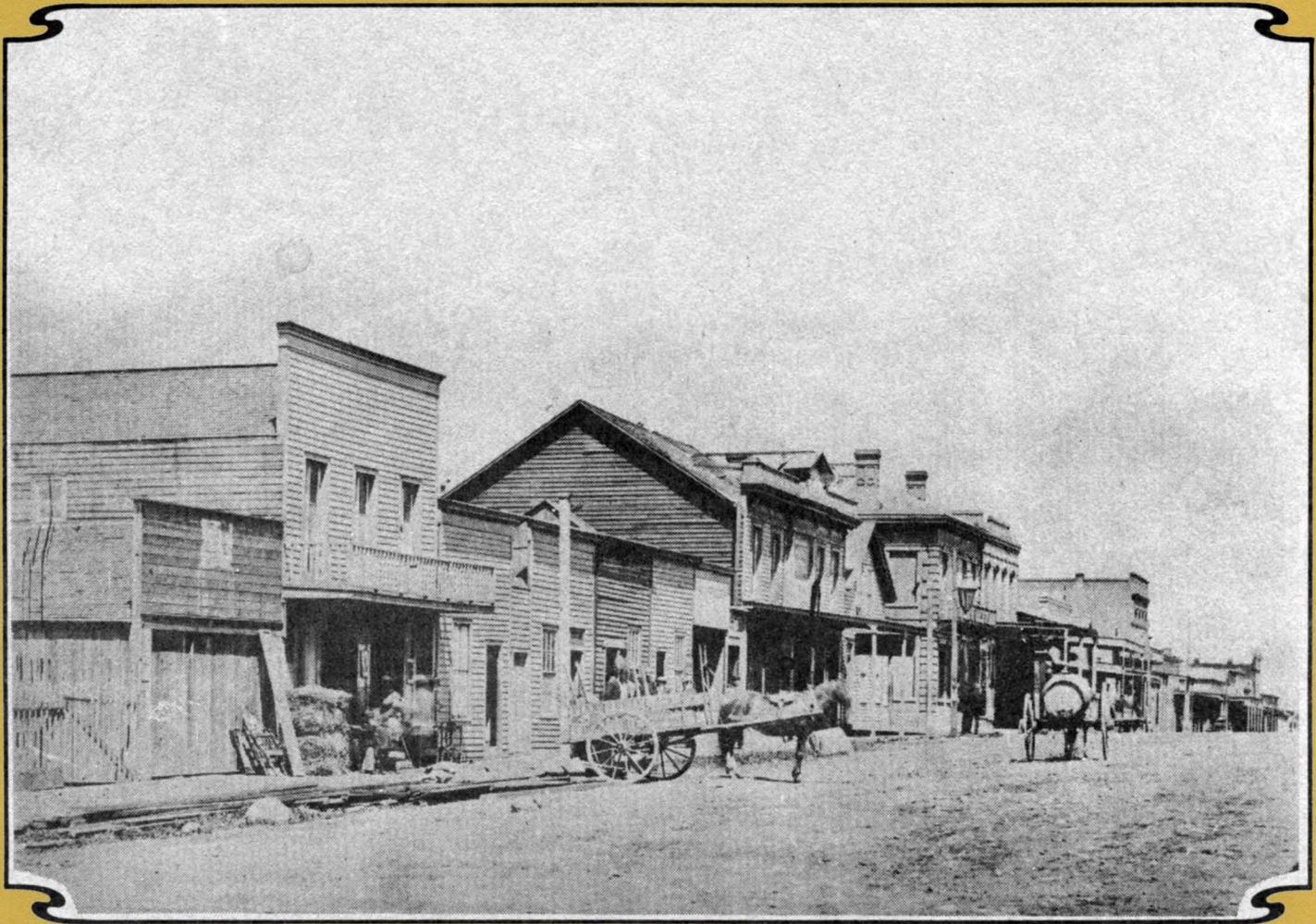


BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL NEWS



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Cover Photograph: West side of Government Street looking north from Fort Street,
Victoria, B. C., showing the Theatre Photographic Gallery (the two-
storey, wooden building in the centre) described by David Mattison
in this issue. Taken by Frederick Dally, circa 1869. PABC photo #8720.

