

B.C. HISTORICAL NEWS



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Cover Photograph: Beaver Lake School, Cariboo District, 1923. This school is like
the ones described by T. D. Sale in this issue.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL NEWS

VOL. 14, NO. 1

FALL 1980

Second-class mail registration number 4447.

Published fall, winter, spring, and summer by the British Columbia Historical Association, P.O. Box 1738, Victoria, V8W 2Y3. (Printed by D.A. Fotoprint Ltd., 747 Fort Street, Victoria, V8W 3E9.)

Correspondence with editors is to be addressed to Box 1738, Victoria, V8W 2Y3.

Subscriptions: Institutional \$15.00 per a., Individual (non-members) \$7.00 per a.

The B.C. Historical Association gratefully acknowledges the financial assistance of the Ministry of the Provincial Secretary.

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MARCHING TO DIFFERENT DRUMMERS: PUBLIC EDUCATION AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1900-1950

In the half century after British Columbia's entry into Confederation, the province developed from an isolated outpost into a complex society. An 1871 population of 36,000, two-thirds of whom were Indians grew to well over half a million. And, in this transformation, no aspect of life more successfully kept pace than did public education. From a handful of one-room schools held together by the perseverance of individual teachers, British Columbia achieved by 1920 a uniformly structured network of multi-level schools accessible to virtually every child. The increase in average daily attendance exemplified the accomplishment. In the 1870's and 1880's even those youngsters with a school to attend had done so only half the time; in 1920 the average child appeared four days out of every five. Moreover, as recent historians of education have demonstrated, the public schools' role had grown from mere literacy training to a prime responsibility for socializing the young into acceptance of the principles upon which society was based. Thus, the first formal evaluation of public education in British Columbia, undertaken in the mid-1920's, declared "a fundamental aim" of the school to be "the development of a united and intelligent Canadian citizenship."¹

Public schools did not, however, represent the totality of education available to British Columbians. Concern by contemporaries--and, indeed, also by historians--with the achievements of the public system have tended to obscure the existence of very real private alternatives. While the enrollment of British Columbia's private schools has never much exceeded five per cent of the total, they did represent choice and, moreover, one espoused by several distinctive elements within British Columbia society. Paradoxically, these private alternatives first appeared when the public system seemed to be successfully accomplishing its perceived mission. To understand this apparent contradiction, it is necessary to go back to the beginnings of education in the nineteenth century.

Before Confederation in 1871, the difference in British Columbia between "public" and "private" education was vague. The Hudson's Bay Company, whose west coast operations were from 1849 centred in Victoria, turned, as was its practice elsewhere, to the Anglican Church for clergyman teachers. Thus, employees and settlers who took advantage of these first subsidized "public" schools were perforce subjecting their children to a church-based education. The young Ontario school teacher John Jessop offset this "distasteful" situation by opening a private school modelled on the public system of Ontario, "conducted exclusively on non-sectarian principles . . . according to the admirable system of Canada West."² The first of several Catholic schools established by the intrepid Sisters

¹ J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir, Survey of the School System (Victoria: King's Printer, 1925), p. 38. For recent research on British Columbia educational history, see J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones, ed., Schooling and Society in Twentieth Century British Columbia (Calgary: Detselig, 1980), which has a bibliography of British Columbia educational history.

² F. Henry Johnson, John Jessop: Goldseeker and Educator (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1971), p. 38.

of Saint Ann opened in Victoria in 1858. As newspaper advertisements made clear, "difference of religion is no obstacle to admission;" among the first non-Catholic pupils were the daughters of Governor James Douglas. The Anglican Church founded the most exclusive schools, charging \$5-8 per month as compared to the \$3-4 of the Sisters or the \$5 per year fees of the subsidized schools. Private ventures came and went, Jessop's school disappeared as did such bargains as the "Victoria Colonial School", which for a mere \$1.50 per quarter promised "a sound, thoroughly English education" fitting its pupils for "a general business life."

The 1860's were characterized by the persistent efforts of a vocal, Canadian-born contingent, including Jessop, to undercut Anglican influence over education in favour of the practices in Ontario and the Maritimes. Their campaign culminated in the passage of the 1872 Public Schools Act which provided for a centralized, publicly financed system of non-denominational schools. Not unexpectedly, the first Superintendent of Education was Jessop himself.

Jessop unquestionably patterned the British Columbia system on that of Ontario. As his biographer has made abundantly clear, Jessop lived and worked in the unrelenting shadow of his fellow Methodist Egerton Ryerson, who, during long years as Ontario's first Superintendent of Schools, had almost singlehandedly fashioned public education in that province. Thus, when he needed more teachers in British Columbia, a profession then occupied primarily by British immigrants, Jessop advertised in the Toronto Globe and Mail.

Jessop established a very clear relationship between public education and religious belief. Like Ryerson, a man known to his detractors as "the Pope of Methodism," Jessop believed firmly that public education could--and indeed must--be at one and the same time "non-denominational" and visibly moral. As Ryerson explained, "by religion and morality I do not mean sectarianism in any form, but the general system of truth and morals taught in the Holy Scriptures." "To the ardent Methodist," explained Jessop's biographer, "teaching was a noble work, affording an opportunity of improving the minds and morals of the young and of re-making society."³

A commitment to public education was not limited to good Methodists but extended, in Jessop's mind, "to non-conformists of all denominations." "The Holy Scriptures," so dear to Ryerson, formed the basis of faith for several denominations -- Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptist -- that together may be termed Evangelical Protestant. The personal history of some of British Columbia's early teachers indicates both their deep religious commitment and the limits of the schools' acceptance of it. No one seriously questioned the appointment of an Ontario-trained Presbyterian minister, once he had resigned his ordination, as head of the province's first high school in 1876. However, when Alexander Nicholson conducted "religious exercises" at Victoria High School, both local newspapers leapt to the attack, charging he was "acting in opposition to the spirit of non-sectarian forms of education." Nicholson resigned on principle and the provincial Board of Education decreed that henceforth all such activity be limited to "the Lord's Prayer & Ten Commandments." The school's next principal, Edward Paul, a graduate of the University of Aberdeen, was the son, grandson and great-grandson of Presbyterian ministers and the brother of the Moderator of the General Assembly for the Church of Scotland.

³ Ibid., p. 5.

Despite these clear denominational ties he held his position for sixteen years, until 1908. Albert Pineo, educated at Baptist Acadia University in Nova Scotia, taught for twenty years at Victoria High School before his religious convictions led him to resign in 1911 to enter the Baptist ministry. Mainland teachers also possessed visible ties with Evangelical Protestantism. A Dalhousie graduate, Hector Stramberg, was, in 1884, named principal of British Columbia's second high school after he held a similar position at a private Methodist school, also in New Westminster. He remained principal until 1910.⁴

These individuals' ties with Evangelical Protestantism were not unique but rather reflected a general emphasis among teachers holding academic degrees. As high schools were established, a university degree became the practical prerequisite for a high school teachers' certificate. Since British Columbia did not have its own university until 1915, high school teachers had to be trained elsewhere. An examination of their academic degrees indicates that the majority graduated from Ontario or Maritime institutions, usually ones with an Evangelical Protestant outlook. Even the formal link established in 1906 to permit college work in British Columbia to form part of a degree programme at non-sectarian McGill University did not markedly alter the situation. Fewer than fifteen per cent of teachers with degrees were McGill graduates; at least two or three times that number were graduates of universities with an Evangelical Protestant ethos. These institutions, also dominated by what their foremost historian has termed a "native Canadian influence," clearly imbued their graduates with a teaching mission in the same spirit assumed by Ryerson and Jessop.⁵

So long as British Columbia developed out of the same traditions as those from which its university-trained teachers came, the linkages these teachers exemplified and the perspective they brought to the province were generally acceptable within the society. Once the transcontinental railway was completed in 1885, settlers from Ontario and the Maritimes moved steadily west. As Table A demonstrates, the percentage of Ontario-born in the population of British Columbia more than doubled between 1881 and 1891 to nineteen per cent of the total white population. The proportion of Maritimers similarly doubled to nine per cent. A British Columbia historian, writing in the early 1890's, had no hesitation in proclaiming the achievement of a "Union of East and West."⁶ British Columbia seemed on its way to becoming an integral part of Canada, its identity carefully honed by a steady influx of settlers from the country's more established areas.

The fate of British Columbia's original private schools in the last decades of the century was perhaps inevitable given the province's growing Canadianization. Only the Roman Catholic schools survived the establishment of an attractive system of public education. Their continued existence was predicated on the hard

⁴ The place of Evangelical Protestantism in British Columbia is made clear in F. E. Runnalls' history of the United Church, It's God's Country (1974). Information on early teachers comes from Runnalls, the annual Public Schools reports, and Peter L. Smith, Come Give A Cheer! (Victoria, 1976.)

⁵ D. C. Masters, Protestant Church Colleges in Canada: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 13.

⁶ Alexander Begg, History of British Columbia from Its Earliest Discovery to the Present Time (Toronto; William Briggs, 1894), p. 434.

reality that 13-14 per cent of the white population was Catholic. Yet, unlike other provinces, British Columbia made no provision to encompass church schools, so integral to Catholicism, within the public system. Moreover, while the public system proclaimed itself non-denominational the predominance of teachers of the Evangelical Protestant tradition made it appear unrepresentative of the province's religious composition. Although Catholic graduates of non-sectarian universities may have taught in British Columbia schools before the turn of the century, no teacher educated at a Catholic university was employed in an urban area or at the secondary level until after World War I.⁷ It is therefore not surprising that many Catholic families turned to private or parochial education. Besides the St. Ann's schools, which had early been established at Victoria, Duncan, Nanaimo, New Westminster, Vancouver and Kamloops, other orders opened a steadily expanding number of Catholic schools.

By contrast, the non-Catholic private schools lost much of their appeal with the establishment of a public system. Even the Collegiate, a Victoria boys' school founded by the Anglican bishop in 1860 to be a "first-class grammar school" comparable to those "in the mother country," at times existed in name only before its formal closure in 1929. New schools opened from time to time but none gained sufficient appeal to endure long. One close observer of the late nineteenth century in Victoria neatly summarized the situation by recalling that in reference to boys' schools, "there was a blank." Emily Carr, born in Victoria in 1871, confirmed this impression. During her childhood, she wrote, the "old ladies" type of private school faded out of existence because education required a certain standard set by our Public School system if people expected to obtain positions in Canada."⁸

The reappearance of non-Catholic private schools in the first decades of the new century reflected a fundamental shift in the province's socio-demographic structure as a result of the national immigration policy initiated in 1896. The face of British Columbia was transformed as its white population virtually tripled. Most significantly, while on the prairies the greatest increase came through immigration from the United States and continental Europe, British Columbia attracted primarily settlers from Britain. In the decade, 1901-11, the number of British-born in the population almost quadrupled; in the two decades, 1901-21, the number grew from a little over 30,000 to almost 160,000. As Table A indicates, by 1911 one out of every three British Columbians was once again British-born. By comparison, the proportion of British Columbians born in central or eastern Canada dropped steadily after the turn of the century. By 1921 only 11 per cent had been born in Ontario, another 4 per cent in the Maritimes.

Viewed from the perspective of education, the effect of this demographic shift was to interrupt the steady Canadianization of British Columbia. No longer was a single system of public education, characterized by a distinctly Canadian, Evangelical Protestant ethos in its top ranks, considered acceptable to virtually all non-Catholic British Columbians. The introduction of private

⁷ A graduate of a Catholic university briefly taught in the Comox elementary school at the turn of the century.

⁸ W.W. Bolton, "Looking Back," The Black and Red (Victoria), no. 38 (June 1920), p. 43; Emily Carr, The Book of Small (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1966), pp. 117-8.

alternatives was an integral concomitant of British immigration. While the overwhelming majority of British settlers were from labouring backgrounds, a small minority brought a very different experience to British Columbia. Their expectations and lifestyle were, quite simply, not at ease with the province's system of public education.⁹

An examination of differences in religion provides part of the explanation. The denominations Jessop considered "non-conformist" and here termed Evangelical Protestant, while including the Presbyterian state church of Scotland, differed fundamentally from the Church of England. To the ordinary Anglican, like the Catholic, the Church as a corporate structure was indispensable to faith. Continued participation in its sacraments and good works were essential to salvation; these concepts were best conveyed to the young as an integral part of school life. The heart of Evangelical Protestantism lay rather in personal salvation with faith capable of being practiced as easily in a "non-denominational" classroom as anywhere else. Religion was, moreover, integrally related in Britain to social background. By the late nineteenth century Anglicanism had become largely a class religion so that the "better" an individual's background the more likely he was to belong to the Church of England rather than to one of the non-conformist denominations.

