For those with eyes that see and minds that can envision there is much instruction and enjoyment What one might see on the Ghost Pass goodness knows.

REPORT OF THE PANDOSY MISSION COMMITTEE
1977-78

The attendance at the Mission was about par with other years. There might be an increase this year as the Indians are making a park at the Mission Creek bridge which is quite close to the Mission.

Both the City of Kelowna and the Regional District gave us donations to take care of taxes. We have applied again this year. We had an interview with the Premier about the government taking over our lease which would take up the taxes but did not get very far with it.

The Provincial Museums and Archives Fund gave us $1,500 toward an implement shed. This, with the $1,000 the Okanagan Historical Society voted us last year, has enabled us to enter into a contract with Griffiths Construction to build an implement shed of logs to be finished by September 1st this year. This will allow us to put most, if not all, of our implements under cover.

Leo, our caretaker, continues to keep the grounds in excellent shape.

Last winter the McDougall house was broken into through a small window at the back. The only thing that was taken was a .32 rifle that was on the back wall.

My thanks to Len Piddocke for his help with everything, to Frances Hereron, our secretary, and to those who gave their time or donations over the year.

G. D. Cameron
Chairman

PANDOSY MISSION COMMITTEE
OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OPERATING STATEMENT - 1977

RECEIPTS

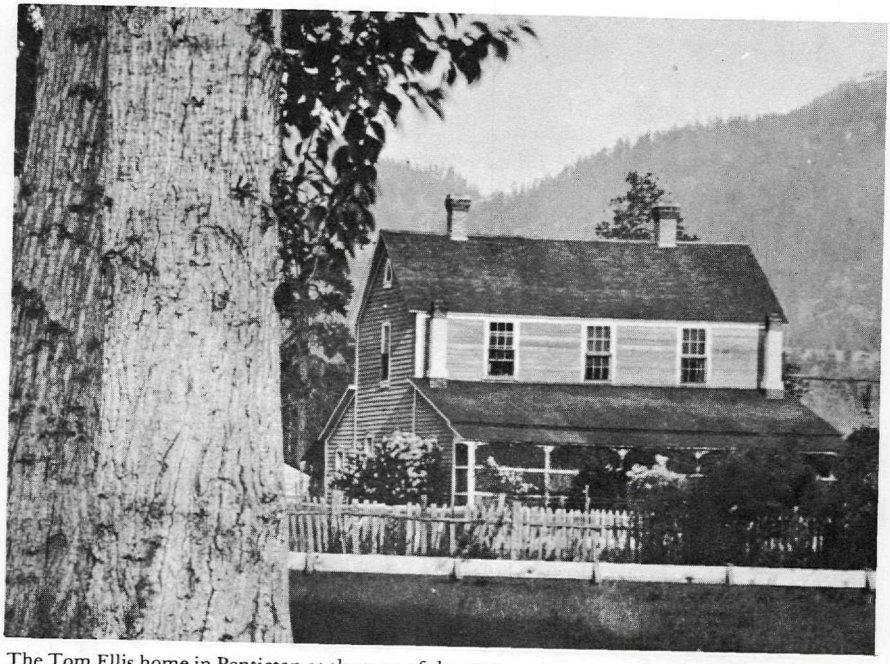
Dr. W. J. Knox I.O.D.E. Chapter	$ 150.00
Provincial Museums & Archives Dev. Fund for storage sheds	1,500.00
Donations and brochures	709.62
City of Kelowna grant for taxes	187.51
Central Okanagan Regional District grant for taxes	265.13
	2,812.26
Cash in Bank - December 31, 1976	731.38
Cash on hand .....do.	5.29
	$3,548.93

DISBURSEMENTS

Restoration - Barn	56.70
Taxes - Municipal portion	187.51
do. Regional District portion	265.13
Insurance - fire and liability	155.00
Maintenance and repairs, sundry	183.59
do. Caretaker's house	153.15
Highway signs	43.14
Printing - maps and visitors' book	59.92
West Kootenay Power & Light Co.	252.04
	1,356.18
Cash in Bank - December 31, 1977	2,182.46
Cash on hand ..... do.	10.29
	$3,548.93

I have examined the vouchers and records of Okanagan Historical Society, Pandosy Mission Committee, and in my opinion the financial affairs of the Committee are in good order.

K. S. N. Shepherd
Certified General Accountant



The Tom Ellis home in Penticton at the turn of the century. O.E. (Reg) Atkinson Museum photo

The Ellis haystack, known as Tom Ellis' nestegg, insurance in case of drought or severe winter.

O. E. (Reg) Atkinson Museum photo

MEMBERSHIP LIST 1978

MEMBERSHIP LIST
OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

All addresses are B.C.
unless otherwise indicated.