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AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY!
COMPLETE AND UNEXPURGATED!!
FIRST TIME VIEWED BY HUMAN EYES!!!!


THE VICTORIA THEATRE Photographic
GALLERY! 

THRILL AT ITS OPENING!
WITH A CAST OF HUNDREDS!
ALL UNKNOWN!
EIGHT, COUNT THEM, EIGHT
LIVING PHOTOGRAPHERS
GREAT GUEST APPEARANCES BY
FOUR, COUNT THEM, FOUR
OTHER PHOTOGRAPHERS
FROM THE GALLERY NEXT DOOR!


SEE!!! STUPENDOUS DEVELOPMENTS
IN PHOTOGRAPHY
SEE!!! THE FLEETINGS SHADOWS
STOPPED
SEE!!! NOTORIOUS LEASES BOUGHT & SOLD
LIKE SO MUCH PAPER

Please turn the page for more



THE VICTORIA THEATRE PHOTOGRAPHIC GALLERY (AND THE GALLERY NEXT DOOR)

The Victoria Theatre Photographic Gallery existed for nearly two decades on or near the southwest corner of Government and View Streets. As the building itself has been adequately documented elsewhere by Craig Clifford Elliott, it is not the intention of this historical drama to re-cover old ground except where necessary in order to present a different interpretation.¹

The importance of the Theatre Photographic Gallery lies in its longevity, its successive control by a number of individuals important in Victoria's history and the history of Canadian photography, and in the opportunity the gallery presents for the study, sometimes imaginatively, of stylistic changes in photography.

After 1866 a photographic gallery next door, on the south side of the theatre building, became identified with the Theatre Photographic Gallery, partly because of its proximity and partly because of its proprietorship by one Noah Shakespeare. He became mayor the year the Victoria Theatre/Theatre Royal was demolished, an M.P. in 1883 and postmaster in 1888. The fact that he was also a photographer for at least thirteen years has generally been glossed over.

This article is neither pure history nor pure fiction. It is an attempt to trace the rise and disappearance of the Theatre Photographic Gallery and the Gallery Next Door through the use of newspapers, city business directories and municipal tax lists which verify and help date the careers of these photographers.

The impetus to establish a photographic gallery in the Victoria Theatre "to the rear of the dress-circle, and immediately over the front-entrance" (Colonist, May 17, 1861) may have occurred when John William Vaughan read an advertisement in the British Colonist on September 25, 1862 which announced the "FIRST TIME OF THE Photographic Gallery" in a show presented by the Metropolitan Minstrels. The next day's paper merely stated that "the 'Photographic Gallery' closed the entertainment."

Shortly after John S. Potter was made acting and stage manager at the start of the regular dramatic season (Colonist, October 23, 1862), the first advertisement appeared in the newspaper for Vaughan & Fulton (October 30, 1862).

Mark the Fleeting Shadow.
VAUGHAN & FULTON,
Photographers,
THEATRE BUILDING, GOVERNMENT STREET.
Ambrotypes, Cartes de Visite, Photographs, and
Stereoscopic Pictures.
Portraits set in Locketts, Pins and Rings, and in a superior style. All work warranted. Satisfaction given or no pay exacted. Charges moderate.
Hours from 9 a.m. until 3 P.M.

¹ "Legitimate Theatre in Early Victoria", B. C. Historical News, April 1970; Annals of the Legitimate Theatre in Victoria, Ph D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1969.

Christopher Fulton, Vaughan's first partner, had come to Victoria from New Westminster where he had been taking portraits at the Columbia Hotel. The New Westminster British Columbian on August 23 reported that

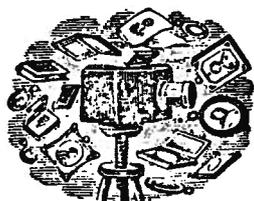
Mr. Fulton, the Photographer, who has been very successfully engaged here during the last three or four weeks, intends visiting (Port) Douglas, Hope and Yale during the incoming week. The people of these towns will thus have a favorable opportunity to 'mark the fleeting shadow.'