Immigrants of Anglican faith had also more likely undergone the type of education of which some of the pre-Confederation private schools had been a pale copy. While the vast majority of British children attended state-supported day schools not that different in form from those established by Jessop, a critical minority studied at private boarding schools that were consciously designed to prepare their students for what was still generally accepted to be their pre-ordained duty to rule.¹⁰ Attendance at first at a "preparatory" and then a "public" school was frequently, but not always, followed by acquisition of a degree from Oxford or Cambridge.

Among the British immigrants to British Columbia were both settler families who preferred to have their children privately educated and privately schooled young men and women who sought a livelihood in a new land. A few university-trained immigrants entered public school teaching but their numbers were low in relation to the number of British-born in the population. A decision to enter private education was greatly facilitated by the complete absence of any regulation of such schools or their teachers. Superintendent Jessop had soon lost interest in private schools; his successors had also ignored them. Until 1977 when the provincial government offered some financial support to such schools in return for their acceptance of some controls, a "private school" involved only an act of will. One or more individuals simply decided to start a school.

A survey of the major boys' schools founded in British Columbia in the first

⁹ David Mitchell and Dennis Duffy, eds., *Bright Sunshine and a Brand New Country: Recollections of the Okanagan Valley, 1890-1914*, Sound Heritage, vol. VIII. no. 3 (1979).

¹⁰ See particularly J.R. de S. Honey, Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the Victorian Public School (London: Millington, 1977); Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy, The Public School Phenomenon, 597-1977 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977); and T.W. Bamford, The Rise of the Public School (London: Nelson, 1967).

decades of the twentieth century demonstrates the nature and extent of this phenomenon and the close connection of schools' origins with British immigration and the British tradition of private education. Some schools called themselves Anglican; others, although officially non-denominational, identified closely with Anglican beliefs and tended to assume that their pupils were Anglican except when parents designated otherwise.

University School of Victoria, the first major school to be established, was also one of the most influential. Organized in 1908 to "maintain the best traditions of the English Public Schools and at the same time keeping in view the special needs of colonial life," it was the brainchild of three English immigrants who had each been teaching privately in a small way. The Rev. W.W. Bolton, an Anglican cleric, and R.V. Harvey were Cambridge graduates while J.C. Barnacle had attended London University. They formed a limited company and constructed an ambitious physical plant. Success was predicated on the belief "that Victoria must become recognized as the educational centre of the west," that "there is a demand for a private institution of the type found throughout the old country." And, indeed, in the halcyon years before World War One, University School lived up to its promise. At its peak, it enrolled well over 200 boys from Victoria, Vancouver and such centres of British settlement as the Duncan-Cowichan area, the Gulf Islands, the Okanagan Valley, and the ranching foothills of southern Alberta.

University School was staffed by privately educated British immigrants, some of whom later began their own small schools -- St. Aidan's, Cranleigh, and Glenlyon¹¹ -- for younger boys in Victoria. Another master, G. B. Benson, left to teach on Saltspring Island and then moved to the Kerrisdale section of Vancouver where he established a school proudly named after his own university, Trinity College, Dublin.

Several immigrants who began teaching in British Columbia's public school system were lured away by the growing demand for private instruction. In 1910, concerned fathers seeking tuition for their sons virtually bought Kyrle Symons, a graduate of the English public school, Dulwich and of Oxford, out of his first public school teaching post. Within the year Symons began St. Michael's, which many years later joined with University School to form St. Michael's University School. The story of the first headmaster of Victoria's Brentwood is similar. In 1923 a group of businessmen, both Englishmen and descendants of Victoria's older British element, decided to establish a superior senior school "modelled on the great Public Schools of England and Scotland but adapted to western requirements." By convincing H.P. Hope, principal of the prestigious Oak Bay High School, to head Brentwood, they scored a double coup. As the prospectus declared, he not only understood the dominant public system, his students having "unqualified success in Public Examinations," but through his own education at Charterhouse and Cambridge was "steeped in the traditions of the great Public Schools and Universities."

Boys' schools began both in Victoria and in the other major clusters of British middle and upper-class settlement. Shawnigan Lake School, begun in 1916,

¹¹ Glenlyon, founded by J.I. Simpson, a Glasgow University graduate, still exists in its original home, the Oak Bay beachfront house built by architect Francis Rattenbury as his private home.

grew out of the desire of British gentleman farmers and retired military officers living in the Duncan-Cowichan area of Vancouver Island to have their sons properly prepared for entry to the English private schools which it was still assumed they must attend. With his training in the well-known Westminster school of London, C.W. Lonsdale seemed the man for the job. Shawnigan Lake's subsequent shift from a junior into the secondary institution it is today was facilitated by the appearance nearby of the Duncan Grammar School to prepare boys "for the English Public Schools or similar schools in Canada." In 1935 yet another school opened on Vancouver Island when R.I. Knight founded Qualicum Beach School which he patterned on his own distinctive "public" school, Oundle.

One man, A.H. Scriven, was associated with three boys' schools in North Vancouver and one school in the Okanagan. Little is known about Scriven except that he was born in England, spent his childhood in New York and the Maritimes, graduated from the University of Manitoba, and through it all remained, in the judgment of a fellow headmaster, "definitely an Englishman." The first of the North Vancouver schools, Chesterfield, opened in 1907. Shortly thereafter a Cambridge-educated Anglican cleric took it over and Scriven moved with his ailing wife to the Okanagan where he promptly began a second Chesterfield. During World War One Scriven returned to North Vancouver and, after teaching at the local high school, opened Kingsley school. Its popularity soon prompted two of its masters, a Nottingham University graduate and a fellow Northcountryman educated at Sandhurst, to split off their own school. Like its competitors, North Shore College proudly proclaimed that it was run "on the lines of the best English Preparatory Schools adapted to produce good Canadian citizens."

The demise of Kelowna's Chesterfield in the early 1920's went largely unnoticed; by then the Okanagan had another private school "conducted, with necessary modifications, on the lines of an English Preparatory School." The Vernon Preparatory School was located at Coldstream, an area settled almost exclusively by English and Scottish gentleman fruit farmers.¹² The school's founder, the Rev. A.C. Mackie, was another Cambridge-educated Anglican cleric. He was possibly unique among the founders of the province's boys' schools in that he came out from England with the intention of establishing a boys' school and eminently succeeded.

For a time Vancouver remained somewhat apart from this flurry of activity, an indication possibly of the more heterogeneous character of its population. Small schools appeared from time to time, and older boys were generally sent to the Island. The situation was radically altered in the early 1930's with the opening of St. George's. The school was begun in a rather ad hoc manner by an English promoter passing through the city from a headmastership in Mandalay, but was soon taken on by the two extremely resourceful Harker brothers. The elder, educated at the leading "public" school of Rugby, served as headmaster with his younger sibling, who had attended Cheltenham, as his assistant. In a very short period St. George's, whose reliance on day boys made it especially attractive to local parents, was on its way to the position of eminence it enjoys today.¹³

¹² See Jean Barman, "Growing up in British Columbia: The Vernon Preparatory School, 1914-1946," in Wilson and Jones, eds., Schooling and Society, pp. 119-138.

¹³ The story of St. George's has been recounted in Douglas E. Harker, Saints (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1979).

To the private boys' schools mentioned here could be added the names of yet others and, more importantly, of a whole range of schools educating girls and sometimes very young boys as well. Many of these began and remained as simple undertakings, one or two unmarried, well educated ladies would offer a little learning, some music and art, and a bit of refinement. Emily Carr's older sister quietly ran such a school for little boys and girls for half a century in Victoria, putting her imprint on some 800 British Columbians. Other schools in Victoria included The Poplars, Queen's Academy, St. George's, St. Margaret's, Norfolk House, St. Christopher's, Sefton College and Uppingham House. In the early years of British settlement of the Duncan-Cowichan area, girls had been privately educated primarily at The Cliffs, whose closure in 1918 was soon followed by the beginning of Queen Margaret's and Strathcona Lodge in the same general area. Vancouver had girls' schools earlier and in greater abundance than those for boys, perhaps because parents were more concerned to have their daughters close to home. The Gordon sisters began what eventually became Crofton House in 1898; their first real competition began in 1911 with the opening of Miss Seymour's, later renamed St. Marina's. The two decades after World War One saw the beginning of St. Raphael's, University School for Girls, York House, St. Anthony's, Taunton House, and Queen's Hall. Crosby School, the most significant girls' school in North Vancouver, began in the mid-1920's. Girls' schools were also dotted across the interior. All Hallow's at Yale, founded by an Anglican missionary order to teach young Indians, had from 1890 also accepted "Canadian" girls in a separate school. Its closure in 1916, when the sisters returned home to England to aid the war effort, was offset by such schools as St. Michael's in Vernon, King Edward's at Cranbrook, and Miss Beattie's in Kamloops.

The appearance of so many non-Catholic private schools would have been significant for British Columbia even had they remained primarily identified with the British-born in the population. Their importance, however, greatly increased in the inter-war years, as the base of clientele steadily broadened. World War One halted large-scale immigration. By the mid-1920's the children of what had been essentially a single massive generation of immigrants were reaching adulthood. The schools' survival depended on recruiting students more widely and they looked everywhere--from the ranches of southern Alberta to British business houses in the Orient and even down the Pacific coast for Americans disenchanted with education in their own country. Almost every school discovered, however, that the best source of clientele lay nearest home, in British Columbia itself.

The schools' identification with all things British--and, more importantly, with all things British of a particular social class--was, paradoxically, a prime factor in their expanding appeal. The very principles and practices which had made these schools so essential to British immigrant families attracted many British Columbia families neither British by birth, Anglican by religion, nor themselves privately educated. Training for leadership through maximizing the potential of each student and developing an esprit de corps among students could not but appeal to upwardly mobile families. Conversely, some families who already occupied top business and professional positions valued the schools' ability to endow their offspring with an outlook and conduct befitting that status. Many parents saw the schools' insistence on deference and good manners as an effective counterweight to American brashness and egalitarianism.

Thus, through the interwar years these schools, particularly those for boys, remained British in structure, staff and ethos while at the same time moving into the British Columbia mainstream. Teacher recruitment is indicative. A few of the more determined schools sought teachers directly from Britain through personal

visits, newspaper advertisements, or agencies; others simply relied on the services of immigrants who happened to pass their way. As former students reached adulthood, they too became part of the acceptable pool from which a teaching staff attuned to a school's best interests could be drawn. Shawnigan Lake's academic staff during the 1930's was, for instance, almost entirely composed of Oxford and Cambridge men. The lone Canadian-born and Canadian-educated teacher of any consequence taught science, not a traditional subject and by all accounts the most difficult to fill with a qualified instructor. Only after World War Two, by which time many of the schools had folded with the retirement or death of their founding head, did most of the surviving schools measurably shift their orientation and begin to reflect in outlook and staff their Canadian environment.

The existence of private alternatives to British Columbia's public system of education must not, then, be discounted. Both the Catholic and the non-Catholic schools presented, during the first half of this century, a distinct choice for British Columbians. The Catholic schools, which had never been oriented toward the Canada of Ryerson and Jessop, remained under the control of teaching orders centred in Quebec, Ireland or the United States. The public system, while becoming independent of external sources for academically-trained teachers after the opening in 1915 of the University of British Columbia, retained much of its earlier ethos through the inter-war years. Well into the 1920's, all of the thirteen school inspectors with academic degrees had graduated from central or eastern Canadian universities, three-quarters of them from institutions with an Evangelical Protestant outlook. The two normal schools and even the university were in significant part staffed by individuals in this tradition, many of whom had begun their teaching careers in the public schools of British Columbia. The changes occurring in the public system during the inter-war period came primarily from the United States and, if anything, accentuated existing differences in outlook between public and private. Public education and private schools, quite simply, marched to different drummers.