LIFE MEMBERS

Bagnall, Guy P., Vernon
Berry, Mrs. A. E., Vernon
Buckland, D. S., Okanagan Mission
Cameron, G. D., Kelowna
Cawston, A. H., Keremeos
Dewdney, Mrs. W. R., Penticton
Fleming, The Rev. E., Kelowna
Hatfield, H. R., Penticton
Ingersoll, Mrs. H., Sicamous
Manery, S. E., Cawston
Ormsby, Dr. M., Vernon
Piddocke, J. L., Kelowna
Porteous, Major Hugh, Oliver
Sismey, Eric D., Penticton
Wilson, Victor, Naramata

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

Abernathy, Carol A., Kelowna
Adams, Thomas S., Naramata
Advocaat, Mrs. Bertha, Keremeos
Aitken, Neil, Lantzville
Allison, Mrs. Dorothea, Kelowna
Amor, Mrs. Dorothy, Oliver
Anderson, Bud, Vernon
Anderson, Jim, Kelowna
Anderson, Dr. W. F., Kelowna
Andrews, George M., Vancouver
Apsey, N. T., Kelowna
Armstrong, J. D., Enderby
Armstrong, Wm. Norman, Langley
Arnold, Gilbert N., Winfield
Ashley, L. S., Kelowna
Atkinson, Miss E. Louise, Summerland

Bach, Mrs. Paul, Rutland
Baird, Robert A., Enderby
Baker, Mrs. Sarah, Penticton
Balcombe, Mrs. Stella, Vernon
Balsillie, D. G., Victoria
Barber, Raymond G., Kelowna
Barlee, Mr. and Mrs. F. G. Chick, Westbank
Barr, Dr. and Mrs. Hugh P., Penticton
Baumbrough, H., Naramata
Bawtree, Mrs. C., Enderby
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Beattie, J. R., Ottawa, Ontario
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Billard, Mrs. Vera M., Vernon
Bingham, Mrs. Lucy, Summerland
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Boone, Dr. J. A., Vancouver
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Boyer, C. M., Kelowna
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Broe, Mrs. E. R., Enderby
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Brooks, Lewis, Oliver
Broome, Dr. Alan, Kelowna
Brown, Arthur E., Oliver
Brown, John A., Summerland
Brown, R. R., Kelowna
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Bruneau, Dr. W. A., Vancouver
Bubar, Chas. H., Mara
Buckland, C. D., Kelowna
Buckland, J. H., Kelowna
Burridge, Mrs. S. W., Kelowna
Busch, George, Kaleden

Campbell, J. F. I., Kelowna
Campbell, R. F., Terrace
Cannings, Mrs. S. R., Penticton
Cannon, Mrs. Margaret A., Abbotsford
Carter, C. J., Vernon
Casey, Mrs. I. E., Kaleden
Cawston, Mrs. Verna B., Vancouver
Chalmers, Larry, Kelowna
Chalmers, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. B., Enderby
Charman, Mrs. B., Westbank
Chilcott, A. J., Okanagan Mission
Christensen, Lloyd W., Vernon
Christensen, S. L., Vernon
Christensen, Mrs. V. T., Vernon
Clarke, Dr. D. A., Kelowna
Clarke, Mrs. Eleanor, Naramata
Clarke, T. E., Naramata
Claxton, J. J., North Burnaby
Cleland, Mr. and Mrs. E. Hugh, Penticton
Cleland, Marylin E., Penticton
Clerke, Bob, Vernon
Coe, Fred J., Kelowna

Collin, Austin F. L., Vernon
Colquhoun, Mrs. W. H., Vancouver
Conroy, Agnes, Vernon
Conroy, Jos. J., Kelowna
Constable, Frank, Kelowna
Cooper, Herbert Otto, Vernon
Corbishley, Don, Oliver
Corner, R. W., Kelowna
Cossentine, J., Penticton
Couves, C. S., Cache Creek
Craster, R. G., Vernon
Crerar, Mrs. D. C., Mara
Cretin, H. W., Kelowna
Crosby, Mrs. W. M., Courtenay
Crozman, Mrs. Grace, Vernon

Da Silva, Nelson, Oliver
D'Avila, J. M., Oliver
Davidson, Ms. Jane, Kelowna
Dawe, A. P., Kelowna
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De Hart, N. E., Kelowna
De Hart, Mrs. V. T., Kelowna
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Deuling, Mrs. Phyllis, Lumby
Dewdney, Edgar, Penticton
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Docksteader, E. S., Armstrong
Doe, Ernest, Salmon Arm
Doerflinger, Mrs. Ethel, Grindrod
Doeksen, R. W. G., Kelowna
Doherty, Mrs. Irene, Summerland
Domi, Harold, Penticton
Drake, A. F. G., Kelowna
Drake, Mrs. Maxine, Vernon
Drasching, F. A., Vancouver
Drasching, M. G., Victoria
Dubuc, Ed., Kelowna
Dunn, Miss Kay, Kelowna
Dupre, Gilles, Laval, P. Q.