Jean Barman
University of British Columbia

(Mrs. Barman has sent along an appeal for assistance, as follows. Editors.)

Information on the history of private education in British Columbia is sadly lacking. I am still attempting to gather together all of the pieces which have survived, both for my doctoral thesis and so that they can in fact be saved. Details on small schools run by one or two individuals are particularly difficult to trace down, since a printed record was often never kept in the first place. I would be pleased and delighted to hear from anyone who can suggest new leads or perhaps knows something about the history of a school or teacher, particularly in the years up to 1950. Personal reminiscences, school-day letters, and prospectuses are especially welcome. I will, of course, acknowledge all assistance, return personal materials promptly, and where desired treat information with complete confidentiality. I can be reached at 4243 W. 12th Avenue, Vancouver, V6R 2P8. I am grateful for all suggestions and assistance.

Table A

WHITE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA BY BIRTHPLACE¹

	Maritimes ²	Ontario	Quebec	Prairies	British Columbia	Britain and Possessions ²	Continental Europe	United States	Other	Total white Population
1881	4%	8%	2%	Nil	34%	31%	4%	12%	5%	19,448
1891	5%	19%	4%	1%	15%	33%	5%	11%	3%	61,958
1901	7%	18%	3%	3%	24%	24%	7%	13%	1%	130,543
1911	5%	13%	2%	4%	19%	34%	11%	11%	1%	345,318
1921	4%	11%	2%	6%	29%	34%	7%	7%	Nil	469,556
1931	3%	9%	1%	9%	33%	30%	9%	6%	Nil	633,918

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1. Data taken from Census of Canada, 1881-1931. Indians and Asians are excluded. The 1891 census includes no figures for British Columbians of Indian or Asian origin; the number of Indians for that year is therefore estimated from figures for 1881 and 1901, the figure for Asians are those individuals born in China.

2. Individuals born in Newfoundland are included under Maritimes rather than Britain and Possessions.

CULTURE AND CREDENTIALS:

A NOTE ON LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY TEACHER CERTIFICATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Between the ebullient days of the Cariboo gold rush and the steadier times of the early 1870's, British Columbians reflected on the educational needs of their children. A Free School Act of 1865 furnished Vancouver Island with a General Board of Education and a Superintendent. Following maritime union, a Common School Ordinance of 1869 provided the amalgamated colony of British Columbia with an Inspector-General of Schools responsible to the Governor-in-Council and charged, entre autres with teacher certification. In 1872, the new province of British Columbia passed a Public Schools Act which clearly stated that: "No person shall be appointed as a Teacher in any Public School, unless he shall hold a first, second, or third class certificate of qualification from the Board of Education."¹

In his Third Annual Report, John Jessop (named Superintendent under provisions of the 1872 Act) elaborated on the meaning and implications of this section.² Briefly, certification was to be determined as a result of annual examinations based upon knowledge of "Education and the Art of Teaching" as well as of subjects of instruction. The Superintendent or Board members set these examinations.³ Candidates could attend school or study independently. Upon presenting themselves for testing, they might be asked to cite examples of primitive, derivative, simple, and compound words; express in writing and add together 702006043, 9704500, 88405009, and 6006006; give the exact position of Boston, Quito, Liverpool, and Bangkok; indicate the year in which the French lost their possessions in Canada; describe the use of the eccentric fly-wheel and governor of a steam engine; explain transposition in music; spell catastrophe and sentimental; identify the source of animal heat;

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{simplify } \frac{x-y}{1+\frac{x(x-y)}{1+xy}} \end{array}$$

calculate the length of a circular road which touches the four angles of a square field containing 3 acres, 2 rods, 16 perches; show all cases in which Euclid proves two triangles to be equal to one another; state what the account of charges contains on the debit and credit sides; write a composition; and weigh the advantages gained by writing from dictation on paper against writing from dictation on slates.³ Achievement on these examinations determined the class of

¹ An Act Respecting Public Schools, 1872, Appendix A, Section 33, in Superintendent of Education, Third Annual Report on the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia for the Year Ending July 31st, 1874 (Victoria: Government Printer, 1874), p. 41.

² See "Rules for the Examination of Public School Teachers and the Issuance of Certificates of Qualification." Appendix C, in Superintendent of Education, Third Annual Report, pp. 48-51.

³ See "Examination Papers," Appendix D, Third Annual Report, pp. 51 - 57

certificate, expressed as six categories in descending margins of ten from 80% to 30%.⁴ The certificates themselves, moreover, were endorsed with a statement of marks in the various subjects of examination "for the satisfaction of candidates as well as of the Board and for general convenience in any future reference..."⁵

A distinctive feature of these qualifying examinations was the role of moderately well educated Board members in the setting and making of examination questions. Thus, in 1874, A.J. Langley offered questions in English Grammar, R. Williams in Arithmetic and Algebra, M.W.T. Drake in Geography, Dr. W. F. Tolmie in History and Literature, Alexander Munro in Spelling and Book-keeping and Edgar Marvin in English Composition. Langley, who came to Victoria from England in 1858 was a successful drug wholesaler and was prominent in business and civic activities. Marvin ran a hardware store and ship chandlery on Wharf Street. Munro, an accountant, was chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. To their collective general knowledge and practical grasp of trade and commerce was added the professional experience of three Board colleagues. Williams held a Cambridge M.A.; Drake, educated at Charterhouse School, was a practicing lawyer and held several elected positions before being named to the Provincial Supreme Court in 1889. Most versatile of all, Tolmie, a renowned surgeon and Hudson's Bay Company trader, had graduated in Medicine from Glasgow University and had competency in botany, biology, zoology, anthropology, geography, Latin and French. Here, then, were men of considerable cultural breadth who, together with the Superintendent, their ex officio chairman, were in direct cultural contact with teachers through the examinations they devised and read.⁶

As for the content of the examinations, the questions rarely probed knowledge of the history and current affairs of British Columbia. Hence, candidates in Geography were asked to locate the islands of Bourbon, Ascension, Socotra, and Chiloe, or the Niger, Irrawaddy, Indus, Rhone, Volga, and Amazon Rivers. They were likewise asked to supply the names of the British West Indies islands with their capitals, the names and capitals of the French possessions and colonies, the departments, rivers, and chief towns of France, the states and territories of the United States, and the countries of Asia. Similarly, those writing History and Literature needed to know something of English, Scottish, and Irish constitutional and economic history, Catholic Emancipation, the Reform Bills, Britain's fourteenth century loss of possessions in France excepting the Channel ports, the Edict of Nantes, the American War of Independence and the War of 1812, early North American colonization, and the union of Upper and Lower Canada, and show knowledge of the works of Shakespeare, Ben Johnson, Milton, Defoe, Pope, Swift, Robert Burns, Robert Nicoll, Macaulay, and Thackeray. Such was the case in 1874. In 1875, one of fourteen questions called for a description of British Columbia's physical features. The 1876 examinations were devoid of any reference to Canada or British Columbia and those of 1877 settled for some knowledge of provincial river systems and sedimentary, organic and igneous rocks. Clearly, an assumed central responsibility of the qualified British Columbia teacher was to keep alive

⁴ First Class A, 80%; First Class B, 70%; Second Class A, 60%; Second Class B, 50%; Third Class A, 40%; Third Class B, 30%. First Class certificates were valid until revoked by the Board of Education; Second Class certificates, for three years; and Third Class certificates, for one year.

⁵ See Third Annual Report, Appendix C, p. 49.

⁶ Specified in the Public Schools Act of 1872. Jessop, of course, was the experienced teacher of the group.

a very broad western tradition reaching back to the ancients. The Board took no chances on popularized localisms.

A third arresting feature of the early examinations was their paradoxical differentiation between men and women candidates. Initially, "gentlemen" were excused the first six questions of Mr. Williams' Arithmetic test -- items requiring only direct manipulation of figures as opposed to setting up problems -- which implied that there was an essential contrast between men's and women's minds. Composition questions also differed. In 1874, men had to write on "Science and Peace" and women, on "Water as an element of beauty in nature." In 1874, men discussed how the Californian and Australian gold rushes influenced civilization and women expressed opinions on any good results which might emerge from agitation for women's rights. The latter may have been a risky question; in 1876, gentlemen wrote on politics and ladies on manners. In 1877, such discrimination disappeared coincidentally with a decline in the proportion of women teaching in the province.⁷

If early certification examinations may be considered as a function of British Columbia teacher education in its pristine state, several generalizations apply. Through controlling examinations, the government exercised direct scrutiny of candidates for certification. The tests themselves show that performance expectations were decidedly content oriented. Although Jessop's practical questions about classroom management and general pedagogy reflected the Ryersonian influence, they were a mere inkling of normal schools in the offing. Meanwhile, the content of questions, apart from their value-free subject matter (simple arithmetic, grammar, book-keeping and the like), drew upon the wider themes of classical antiquity; European, especially British, institutions and culture; North American, particularly eastern, settlement and development; and the global reach of empire beside which British Columbia affairs paled by comparison.⁸

The various papers also presumed that men and women differed in their intellectual makeup and interests, and implied that this stereotypical difference had an important bearing on which sex should teach which grade level of children. Indeed, the notions that women should teach elementary grades and that the curriculum for elementary and secondary school teachers should differ markedly have persisted to this day.

As Superintendent Jessop was quick to point out, legislation was no guarantee of "qualified" teaching in every public school. In fact, rigid observance of the 1872 Act would, he noted, result in the closure of nearly a dozen schools for want of properly certificated teachers. The solution, he believed, was either to import professional teachers from eastern Canada or Britain or to

⁷ According to the annual reports of the Public Schools, there were 17 men and 16 women teachers in the system in 1874. In succeeding years the ratio was as follows: 1875, 29:18; 1876, 37:21; and 1877, 48:23.

⁸ The tests were, of course, in a very real sense, tests of book learning. The books included Collier's Outline of General History, British Empire, and British History, Hodgson's Easy Lessons in Geography, and Campbell's Modern Geography and Atlas. Their orientation was extra-provincial. Texts on British Columbia subjects did not appear for many years.

educate and train resident candidates. Official statistics indicated substantial dependence on the former alternative. Of 33 teachers active in 1874, 15 were English, 6 Scottish, 2 Irish, 2 American, and 8 Canadian. Of the 25 qualified teachers listed in 1874, 7 were English, 3 Scottish, 2 Irish, 1 American and 5 Canadian. (The nationality of the remaining seven was not indicated as they were not actually teaching in 1874.)⁹

Jessop touched upon the second option -- training British Columbians -- in an 1874 reference to a Teachers' Institute which might encourage, among other things, "more uniformity in the methods of teaching."¹⁰ Subsequent Reports told of papers read and discussions held at these government-initiated sessions on arithmetic, grammar, reading, graded and mixed schools, teachers' examinations, the advantages of public over private education, the art of teaching, school law, the golden rule, Indian children, compulsory education, the teachers' life, and sundry related topics.¹¹ For the next two decades, however, teacher education consisted of high school or independent study, government-sponsored conventions, and challenge examinations.

John Jessop was not to initiate a more specific proposal. It is certain, however, that a vision of the ideal approach was never far from his mind. He envisioned making the Victoria and New Westminster high schools into provisional teacher training centres pending establishment of a provincial normal school.¹² Under the Consolidated Public School Act of 1876, the government provided five allowances of one hundred dollars per annum each in aid of teachers in training at high school. Beneficiaries were to be pupils "having a natural aptitude for teaching." They would gain practical experience performing teaching duties in the junior divisions of the school, and, as Jessop advised his superiors, thereby save the government nearly \$1,000. But at best, the Superintendent saw the arrangement as makeshift until such time as "the Province could afford a Normal School . . ."¹³ The model for such an institution was at hand. If references in his later Reports are any measure, the model was to be that Mecca of training institutions, the Toronto Normal School. Until 1901, when the province established its own Normal School, British Columbians had to learn to teach elsewhere or by their own devices.

John Calam

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⁹ Third Annual Report, pp. 23-24 and pp. 57-58.

¹⁰ Third Annual Report, p. 11.

¹¹ Third Annual Report, p. 11; Fourth Annual Report, p. 17; Fifth Annual Report, p. 90; Sixth Annual Report, pp. 10-11.

¹² Third Annual Report, p. 9.

¹³ Sixth Annual Report, p. 11

ONE ROOM SCHOOLS OF FIFTY YEARS AGO

By 1929, a considerable number of one room schools had become well established in many localities surrounding Williams Lake. While each individual school had its own distinct characteristics there were many basic items common to these small but vital cells of education.

In order to be entitled to a school the School Law of those days called for the community to have eight pupils of school age and that the average monthly attendance must not fall below six. School boundaries frequently had to be altered if a one room school was in danger of closing for want of pupils or for some other reason. On the other hand, frequently one room schools had as many as thirty pupils or more.

A suitable size field, often donated by a public spirited resident or sometimes purchased at a ridiculously low figure, became the site of the school. Logs a foot or more in diameter were hewn locally by contract amounting to \$200.00 to \$300.00. These logs were expertly notched and were correctly "chinked" for warmth. The roof was then added and covered usually with cedar shakes or shingles. The correct pitch was necessary to shed the winter snow and repel the storms. Most of the windows were located along the south side to take maximum advantage of the sun. Usually the single door opened onto a lean-to porch which was reached by three or four stairs. The floor, which was close to the ground, was made of sturdy planks.

As many as three well built cast iron legged desks were nailed to heavy wooden runners for ease of moving and cleaning. The floor was well oiled and kept clean by liberal applications of "dust bane" by the teacher, a parent, a neighbour or a senior pupil designated as janitor and who received a small monthly sum for the daily performance of the janitorial duties. A blackboard stretched across the front of the classroom and often extended down the north side. Other furniture included a teacher's desk and chair, a set of book shelves, and a locking cupboard.

A few pictures adorned the walls. If the school had won a physical education award, or a music award, the certificate was framed and displayed in a prominent place. All one room schools received the 1867-1927 Metal Confederation Plaque which was mounted in a prominent place. A bulletin board displayed pupils' work on a rotating basis, announced the seasons and foretold local events of interest.

The schoolroom was heated by a barrel type heater which devoured cordwood rapidly during the winter. Many feet of stove pipes made their way from the heater through an exit in the roof. Coats and hats of the pupils were hung on hooks close to this drum heater. Cocoa or soup in large syrup pails were placed on the heater at recess to heat up for lunch. It was necessary to see that the lids had been loosened or there would be a loud bang as the lid was blown loose by the heat. On dark days the schoolroom was lit by an Aladdin lamp as electricity had not yet reached these rural areas.

On the school ground was a well to provide water for drinking and washing. The barn with its supply of hay housed the horses that were ridden by pupils who lived three to five miles or more away. The Outhouse had a prominent place on the school ground. A good supply of stacked cord wood was readily available for a senior pupil to carry into the schoolroom each day as required.

A meagre supply of prescribed text books were available for reuse over several years. A Register of Pupils, Monthly Report Forms, Pupil Reports, and Pupil Progress Forms were all in constant use.

Teachers of these one room schools boarded with a local family for approximately \$25.00 to \$30.00 per month. The recognized minimum annual salary was \$780.00 per annum less the Jones Tax.¹ Most pioneer teachers had received their training either at the Vancouver Normal or the Victoria Normal and were expected to upgrade their Second or First Class Certificates by attending summer school each July and August. Usually a Provincial School Inspector visited each school once during the fall term and once during the spring term. Three of the local residents served as School Trustees. Occasionally the Department of Education appointed an Official Trustee.

Teachers were expected to teach Grades One to Nine. All Eighth Grade Pupils had to be prepared for Departmental Examinations and were expected to make at least sixty per cent. Beyond Grade Nine pupils often went to board in Williams Lake to complete their High School Education.

The traditional Christmas Concert was held in the schoolroom each year with every pupil participating. The concert was usually followed by a dance. The music was generally provided by one or two fiddlers of local renown with pupils and parents having a most enjoyable evening.

For their Christmas Holidays, Easter Holidays, and Summer Holidays the teachers of the Cariboo schools travelled to their homes at the Coast by P.G.E. Railway (Pacific Great Eastern) (now B.C. Railway) or by I.T. (Interior Transportation) Stage which was a large car of the late twenties or early thirties operated by the well known pioneer Clarence Stevenson. This stage made regular trips between Quesnel, Williams Lake and Ashcroft. The journey to and from the Coast was completed by C.P.R. train.

Since the Cariboo Highway was not paved in those days travel at Easter had to be made at night when the mud road was relatively frozen. The trip at Christmas was usually made over a snow-covered road. These trips were most enjoyable and usually ended by the singing of the "End of a Perfect Day."

The school frequently served as a meeting place and community centre. On Sundays ministers of almost every denomination would upon request hold a service. Travelling Sunday School vans would visit the schools on a regular basis May through September.

In 1945 Dr. Maxwell Cameron organized B.C. into a number of large school districts which began to bring about the end of the large number of one room schools that had surrounded Williams Lake. Today a fleet of modern school buses can transport many pupils of all ages to and from Williams Lake over modern paved roads from the hinterlands that were once served by the fast disappearing one room schools.

T. D. Sale

Mr. Sale was a teacher at 100 Mile House in 1935 and 1936 and at Springhouse: 1937, 1938 and 1939.

¹ The Jones Tax was a one per cent provincial income tax introduced by Finance Minister J. W. Jones in 1931.

THE HOPE-NICOLA TRAIL, 1875-1913

A principal task of the Hudson's Bay Company and subsequent colonial and provincial governments was to develop trade routes through the Coast and Cascade mountains to the interior of British Columbia. The Coquihalla valley, and especially its lower end, were explored many times for trail and rail.

The first record is by A.C. Anderson, on 31 May 1846,¹ as he searched for a route to Kamloops for the Hudson's Bay Company. From the Fraser river, his Indian guides led him over the broad divide east of KawKawa Lake to a point about five miles up the Coquihalla, just above the lower canyon, near the future site of Othello station on the Kettle Valley Railway. They crossed the Coquihalla on "driftwood, 200 yards below the usual ford" and went a short distance downstream before turning southeast up the "N'Calawnm", now the Nicolum. Here Anderson was 100 years in advance of highway 3, the "Hope-Princeton", which was opened to through traffic in 1949. This is also the point where the new four lane Coquihalla highway will leave the Hope-Princeton highway in the 1980's.

In 1848, Henry Peers, hoping to improve on the HBC's Kequeloose route from Fort Yale to Kamloops, followed Anderson's track over the KawKawa divide to the Coquihalla. However, instead of taking the first valley to the east, he took the second (now Peers creek) and developed the difficult Manson Mountain brigade trail to Kamloops and Colville. One wonders if Peers had intended to follow Anderson's easier Nicolum route, but mistakenly turned up the Coquihalla, rather than down, before going east.

Trail construction was pushed 18 miles further up the Coquihalla valley in 1859 when the trail to Boston Bar was built by the citizens of Hope, aided by the Royal Engineers.²

In September of the same year, Lt. H.S. Palmer made his important journey to Fort Colville over the 1849 Manson Mountain brigade trail, and noted the Boston Bar trail continuing up the Coquihalla.³ Palmer's map accompanying his report, and several other maps of this period, show the modern Sowaqua river as the source of the Coquihalla. This has led to some misleading statements that brigade trails went through Coquihalla pass.

¹ A.C. Anderson, Journals and MS "History of the Northwest Coast", rough type-written transcript in PABC, Add MSS 559, v.3. and 4. Anderson's sketch map "An approximate sketch of the route upon an enlarged scale ... showing Blackeye's trail" PABC, CM A357 (negative photostat).

² R.C. Harris, "The Boston Bar Trail, 1859-60," B.C. Historical News. February, 1979.

³ "Report on the Country between Fort Hope on the Fraser and Fort Colville on the Columbia River, by Lieutenant H. Spencer Palmer, Royal Engineers." Palmer diverged from the Boston Bar trail 17 September 1859, and travelled up Peers Creek on the Hudson's Bay Company's Manson Mountain brigade trail, opened 1849.

There are two references⁴ in 1861 to an exploration to the summit of the Coquihalla by a Mr. Craigie, but his report and pencil sketch have not survived. Walter Moberly proposed "a road from Hope to Williams Lake via Lake Nicola" early in February 1862.

The definitive report of colonial days was made by Sapper James Turnbull of the Royal Engineers, who was well qualified for this duty, having already located and sketched most of the new pack trail and waggon road in the Fraser Canyon. He explored the "defiles of the Coquihalla" in April and May 1862 rather early in the season, but he noted fourteen major avalanche tracks, and that a great deal of rock work would be required. In his report,⁵ dated "Camp New Westminster May 1862" he recommends against building a trail or waggon road through the upper Coquihalla canyon. The report is accompanied by his one inch to one mile sketch map,⁶ drawn in two sections.

The last Royal Engineers⁷ map of southwest British Columbia, published September 1863, and Launder's unfinished sectional 10 mile map,⁸ ca. 1865, for the Lands and Works Department, do not show any trail up the Coquihalla above the mouth of Boston Bar creek. It was not until 1875 that trail construction resumed up the Coquihalla, in response to cattle ranchers demands for access to the coast market. Cattle ranching on the interior grasslands became established as a consequence of the Cariboo gold rush. New markets were needed as the gold rush subsided.

Thus, in 1874, ninety-one settlers in Kamloops, Okanagan and Nicola Valley petitioned⁹ Robert Beaven, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works (forerunner of our present Ministry of Transportation and Highways, and several other ministries) for a more direct route to the coast. If the Coquihalla route could be opened, its length would be only 80 miles, about 44 miles shorter than the old route via Princeton (but it would run 41 miles without feed, and would be closed longer in winter).

⁴ O'Reilly to Young, 17 October 1861, PABC, Colonial Correspondence, F1280
Parsons to Breckenridge, 29 November 1861, PABC, CAB 30.6 J1

⁵ Turnbull to Moody, PABC, Colonial Correspondence, F1783

⁶ Surveyor General (B.C.) The old plans have been renumbered. The present identity is 1 and 1A T1 Old Maps.

⁷ A copy of this map was received by the Royal Geographical Society, London, England, 4 November 1867, and is filed there as D52. It is two sheets joined, the upper is sheet 5. The scale is 20 miles to 1 inch, and the map extends 119° to 125° W, and 48° to 53° 50' N.

⁸ This map was the basis of the 1871 "Trutch" map, drawn by Launder. The Surveyor General (B.C.) has a few sheets. A complete set of seven sheets is held by the Royal Geographical Society, London, England; their D56, (received 6 May 1867).

⁹ B. C., Sessional Papers, 1874, p. 326-27.

Later the same year, the Report of Public Works¹⁰ gives a definitive survey of the route, made by George Landvoigt of Hope. He details,¹¹ chain by chain,¹² the work required to build the cattle trail from Hope to its junction with the Nicola Valley road (where the village of Merritt now stands).

Construction of the trail was let as three contracts in the summer of 1875,¹³ each signed by the contractor and Robert Beaven. The length of each contract was roughly matched to the anticipated difficulties of construction:

SECTION 1, 18.5 miles: John Gordon Todd (\$8,800)

From mile 4½ on the Similkameen road (parallel to, and just below, modern highway 3) to the mouth of Boston Bar creek, where the Boston Bar trail left the Coquihalla. 23 culverts and 15 bridges, all 21 feet wide, were required, the largest being the 210 foot crossing of the Coquihalla at the natural bridge (a variation from Landvoigt's recommendation of reusing the old HBC/Boston Bar trail bridge site, closer to Hope). The first 4 miles of Section 1 were new construction.

SECTION 2, 14 miles: John Gordon Todd (\$11,850)

From the Boston Bar trail turnoff to the summit of Coquihalla Pass, all new construction. 37 bridges and 41 culverts were needed.

SECTION 3, 47.5 miles: Hayward and Jenkinson (\$5,930)

From the Coquihalla summit down the full length of the Coldwater valley to the Nicola Valley road. The first part was new construction; from Mile 52½ to the end of contract at Mile 80 the HBC 1848 Kequeloose trail from Yale to Kamloops was reused. 11 bridges and 29 culverts were specified.