Edwards, Florence R., Prince George
Edworthy, Dr. J. M., Kelowna
Elliot, David G., Kelowna
Elliot, G. Alan, Kelowna
Elliot, Mrs. S. R., Ottawa, Ontario
Elliott, Mrs. Margaret E., Kelowna
Ellis, Mrs. Bruce, Vernon
Ellison, Kenneth V., Oyama

Fairweather, Mrs. P. J., Osoyoos
Falconer, David G., Vernon
Farmer, James P., Enderby
Feeny, Terry, Kelowna

Fillmore, D. C., Kelowna
Finley, Alexander R., Armstrong
Finnerty, Mrs. M. P., Penticton
Fisher, D. V., Summerland
Fleming, John, Vernon
Fleming, Stuart A., Vernon
Ford, Hector L., Vancouver
Forest, Lloyd, Kelowna
Fry, J. E., Westbank
Fuhr, Douglas, Vernon
Fulton, Lunky, Vernon
Funk, Grace E., Lumby

Gale, R. F., Kaleden
Gamble, Mrs. Jessie Ann, Armstrong
Gamble, Mrs. Len, Armstrong
Garrard, Mrs. Pat, Goldbridge
Gaterski, Mrs. Betty
Gay, Mr. and Mrs. W. G., Penticton (George)
Gee, W. A. Kelowna
Gellatly, Mrs. Dorothy, Westbank
Gibbard, L. A., Penticton
Gilmour, Stuart S., Westbank
Godwin, W. L., Penticton
Goldsbury, Mrs. Margaret, Cranbrook
Goldsmith, Mr. and Mrs. C. O., Vernon
Goodman, Mrs. F. L., Osoyoos
Gore, Mrs. Fred, Kelowna
Gore, Robert C., Kelowna
Gore, Mr. and Mrs. W. B., Westbank
Gorman, Mrs. Harry, Vernon
Greer, Mrs. A. W., Kelowna
Greig, Mrs. D., Vernon

Hack, Mrs. L. W. V., Westbank
Haddrell, C. D., Summerland
Hall, Robert O., Kaleden
Hall, John, Halfmoon Bay
Hall, R. H., Okanagan Mission
Hallett, James H. and Evelyn, Oliver
Hannon, Enid, Vancouver
Hanson, Mr. and Mrs. A. I., Vernon
Hanson, Mr. and Mrs. Iver, Vernon
Harding, K. F., Westbank
Harding, T. E., Westbank
Harkness, Mrs. Wm., Penticton
Harper, Mrs. Irene, Vernon
Harper, Mrs. Jean, Pacoima, Calif. U.S.A.
Harris, Jos. G., Penticton — of Farm
Harris, Robert Charles, West Vancouver
Hassen, Mat S., Armstrong
Hawrys, A., Enderby
Hawrys, Mrs. J., Enderby
Henniker, J., Vernon
Heriot, Miss Joan, Vernon
Hewlett, E. S., Surrey
Hewlett, W. J., Kelowna
Hobbs, Mr. and Mrs. Harry, Burnaby
Henderson, Dr. H. R., Westbank
Hindle, John D., Kelowna
Holland, Mrs. Molly, White Rock

Howard, Philip H., Penticton
Hunter, Ernest B., Armstrong
Hunter, Ivan A., Oliver

Iceton, E. E., Oliver
Imbeau, Mrs. Irene, Enderby
Ingram, Ralph C., Kelowna
Inglis, Mildred, Armstrong
Innis, D. Ross, Keremeos
Iverson, Robert M., Oliver

Jacobson, Dorothy G., Kelowna
Jamieson, James E., Armstrong
Johnson, Eric G., Kelowna
Johnston, B. W., Kelowna
Johnston, Reid A., Vancouver
Jones, Mrs. Joyce C., Penticton
Joyce, W. Russ, Oliver

Karpinsky, Wm., Oliver
Kidston, J. B., Vernon
Kidston, Mr. and Mrs. J. R., Vernon
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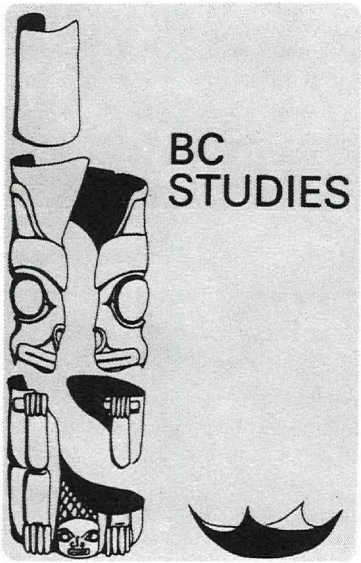

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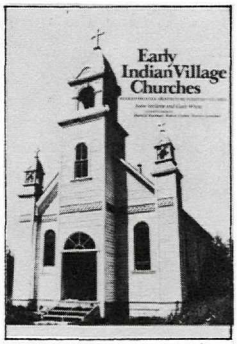

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