Thus, the initial cost of opening the Hope Nicola trail was bid as \$26,580, a small fraction of the current estimate of \$265,000,000 for the four lane Coquihalla highway now under construction.

The 1875 Public Works Report shows the trail as complete, except for part of Section 2. This was finished in 1876 by James McIntosh, who took over Todd's contract. Following unusually high spring freshets, McIntosh also made some repairs to Section 3, and heavy repairs, totalling \$1439, to Section 1. Eleven of the fifteen bridges had to be replaced. At last, the government was "pleased to state large bands of cattle have been brought through from the Nicola country during the past season."

¹⁰ B. C., Sessional Papers, 1874, p. 330-31

¹¹ B. C., Sessional Papers, 1874, p. 334-42

¹² A "chain" is 66 feet. There are 80 chains in a statute mile

¹³ B. C. Sessional Papers, 1875.

p. 144, 145 gives amounts tendered by all bidders

p. 451, 452 details work done, and notes the trail would have been complete but for the early winter.

The contract documents are filed in PABC, 76-G-17, file 9-33.

The year 1877 saw a further \$1100 spent on opening and repairing the trail for the season. The expense for 1878 was "rather heavy, amounting to some \$1,500." Parties were sent from Hope and Nicola towards the summit early in May, to open the trail as early as possible in the spring. Annual snowfalls over 65 feet deep were recorded at the summit in some years.¹⁴

Dr. G.M. Dawson of the Geological Survey of Canada gave an independent report on the trail in 1877. "A good trail has been constructed, and is maintained by the Government of British Columbia, from the Nicola Valley, by the Coldwater and Coquihalla Rivers to Hope, on the lower Fraser, a total distance of about 75 miles. This route is that by which most of the cattle exported from the interior of the Province reach the coast."¹⁵

Dawson also furnished a detailed description of the country along the trail, heading south. He camped at the Coquihalla summit on 8 June, and noted the absence of feed and the presence of snow slides, and later, the Coquihalla bridge: "Near the mouth of the Nicoluma, the trail crosses the united streams at a picturesque canyon by a good bridge, ..." ¹⁶

There was more heavy maintenance expense in 1879, after which the trail settled into routine middle age, with only regular minor maintenance recorded. It was usually opened to traffic by June of each year.

Some time after 1887 the natural bridge section of the trail was abandoned and the start of the trail reverted to the original HBC route past Kawkawa lake pioneered by Anderson in 1846, recommended by Landvoigt in 1874 and used today by the Othello road. This was by no means a trouble free route as the Coquihalla bridge washed out frequently, but it was the only way on which suitable grades and width for a waggon road could be developed.

Use of the trail by cattle diminished when the CPR main line started operating down the Thompson and Fraser valleys in 1884.¹⁷ It was then easier to drive cattle down the Nicola Valley road to the main line at Spences Bridge. By 1889, the trail "was only used for driving over loose horses."

¹⁴ For example:

- 1879 p. 270 "the Hope Nicola trail has been kept in fair condition"
- 1884 p. 263 routine repairs: "the trail cleared five feet wide the whole distance"
- 1887 p. 157 "September - Opened trail, via the natural bridge, 5 miles from Hope; repaired bridges, cribbing and corduroy; removed windfalls, slides, etc."
- 1893 p. 837 "Cut out fallen timber, repaired corduroy, cleaned slides and loose rock, maintained in passable condition during the season"

¹⁵ Geological Survey of Canada, Report of Progress, 1877, p. 38B-41B

¹⁶ Geological Survey of Canada, Report of Progress, 1877, p. 41B

¹⁷ Inland Sentinel, 14 February 1884.

Mining developments about 1900 at Summit City on the Tulameen/Coquihalla divide ensured the lower part of the trail was kept open from Hope as far as Mile 16, the mouth of Dewdney Creek. A good bridge was built from the Nicola trail across the Coquihalla for the Summit City trail up Dewdney creek in 1904.¹⁸ Later, as mining and logging development worked up the Coquihalla from Hope, the Hope Nicola trail was converted, in stages, to a waggon road via Kawkawa Lake.

The railway building era led to several more explorations¹⁹ of the Coldwater/Coquihalla route, culminating in the laying of track "through the defiles," (and the destruction of the Hope Nicola trail), by the Kettle Valley Railway between 1913 and 1916.

After difficult battles with rock and snow, the Kettle Valley Railway officially opened their Coquihalla line on 31 July 1916. The Great Northern, who had retained running rights through their subsidiary the Victoria, Vancouver and Eastern Railway and Navigation Company (VV and E), ran one perfunctory train only on 27 September 1916.

The epitaph for the Hope Nicola trail was written by Charles Camsell²⁰ of the Geological Survey of Canada in 1919: "... over 40 years ago only a very poor pack trail existed ... and in the building of the (Kettle Valley) railway this trail was destroyed and has not been rebuilt. There is, therefore, at this time, no means of travel along the valley except by rail."

The tracks were washed out in several places, 23 November 1959,²¹ and the line never reopened, due to heavy maintenance costs and minimal revenues. For many years the line had not been kept open in winter.

A through tote road, incorporating parts of the Hope Nicola trail and later, sections of the abandoned KVR grade, was built in the 1950's by the Trans Mountain Oil pipe Line Company for installing and servicing their pipeline.

In the 1960's, West Coast Transmission built their natural gas line down the Coquihalla but avoided the difficult upper canyon condemned by Sapper Turnbull by staying above it on the west side, going from the upper Coldwater to the upper Boston Bar Creek valley, which it followed back to the Coquihalla. The same route will be used by the new four lane Coquihalla highway.

There are several accessible remnants of the Hope Nicola trail up the Coquihalla. The finest runs from the natural bridge to the Kawkawa/Othello divide. Starting from Mile 4½ on the Similkameen waggon road the faint trace of the trail leads down west to cross 4½ Mile creek. A few rotting bridge stringers lie in the creek. The trail continues down a few yards before fading out in the steep sandy gravel sidehill leading round to the natural bridge, a rocky sub-canyon in the main Coquihalla canyon, where the gap between the overhanging rock

¹⁸ B. C. Sessional Papers, Minister of Mines Report, 1904, p. H 185.

¹⁹ Report of Progress, CPR Surveys, 1874, p. 147-149. B.C. Sessional Papers, 1902 notes several of the surveys: p. 801-819.

²⁰ Geological Survey of Canada, Summary Report, 1919, p. 318.

²¹ Barrie Sanford, McCulloch's Wonder, (1977) p. 238.

is less than 10 feet. Here the trail crossed about 30 feet above the river on a timber bridge 12 feet wide and 210 feet long.²² Until 1979, one rotting timber still spanned the gap; now the only relics are embedded anchor bolts which held the sills to the rock on the south side.

Beyond the bridge, the trail is buried under railway construction and does not show again until about a quarter mile west, where it reappears above the railway cut. From here, the trail is intact for 1 3/4 miles, leading over the saddle between Lt. Palmer's "two conical hills." The contract for the construction of this piece of trail called for 100 chains (1 1/4 miles) of "walling, cribbing and blasting." Several good sections of walling remain. The trail joins the HBC/Boston Bar trail on the broad Kawkawa divide, whence it is lost under subsequent developments.

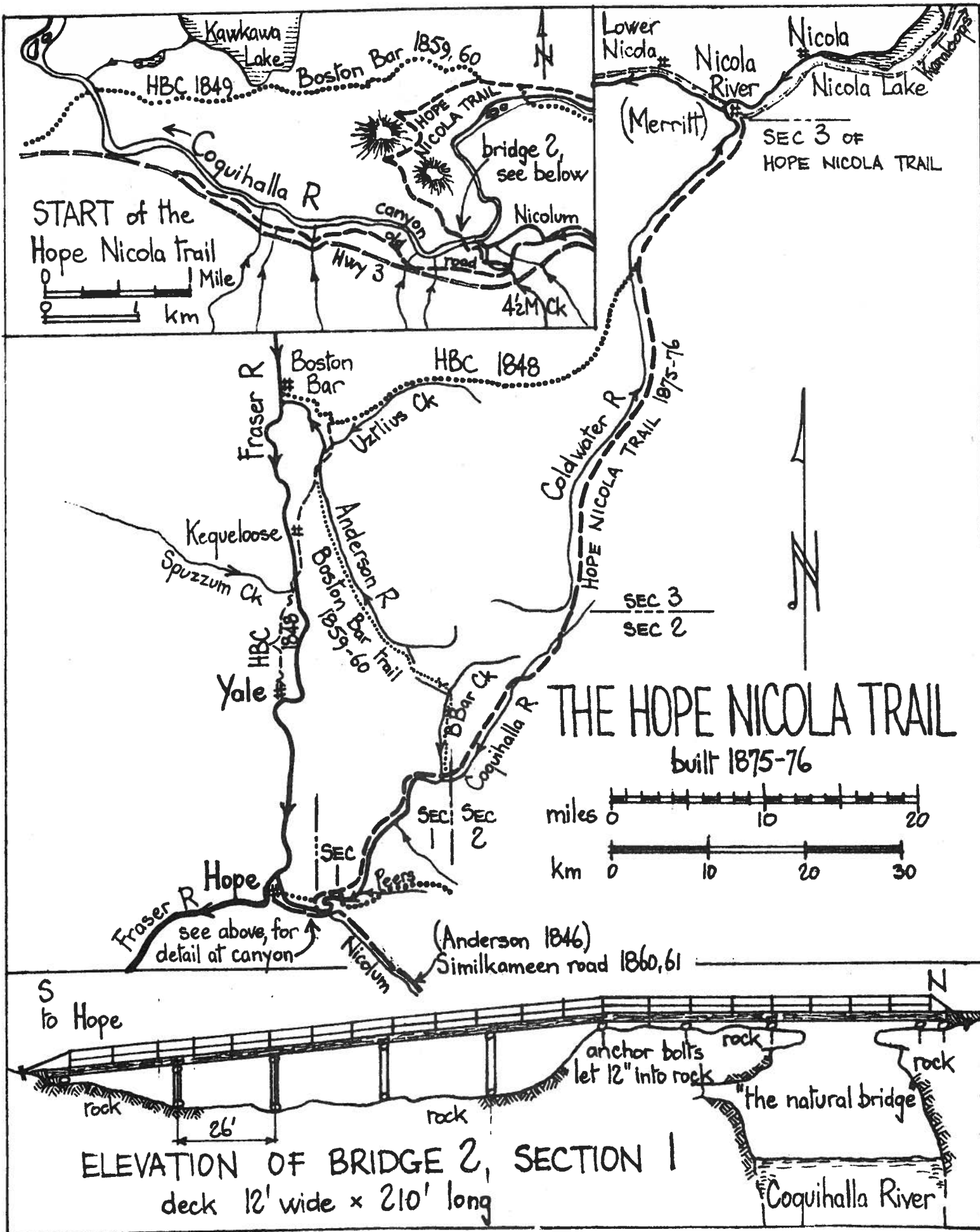
The Kawkawa divide is of geological interest, being a dam of coarse glacial gravels which diverted the Coquihalla to the south, where it cut the present box canyon. There are several large, but dry, kettles in the divide, left by great ice blocks stranded in the gravel.

The next substantial remnant of the trail will be found well up in the upper canyon of the Coquihalla. Here, a 50 yard length of trail is supported by rock walling on the east bank, just beyond a rock spur. At this point, the tote road crosses the Coquihalla for the last time, on a Bailey bridge to the west bank.

And thus, the 38 year life of the Hope Nicola cattle trail began and ended.

R. C. Harris

²² See the illustration with this article, and references 11, 13.



BOOK REVIEWS

SCHOOLING AND SOCIETY IN 20TH CENTURY BRITISH COLUMBIA. Ed. by J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1980. Pp. 191 \$11.25 (paper).

Schooling and Society is a well-produced collection of six essays based on masters' and doctoral research done at the University of British Columbia. The topics of these essays range quite widely over the history of schooling in the province. Timothy A. Dunn addresses the public school expansion of 1900-1929 while David C. Jones relates educational thought to the ideology of land settlement during the same period. The careers of G.M. Weir and H.B. King are reconsidered by Jean Mann who raises questions about the nature of progressivism and its meaning for schooling in B.C. between the Wars. Three other essays focus on specific topics: Diane L. Matters examines the Boys' Industrial School; Jean Barman analyses the Vernon Preparatory School; and Gillian Weiss explores the debates surrounding the establishment of kindergartens in various areas of the province. In addition to these essays, the volume includes a very useful bibliography prepared by Frances M. Woodward and a stimulating introductory essay by J. Donald Wilson.

The essays are generally written with a good deal of pioneering fervour and the tone of the collection is set by Wilson's introduction. Wilson sees a developmental process at work in the recent writing of Canadian educational history. Over the past fifteen years, Wilson perceives a three-stage progression in which the traditional perspectives of those such as F. Henry Johnson were first replaced by Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Phillippe Audet and then by the radical revisionism of Michael Katz. The Schooling and Society essays generally reflect the Katz influence and some authors attempt to advance this context, most notably Jones' emphasis on the "myth of the land". However, none of the essays offers any critique of sources or the kind of systematic analysis germane to recent social historical writing. The general strength of the collection is in its contribution to the history of ideas. All the essays attempt to establish a broader theoretical context for these ideas and it is this fact which supports the claim of innovation.

The one unfortunate aspect of the otherwise exceedingly helpful introduction is Wilson's surprising underestimation of the role which educational historians have played in advancing "mainstream" historical thought during the past fifteen years. Wilson suggests that, in recent years, educational historians have been struggling to catch-up with other Canadian scholars. In fact, it was educational historians who were often responsible for drawing attention to the importance of topics such as the history of ethnicity, labour and women and, thereby, it was they who breathed new life into a sometimes moribund discipline. It is simply not accurate to suggest that educational historians had to learn theory and methodology from their mainstream counterparts; rather, the reverse was generally true. Similarly, Wilson seriously downplays the impact which research on the educational history of Canada has had internationally and he is unnecessarily apologetic about accomplishments to date. While Schooling and Society is in many ways only a tentative first step in terms of the educational history of B.C., its general focus and analyses immediately carry it near the forefront of current historical thinking about the province. The volume should be used both in introductory and upper level university courses and will undoubtedly also attract a more general readership.

Chad Gaffield, a graduate of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, teaches Canadian social history at the University of Victoria.

CALEDONIA: 100 YEARS AHEAD. Hugh McCullum and Karmel Taylor McCullum. The Anglican Book Centre, Toronto 1979. 154 pp. illus. \$10.00.

"Write us history in the present tense; . . . say something to the wider church," was the task presented to the McCullums by the Diocese of Caledonia as it sought to celebrate its first one hundred years. The choice of authors, not surprisingly, determined the kind of diocesan history which has emerged.

The McCullums are journalists, Christians and native rights activists--the authors of a highly successful and useful account of native land rights issues across Canada, This Land is Not For Sale, and the less well known Moratorium dealing with the issues raised by the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline proposals. Their sympathies for native peoples are vigorously evident whilst their work has always been within the framework of 'established' Christian institutions. They are not historians and their mission was not to write history.

They did, however, attempt to present an historical perspective to the contemporary issues facing Anglicans in northern B. C. As memorialists they also offer the usual 'snapshots' from the North Pacific, the biographies of ecclesiastical dignitaries and the numerous tales of physical courage and sheer breathtaking "gall" which characterised the nineteenth century missionaries in Caledonia as elsewhere. Nor have they shied away from the dissensions which have so dramatically and permanently divided the Anglican Church in British Columbia; although the cantankerous William Duncan is perhaps treated more sympathetically than he would have been by orthodox Anglican recorders.

The pedant would be easily satisfied with picking at the book's minor errors such as Angelina (Angela) Burdett-Coutts (p. 29), and confusing references to Venn's "Church Native" Policy, but perhaps would be surprised at the McCullum's interest in the irrelevant detail of those old favourites -- "arrival of first white woman and birth of first white child." More significant from an historical and cultural point of view are the careless statements that the "fur trade was virtually concluded by 1850" (p. 25) or that the "potlatch was primarily a means of redistribution of wealth" (p. 76). And, in spite of a conscious and largely successful effort to avoid boosterism and self-congratulation, the odd reference to the "mighty Fraser" (p. 108) and the rich magnificent valleys does slip in and indeed seems an inescapable part of any writing in British Columbia history.

Such critiques are, however, largely unimportant for this is "history as backdrop" or, more kindly, "as prelude." The focus of the study is clearly the mid-twentieth century and in particular is an attempt to present the problems of the church in Caledonia as part of a broader perspective. The emergence of the Nishga from a dependent relationship within the colonial framework of the church is seen as part of a world wide movement which the church has faced elsewhere. The decline of church membership, the difficulties of securing parish staff, paying salaries and supplying physical facilities are ones common to the Anglican Church around the world. The particular challenges of twentieth century Caledonia--the roller coaster economy, a continuing tension between native and European, sparse settlement, boom towns and ghost towns and a minimum of educational and cultural institutions are echoed in other frontier dioceses across Canada.

Caledonia's response has been unusual and does indeed have something to say to the wider church, although the highly personal style of Caledonia's missionaries has sometimes obscured the utility of their goals and methods. From

Duncan and his model Metlakatla where Christianity and Tsimshian values shared an uneasy bed, to the pivotal role which the native version of the Church Army has played in some parishes (sometimes to the dismay of the more orthodox churchmen), to the recent adoption of the present Anglo-Catholic clergy into Nishga families, and the move to a wider concept of ministry with the ordination of men and women with little theological training but selected by their respective communities as worthy of the pastorate, the Church in New Caledonia has sought accommodation with a confident and assertive indigenous people and culture.

That the Tsimshian have retained their sense of self worth and their economic and political strength is due in part to the flexibility and willingness to experiment that the Anglican Church has often demonstrated in this northern diocese. It is also due to the unusual participation of clergy and native laity in political affairs, from Duncan's earliest moves to raise the issue of aboriginal land rights to the recent Church support for the Nishga land settlement.

The dual image of, on the one hand, the Tsimshian leader in the legislature, in Trade Union and political affairs, and on the other hand, of Caledonia's European priests dressed in the dramatic blue and red decorated stroud blankets summarises the experience of the first century. Herein lies the message of Caledonia for the wider church.

Jean Friesen, the biographer of William Duncan, teaches history at the University of Manitoba.

RAILWAY STATIONS OF WESTERN CANADA. J. Edward Martin. White Rock: Studio E. Martin, 1980. Pp. x, 118, illus., no price given.

The publication of J. Edward Martin's Railway Stations of Western Canada is indicative of a growing interest in that most Canadian of buildings, the railway station. Charles Bohi's Canadian National's Western Depots (1977) is the only other comprehensive text on western Canadian stations; thus, Martin's book is a welcome addition.

Martin, whose interest in railways is lifelong, has sought here to provide an overall view of railway station architecture from the early days of western Canada to the present. He divides his topic in three phases: 1875-1900, 1900-1940, and from 1940 to the present. The book's clear organization makes the chronological development of railway station architecture easily understood. Martin traces station architecture from the initial portable type (usually a box car) through the traditional to the international style. Following a historical introduction, the stations are described by company. The names of many architects and many fine interior photographs and floor plans are included. Unfortunately, a map of railway lines showing station locations is absent. The photographic illustrations are excellent with a few minor exceptions. For example, the Vernon, B. C. station would have been better presented with pictures of the front and rear facades showing its tower. Moreover, while it is interesting to see stations as shown here in original form, a contemporary photograph of those buildings still extant would have enhanced the presentation. The station at Melville, Saskatchewan, exemplifies this lack. The international style as represented in the present station at Cranbrook, B. C. would have been an interesting comparison with its predecessor. Although Martin mentions "station gardens and the spelling out of station names in whitewashed stones," no photograph illustrates

this. However, these omissions are relatively minor considerations.

Although the text basically deals with Western Canadian stations, Martin draws interesting parallels with station construction in other areas. For example, he compares the Grand Trunk Pacific's eaves brackets in Western Canada with the Grand Trunk's mid-nineteenth century stations in Ontario. The treatment of the Prairie railway stations is thorough and many standard station plans are included. The major termini such as Winnipeg and Vancouver are also well examined. British Columbia railway stations, generally, are less well covered than their Prairie counterparts. For example, no mention is made of the Great Northern (now Burlington Northern) stations at White Rock and Salmo. A minor omission is the Esquimalt and Nanaimo extension to Courtenay in 1914 and the station there. The Castlegar, B.C. station, which reflects a strong north German architectural influence as seen in its recessed dormers, should have been considered. Although their sheer numbers prevented the inclusion of all stations, more examples reflecting regional variants might have been included. Nevertheless, Martin's study will appeal to those interested in railroad architecture. A detailed index and bibliography are provided for those who wish to pursue the subject further.

Ian Baird, a Fine Arts student and librarian at the University of Victoria, is currently working on a book on British Columbia railway stations.

THE SALISH PEOPLE: THE LOCAL CONTRIBUTION OF CHARLES HILL-TOUT, 4 Vols. Ralph Maud, editor. Vancouver: Talon Books, 1978. Vol. I, Pp 167, illus., maps; Vol. II, Pp. 163, illus., maps; Vol. III, Pp. 165, illus., maps; Vol. IV, Pp. 181, illus., maps, \$6.95 each volume.

By compiling the scattered ethnographic field reports of Charles Hill-Tout in a four volume series, editor Ralph Maud provides a useful set of resource materials on the Salish people of British Columbia, including the Thompson and Okanagan (Vol. I), the Squamish and Lillooet (Vol. II), the mainland Halkomelem (Vol. III), and the Sechelt and South Eastern Vancouver Island Lekwungen (Songhees) and Cowichan (Vol. IV).

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of each volume is Maud's introductory remarks on Hill-Tout as "pioneer anthropologist." His discussion of Boas' lack of interest in Hill-Tout's work is not belaboured but does permit a sympathetic view of Hill-Tout's rather lonely efforts in the budding science of anthropology. In Volume II, the description of Hill-Tout's method of translating Salish myths into "stately Victorian prose, where scientific objectivity combines with lofty sentiment to ennoble his subject matter" is somewhat at odds with Maud's following statement that "we are attracted inside a story, and learn the dimensions of its world from the inside." Undoubtedly, Boas, had he bothered to read Hill-Tout's translations, would have disagreed. Boas' own meticulous and often wearisome collection of myths in the native language with only a perfunctory transliteration was also an attempt to get inside the storyteller's world, but with as little interference from English as possible. Undoubtedly, the aims of the two ethnographers differed markedly. Boas' objective was to avoid ethnocentric bias at all costs, including the cost of interesting the general reading public. Hill-Tout, on the other hand, according to Maud, was concerned chiefly with collecting Indian stories that would appeal to a non-scientific, if well-educated, English-speaking audience.

With this understanding of Hill-Tout's primary aim, both the ethnographic data, covering such topics as place names, social organization, life cycle customs, potlatching, and warfare, and the translation of Salish myths that follow each ethnography can best be appreciated for their interest to teachers, high school students, and others who wish to acquire general information about the Salish peoples.

This reviewer's only real quarrel with the editor concerns the inclusion, in Volume IV, of some of Hill-Tout's correspondence with Boas, I.W. Powell, and others, a personal account of his dabblings with seances and spirit mediums, a review of Boas' second report on the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, a rather outdated and relatively inconsequential article on the origins of totemism among the native people of British Columbia, and an assortment of Haida stories and beliefs. Since the Haida material, as Maud acknowledges, is taken second-hand from notes published by Harrison in *Ancient Warriors of the North Pacific*, contains little more than a page of previously unpublished Haida songs, and is unrelated to the series' focus on Salish peoples, one wonders if the first 92 pages were not added simply to flesh out a scanty fourth volume. Given the total cost of the four volumes, a more economical plan might have been to produce only three volumes, with Hill-Tout's correspondence included in Volume I and the ethnographies and myths on the Sechelt and South-eastern Vancouver Island cultures included in Volume III, thereby deleting altogether the remainder, which adds little to an otherwise worthwhile collection of Hill-Tout's research.

Marjorie Mitchell teaches Anthropology at Camosun College, Victoria.

THE COURT HOUSE OF NEW WESTMINSTER. L.B. Chambers. New Westminster: Heritage Preservation Foundation of New Westminster and the B.C. Heritage Trust, 1979. Pp. 77, illus., \$5.00.

The Heritage Preservation Foundation of New Westminster deserves the thanks of British Columbia historians for producing The Court House of New Westminister. This compilation of information about the courthouse architecture and history is valuable both as a proposal for preservation and as a source book for local history.

In the first chapters Mrs. Chambers sketches the city's early history as background to the historical importance of the courthouse and its designer. From its birth in gold rush days, the city of New Westminister was a centre for the local judiciary but not until 1891 did the lobbying of her citizens for a proper court building cause the provincial government to commission George William Grant to design one. Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie opened the Victorian Romanesque edifice at the Spring, 1891 assizes. Although the 1898 city fire gutted the building, Grant restored it the following year using the original walls and the same general plan. Today, it is classed as one of his "most imposing achievements," and it is "the only major Court House left on the mainland in which Chief Justice Begbie ever passed judgment." It "has stood in the city of 88 years", and there the residents have "met and made up the fabric of British Columbia's history."

This heritage proposal is fairly well supported by the description of Court House construction and function accompanied by good reproductions of photographs and original documents. The author also surveys Grant's career and notes some of his other local works.

Students of local history will be more interested in Mrs. Chambers discussion of the social history of New Westminster in chapters on "The Judge", Begbie; and those he judged. In ten pages Mrs. Chambers can only hint at Begbie's long, complex relationship with New Westminster's newspaper editors and its citizens. She skims over Begbie's differences with John Robson, editor of the British Columbian in 1862 regarding the Cottonwood scandal and with the same newspaper in 1891 on the Greer case. In both instances the populace supported the press not the judge. Space limitations also prevented the citation of more trials of Indians 'chicken oaths' by Chinese, and performances by prostitutes from brothels of 'the swamp.' Students will be intrigued by the latter evidence regarding the underside of Victorian New Westminster and the possibilities for historical research in court records.

The extant works on New Westminster history rarely mention such salacious themes and do not seem to have inspired much other research on British Columbia's first city. Most recent British Columbia history has focussed on New Westminster's outer harbour at Burrard Inlet. It is good to see the city back on the historical map, and even better to note local historians raising questions of race, class, and sex.

There are, however, some disappointing aspects to The Court House of New Westminster. It lacks even a timeline of New Westminster history after 1873. Developments in the courts need to be set in the context of the community's growth. A map of the city and district showing 'the swamp' in relation to commercial and residential areas would be helpful. Furthermore, referring to the British Columbian as the Columbian, calling Charles Wilson an American, and including only a casual source list detract from the purpose and value of the book.

Jacqueline Gresko, an active member of the B.C.H.A., teaches history at Douglas College.

HISTORICAL PORTRAITS OF TRAIL. Written and edited by Jamie Forbes. Trail: Trail City Archives, 1980. P. 93, illus. \$5.95 paper. (Available from the Trail City Archives, 1394 Pine Avenue, Trail, B.C. V1R 4E6)

This is a timely volume--long overdue in a period when so many towns and cities have been the subject of pamphlets and brochures. Somehow Trail has been over-shadowed by the large industrial complex to which it owes its existence. It is all too easy to dismiss such a place as just a "Company Town" without an identity of its own, but now Jamie Forbes has presented a portrait of the historical fabric of the town, its ethnic heritage, its business and social life and the individuals who were its leaders.

The story is told by photographs arranged in casual grouping with brief explanatory captions and occasional longer accounts carrying the sequence of events. After a brief mention of the Lake Indians who lived along the Columbia River, the Hudson's Bay post of Fort Shepherd and the Dewdney Trail, the author details the rather unusual birth of the town as the site for a smelter treating copper-gold ores from the Rossland mines. Then follow pictures of its growth and development--street scenes, celebrations, methods of transportation, its hotels, churches, schools, bank and hospital buildings. There are photographs showing people at play, theatre groups, bands and orchestras, famous hockey and curling teams of early years, baseball players and skiers. Neighboring Tadanac, East Trail and Warfield suburbs and dramatic photos of disastrous floods of the Columbia River are shown. Choice and arrangement of photographs has been done with imagination but the reproduction of some panoramic views is blurred and indistinct.

A brief outline of the B.C. Smelting and Refining Co., the Canadian Smelting Works and early days of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd. is included with pictures of plants and staff. I would offer a few minor criticisms. A more accurate caption for photograph No. 94 would be: "The O'Hara furnaces were used to roast low grade copper matte in order to drive off some of their sulphur content so that on re-smelting in the blast furnace the iron could be slagged off and the copper content upgraded for shipment."

The date for picture No. 108 should probably be 1925, while in No. 103 the St. Eugene tailings which were re-treated in 1925 were taken from Moyie Lake where they had been originally dumped.

All told, Historical Portraits of Trail is a worthwhile attractive volume, easy to read and easy to peruse. Although disclaiming any intention of presenting a detailed history editor Forbes has offered a wide selection of the interests of a town important in the economic life of British Columbia.

Elsie Turnbull is the author of the recently published volume, Trail Between Two Wars.

GOD'S GALLOPING GIRL: THE PEACE RIVER DIARIES OF MONICA STORRS, 1929-1931.
Edited with an introduction by W. L. Morton. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1979. Pp. xlix, 307, illus.

God's Galloping Girl is the third volume in the promising series, Recollections of the Pioneers of British Columbia. While previous volumes have provided considerable insight into the early history of Victoria and the interior region of the Okanagan, this volume records the experience of a woman on a more remote frontier--the B.C. section of the Peace River country. When Monica Storrs first went to the district around Fort St. John in 1929, pioneering was still proceeding in this, the last agricultural region of the province to be settled.

This Englishwoman of 'exquisite but sturdy refinement' did not go to the Peace to homestead; she went as a missionary, having felt the call to carry both the cultural and religious values of the Church of England to this distant frontier. The experiences of her first ten years on the Peace were recorded with charm and humour in the form of lengthy diaries which were sent to England for the edification of friends and supporters of mission work. The first two years, which are printed here in full, are essentially a chronicle of progress--both personal and communal.

As the 41-year-old daughter of an Anglican clergyman, Miss Storrs initially found much about her new environment that was disheartening, if not shocking. She described Fort St. John as "a perfectly hideous scattered dump of about a dozen wooden shanties"; there was no hospital, the nearest sober dentist was 150 miles away, and worse still there were no churches, the people showing little sign of any interest in things spiritual. Yet Storrs plunged resolutely into her work; she set up Sunday schools and adult services in the few local schools and organized enthusiastic little troops of Girl Guides and Boy Scouts. These activities, and her visiting of families far and wide, took her hundreds of miles by horseback, foot and car. Her dauntless forays into the bush, braving all the elements, seem all the more remarkable because as a child she had been an invalid with tuberculosis of the spine. By the end of 1931, this dedicated churchwoman

had had the satisfaction of assisting in the procuring of a permanent minister for the area and had witnessed the consecration of Anglican churches at Fort St. John and at Baldonnel. By this time too, Storrs had fallen in love with the grandeur of the country and the sense of freedom it imparted. She was particularly proud of her rustic log home, christened The Abbey, which became the center for continuing mission work. Here she was joined by other committed women, some friends from England, who would earn the epithet--God's Galloping Girls.

The diaries provide vignettes of many of the settlers who have ably been identified by the editor with the help of Vera Fast. Miss Storrs had praise for the pioneer women of the district, most of whom seemed to be coping admirably with the loneliness and hardships of homesteading. Of the sterling characters who emerge, one of the most noteworthy was the indomitable Miss May Birley with whom Storrs lived for the first year. Efficient and hospitable, May Birley managed her own place but was never too busy to rush off to attend the people in the area as her nursing training made her the only medical person around in the early years. For the historian, however, comments on the people and the developing social structure are maddeningly brief. One wishes that Miss Storrs had recorded more of the many non-Anglo-Saxon newcomers or the stories of such old-timers as the ferryman Herbie Taylor, whose photo album contained "all the halfbreeds there can ever have been since Columbus."

This volume adds an interesting chapter to the history of the Anglican Church in Canada, particularly as it underscores the valuable role played by women church workers. In his introduction, W.L. Morton shows how the mission work in the Peace was supported by a network of dedicated lay groups. Storrs herself was recruited by Miss Evan Hasell, another Englishwoman of adventurous spirit, who founded the Sunday School van service which toured widely throughout the West. In terms of general church history, however, the volume offers only a vague sense of the actual impact of the Anglican Church in the Peace, especially in relation to the other denominations.

The Storrs' diaries provide useful, but quite selective insight into the early settlement of the Peace River area. The account of the first two years, however, presents the routine of life in such detail that it eventually becomes rather monotonous. While an interesting description of Monica Storrs' later life and work is included in a moving biographical sketch by the late R.D. Symons, a personal friend who was originally to have edited the diaries, perhaps posterity would have been better served if the admittedly onerous task of condensing and editing the complete set of diaries had been undertaken. The present text is complemented by a series of charming photographs of people and landscape.

Sylvia Van Kirk, who teaches history at the University of Toronto, is the author of the recently published book Many Tender Ties, a study of women in fur trade society.

ONE CENTURY LATER: WESTERN CANADIAN RESERVE INDIANS SINCE TREATY 7. Ian A.L. Getty and Donald B. Smith, eds. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979. Pp xxviii, 153, illus., \$16.50 cloth: \$6.95 paper.

The publication of One Century Later, the proceedings of the ninth annual Western Canadian Studies Conference (1977), has made available a collection of

essays which offer a comprehensive discussion of Indian and non-Indian relations. Certainly events of recent years have shown that the course of Indian-White history in western Canada can no longer be relegated to the back-burner. One Century Later, an allusion to the centenary of the signing of Treaty Seven (1877), confirms the complete inadequacy of this approach and asks for the recognition of the Native Peoples' points of view as integral to our history.

Chief John Snow's introductory comment sets the central theme. The centennial is not just a celebration of Treaty Seven's hundredth year but is a commemoration. It is an examination of the original Treaty and an assessment of Indian-White relations "not only to reflect back but also to look forward to the next hundred years" because for the Native Peoples of the western provinces the treaty is more than a legal instrument. The treaty is part of a process of growth and adaptation which is important to the whole of Canadian society.

Following this lead, in "The Canadian Government's Termination Policy" Marie Smallface Marule reflects on the past with a clear, incisive look at the present and future. She argues that the focal point of government policy has remained the "reserve" and the primary concern of the successive administrations has been to limit the cost of all programmes. The rationale behind this equation is found in Canada's traditional Indian policy. The original treaties with the Native peoples were not the specific terms agreed to, but a policy which by 1857 - a full twenty years before the western treaties - had determined "to remove all legal distinctions between Indians and other Canadians, and integrate them fully into Canadian society." Legally proclaimed wards, Indian Peoples could only be recognized legally, through enfranchisement. Furthermore, the goal of enfranchisement was, and is, accompanied by an equally consistent programme of economic "self-sufficiency." Marule contends that economic "self-sufficiency" is a euphemism for forced assimilation which ensures deprivation for the broad sector of Native society. Concepts such as economic and cultural self-determination have never been a part of Canada's Indian policy.

Many readers may think this view smacks of a reverse prejudice, but the historical record will not support such a reaction. When the first Indian Act was officially tabled in 1857, a farming programme with a view to no more than basic self-sufficiency accompanied it. An alternative was containment. The Native Peoples of the prairie provinces, particularly the Plains Cree, felt the brunt of this approach. When completely inadequate farming implements and climate combined to defeat the agrarian ideal before 1914, greater degrees of so-called "self-sufficiency" were imposed along with a pass system designed to regulate the movement of Indians on and off the reserves. These early years established a pattern of failure and economic stringency, somehow justified by the government's adherence to wardship first, enfranchisement second. This was the special status which the Native Peoples experienced. Marule's argument that the treaties must guarantee the necessary base for furthering Native self-determination is the necessary counterpart to the government's formula - a counterpart articulated by the Native leaders a century ago, a counterpart still confronting the same government formula.

By the early twentieth century, the Indian Peoples' determination to have their political and economic arguments heard had spawned the growth of a Pan-Indian Movement. Both E. Palmer Patterson's essay on "Andrew Paull and the history of Indian Organizations in British Columbia" and Stan Cuthand's contribution on the prairie Indians' political endeavours during the 1920's and 1930's highlight this growth. Patterson reveals how Andrew Paull persistently sought solutions to enable Indians to retain their identity, grow as individuals and coexist within

Canada. Likewise, during the 1920's and 1930's the League of Indians met annually in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Cuthand points out that in all aspects - politics, economics, education - the League sought equality, equal privileges and responsibilities. Their proposals also sought redress of oppressive policies; the right to travel without passes and religious freedom. As yet, the Native Peoples' argument is coined "citizen plus," a sadly ironic slogan for the history of citizen-wards.

The main thrust of One Century Later is a series of statements leading concretely towards an understanding of the validity of the Native Peoples' comprehension of Indian-White relations. The one disappointing contribution is that of Dr. Hugh Dempsey. In presenting the events surrounding the original signing of Treaty Seven (1877), Dempsey succumbs to the romantic image of the "noble savage." He assumes that Father Scollen's contemporary observations represented the Blackfoot Peoples and then asks, "Did these Indians, or do they now, understand the real nature of the treaty made between the Government and themselves in 1877?" A more careful reading of the documents makes it clear that in 1877 the Blackfoot leaders rejected ambivalent policies and addressed the principle of justice. Their position was consistent with the continuing argument for self-determination. This goal must be recognized as an important element in the development of Western Canada. It is an element which the contributors to this collection have commemorated.

Barbara Mayfield recently completed an M.A. thesis at the University of Victoria on The North West Mounted Police and the Blackfoot.

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NEWS FROM THE BRANCHES

WINDERMERE DISTRICT HISTORICAL SOCIETY The first half of 1979 was an exceptionally busy time for the Society, preparing the interior of the CPR log station building to be used as a museum. After the walls and floor were finished the display for the summer was set up, featuring the theme, "The River and the People." Opening day was a great success. Many visitors came to see what had been done with the building. Through the summer, also, many tourists came and the first season of the Museum, in its new building and on the new site, was a real success.

The Society continues to look to the future and is making plans to move to the museum site the original log school house from Brisco, which has been donated; also, we hope to work with the Ministry of Forests to take steps to preserve the Earl Grey Cabin. An extensive photographic department is being prepared.

Mr. J. C. McKay, a former resident now living in Ontario, has a keen interest in the Society's activities and sponsored a genealogy contest in memory of his mother, Judith Larson McKay. This generated an enthusiastic response. First prize went to Mrs. Margaret Christensen; second prize to Mr. Roy Lake. We look forward to another similar contest in the near future.

A bike-a-thon in May proved a successful fund raising effort.

Local residents have been very generous in the past year and have donated interesting artifacts and archival material, for which we are grateful. An open house was held in October, with special invitations to residents, as a means of expressing our thanks for the help and support we have been given.

CRESTON & DISTRICT HISTORICAL AND MUSEUM SOCIETY The past year has been very eventful in the life of the society, not so much because of what was accomplished but because of the amount of sustained work in three major areas: the Yahk Pioneer Museum, the West Kootenay Power and Light Company dam and power station at Canyon, and the proposed construction of a museum building.

During the year and shortly after the annual meeting, the president resigned and dropped his membership on the Board. We were in a difficult position and imposed upon Frank Merriam to serve in that capacity since no sitting board member felt equal to occupying the chair. Frank was accordingly taken on the Board and has served the Society well by his able and energetic direction of activities. His wide range of interests and connections with other organizations have also been of benefit. We were sorry to lose Charlie however, since he had been an active and productive member of the executive since the establishment of the Society. Charlie was interested in all phases of our work and also provided a very useful contact with the East Kootenay Association of which he was a long-standing member. We hope he will be able to serve again when his personal pressures and commitments ease.

The struggle to restore the articles in the Yahk Museum that were obtained

in Creston and related in some way to our history had been going on for several months and a good deal of research and much letter writing had been engaged in. The problems were several: (1) to determine what items were of merit as far as we were concerned (2) to establish a connection with somebody or department that would assist in the purchase (3) to raise the very considerable sum asked for the collection of artifacts in whole or in part. This came to a head in the late fall with the foreclosure of Wedgewood Manor and the loss of the Pioneer Park Museum by the new owners, Mr. and Mrs. Alex Wood.

At our last general meeting the problem of acquiring the public use of the Canyon damsite which had been generously offered by the West Kootenay Power and Light Company was reported on. Here again several problems were involved (1) The administration of such a project (2) The physical requirement to safeguard the plant and equipment (3) The nature of any downstream liability (4) The possible uses of the property and the local organizations that might utilize it. Mr. Colonel did a great deal of work on this through the Chamber of Commerce and we are very greatly indebted to him and to them. He will be reporting on this aspect.

The struggle to obtain suitable quarters for a projected museum has been going on for several years. Various buildings have been looked at and sites considered, but we did not have the means to acquire property and the costs of construction were too much to contemplate. Furthermore, while there are grants by senior governments to support museums, these require a facility to be in operation; they do not assist in the establishment of a museum. Mr. Carr took a look at the problem through the Chamber of Commerce and by a great deal of work succeeded in bringing forth a proposal for a building to be sited where the old Civic Centre once stood. A suitable long term lease was acquired from the School Board. Because of the desirability of including other organizations in such a project and thus increasing the public support available, the Arts Council, headed by Art Snyder, became involved.

Since we were working so very closely with other organizations, it was decided to have representation from them on our Board. Accordingly, Mr. Colonel, Mr. Carr and Mr. Snyder all were brought in. This increased our strength above that specified in the constitution, but greatly assisted in our deliberations.

As the year draws to a close we regret that Mrs. Gidluck has tendered her resignation as secretary. She has served faithfully and effectively for six years and only accepted this last term under great pressure. We thank her very much for her great contribution. The Society will always be in her debt. Mr. Rollins has tendered his resignation as treasurer. He finds that he is unable to attend some meetings because of conflict with his work hours. We thank him for his services and hope for his continued interest in the Society. Mr. Merriam has found it necessary to be out of town the last three months and the chair has been assumed by Herb Dodd as Vice-president. This is expected to be a temporary situation and no change in officers here is contemplated.

Of all the organizations in town the Historical Society probably has the most active and dedicated executive. One hundred per cent attendance at meetings was pretty well the rule, and careful consideration of the often complicated questions that arose was always given. If our public profile was sometimes rather low, it did not mean that much meaningful work was not being undertaken. The officers thank the various committee members for their unselfish work on behalf of the general membership. It is our hope some or all of this may come to fruition in 1980.

Herb Dodd
Vice-President.

VICTORIA BRANCH The Victoria Section's Table Officers for 1980-1981 are:
President, Tom Carrington; First Vice-President, Ruth Chambers; Second Vice-President, Geoff Castle; Corresponding and Recording Secretary, Frances Gundry; Treasurer, Bruce Winsby; Assistant Treasurer, Ted Belt.

Because one of the B. C. Historical Association's aims is to encourage a public interest in history, the Victoria Section has been contributing a series of historical notes to the Victoria Times. These 200-word notes, called Victoria Landmarks, appear at the bottom of the editorial page in the paper's Monday issue. Forty-two had been published by Labour Day. Each carries a credit line, "Contributed by the Victoria Section, B. C. Historical Association."

C H A AWARDS

The Regional History Committee of the Canadian Historical Association wishes to announce that it is soliciting nominations for its 'Certificate of Merit' Awards. These annual awards are given for meritorious publications or for exceptional contributions by individuals or organizations to regional or local history. Nominations should be sent to:

Professor Robin Fisher, History Department, Simon Fraser University,
Burnaby, B. C. V5A 1S6

before 1 December 1980.

CONTEST

Could you have qualified as a teacher in British Columbia in the 1870's? One of the requirements was a good knowledge of spelling. Printed below is the 1875 spelling examination. If you think you could pass, please complete the examination and send your answers to us at P.O. Box 1738, Victoria, B. C. V8W 2Y3 so that they arrive before December 15, 1980. The winner will receive as a prize a copy of The Colour of British Columbia by Bill Brooks, a book of handsome, coloured photographs of various parts of British Columbia.

"No. 3.--Spelling: Mr. A. Munro. Time, $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour. Total Marks, 200
(8 Marks to be deducted for each word returned misspelt or passed over.)"

Aker,	Ennamel,	Incorigable,	Refrane,
Appropo,	Ennormus,	Judissius,	Reskew,
Aprentice,	Evapperate,	Mandarine,	Substraction,
Aproach,	Falasy,	Massaker,	Suteable,
Barberous,	Fertillity,	Meezles,	Tretcharous,
Benediction,	Grammer,	Prelimmenary,	Unannimous,
Boyancy,	Grimmace,	Permisable,	Untryed,
Concushion,	Hypocrisy,	Prepair,	Vehiment,
Continnew,	Immoveabel,	Rapsody,	Vihickle-
Destracted,	Impune,	Referance,	
Dispondancy,			

MEMBER SOCIETIES

(The individual societies listed below are responsible for the accuracy of address, etc.)

- Alberni District Museum and Historical Society, Mrs. C. Holt, Box 284, Port Alberni, V9Y 7M7. 723-3006.
- Atlin Historical Society, Mrs. Christine Dickenson, Box 111, Atlin, VOW 1A0.
- BCHA, Gulf Islands Branch, Elsie Brown, R. R. #1, Mayne Island, VON 2J0.
- BCHA, Victoria Branch, Francis Gundry, 255 Niagara, Victoria, V8V 1G4. 385-6353.
- Burnaby Historical Society, Una Carlson, 6719 Fulton Ave., Burnaby, V5E 3G9. 522-8951
- Campbell River & District Historical Society, Julie O'Sullivan, 1235 Island Highway, Campbell River, VOW 2C7.
- Chemainus Valley Historical Society, Mrs. B. W. Dickie, Box 172, Cheaminus, VOR 1K0. 246-9510
- Cowichan Historical Society, P.O. Box 1014, Duncan, B. C. V9L 3Y2.
- Creston & District Historical and Museum Society, Margaret Moore, Box 253, Creston, VOB 1G0. 428-4169.
- District #69 Historical Society, Mrs. Mildred Kurtz, Box 74, Parksville, VOR 1S0. 248-6763.
- Elphinstone Pioneer Museum Society, Box 755, Gibsons, VON 1V0. 886-2064.
- Golden & District Historical Society, Fred Bjarnason, Box 992, Golden, VOA 1H0.
- Historical Association of East Kootenay, Mrs. A. E. Oliver, 670 Rotary Drive, Kimberley, VOA 1E3. 427-3446.
- Kettle River Museum Society, Alice Evans, Midway, VOH 1M0. 449-2413.
- Maple Ridge & Pitt Meadows Historical Society, Mrs. T. Mutas, 12375-244th Street, Maple Ridge, V2X 6X5.
- Nanaimo Historical Society, Linda Fulton, 1855 Latimer Road, Nanaimo, V9S 2W3.
- Nootka Sound Historical Society, Beverly Roberts, Box 712, Gold River, VOP 1G0.
- North Shore Historical Society, Doris Blott, 1671 Mountain Highway, North Vancouver, V7J 2M6.
- Princeton & District Pioneer Museum, Margaret Stoneberg, Box 687, Princeton, VOX 1W0. 295-3362.
- Sidney and North Saanich Historical Society, Mrs. Ray Joy, 10719 Bayfield Road, R. R. #3, Sidney, V8L 3P9. 656-3719.
- La Société historique franco-colombienne, #9, East Broadway, Vancouver, V5Z 1V4
- Trail Historical Society, Mrs. M. Powell, 1798 Daniel Street, Trail, V1R 4G8 368-9697
- Vancouver Historical Society, Irene Tanco, Box 3071, Vancouver, V6V 3X6. 685-1157
- Wells Historical Society, Ulla Coulsen, Box 244, Wells, VOK 2R0.
- Williams Lake Historical & Museum Committee, Reg. Beck, Box 16, Glen Drive, Fox Mountain, R. R. #2, Williams Lake
- Windermere District Historical Society, Mrs. E. Stevens, Box 784, Invermere, VOA 1K0