Fulton's three-line notice in the Columbian first appeared in the August 6, 1862 issue. Its first line was the same as the first line of the Vaughan & Fulton advertisement.

Whether the people of Douglas, Hope and Yale ever had the chance to pose in front of Fulton's camera has not been determined. We do know that he returned to New Westminster in March or April 1863 and then visited the Cariboo gold fields that summer. On January 23, 1864 the Columbian published an advertisement for the sale of his photographic equipment.

For a town of its size, Victoria attracted a large number of photographers, which may have had something to do with the high number of transients for whom Victoria was a way-station on the route to the "Stickeen" territory and the Cariboo creeks. The Fraser River gold rush of 1858 had also drawn photographers, notably George Robinson Fardon who eventually established a studio on the west side of Government Street just north of the Victoria Theatre, and Stephen Allen Spencer who by January 1862 had moved into his third studio at the corner of Broad and Yates Streets. Both men came from San Francisco. Another pair of photographers, Blacklin & Bristow, operated a gallery on Fort Street next door to the Central School. One of their advertisements, possibly the only one, appeared in the October 23, 1862 Colonist and ran for several issues. Future photographers Frederick Dally, Charles Gentile, and Hannah and Richard Maynard were already in the city by the time the Theatre Photographic Gallery opened.

After the Vaughan & Fulton partnership was dissolved Vaughan became involved in a scheme to photograph business buildings in Victoria for engravings to illustrate the 1863 directory. This directory does not have any engravings based on photographs, but it does have an advertisement (p. 18) showing that Vaughan was familiar with a wide variety of photographic formats.



VAUGHN'S
PHOTOGRAPHIC
GALLERY,

Victoria Theatre, Government Street.

Visiting Cards, Stereoscopic Views and Portraits,
Ambrotypes, Melainectypes, Photographs
and Tinted Pictures

Executed in the BEST STYLE, and Artistically arranged.

ALL WORK GUARANTEED.

ALBUMS, FRAMES and CASES in Great Variety.

Visiting cards or cartes de visite, measuring about 4 x 3 inches with a print about 3 x 2 inches, were a format popular from about 1860 to the early 1880's. Ambrotypes were portraits on glass which superficially resembled the daguerreotype. The daguerreotype, the first successful commercial photographic process introduced in France in 1839, was no longer commercially practiced by the early 1860's. The melainotype was an early name for what is generally called the tintype, an American photographic process still in use today.

Vaughan's advertising campaign in the Colonist continued unabated through 1863. From March 16 to August 4 he ran an advertisement consisting of his name, occupation and address. In late April, Vaughan ran an advertisement for a week which notified the public of

THE WEATHER NOW BEING FAVORABLE for taking Views of the City, AND PRIVATE RESIDENCES, orders left at my Photographic Gallery will receive prompt attention, where specimens can be seen and other information given.

On August 5, Vaughan began a new partnership with William Francis Robertson. Robertson had been in business as a photographer on Fort Street prior to his association with Vaughan. One of the few mentions of their work outside of a continuing advertisement which lasted until the partnership was dissolved in March 1864 (Daily Chronicle, 4 March) came in the December 8 and 9 Daily Chronicle and Colonist respectively. Vaughan and Robertson photographed members of Thomas Ward's acting company, mounted the cartes de visite in a gilt frame, and presented them to Ralph Phelps, acting manager of the troupe.

Another competitor, George Robinson, opened a photographic studio in the block north of the Victoria Theatre but on the east side of Government Street next to the San Francisco Baths (Colonist, May 9, 1864). Robinson would, in early 1865, purchase the lease of the Theatre Photographic Gallery from Vaughan.

New technology or a desire to increase his business prompted Vaughan to begin a new advertising campaign in the Colonist on May 9, 1864.

PHOTOGRAPHIC
THE UNDERSIGNED IN THANKING THE public for their liberal support, would intimate his being fully prepared to take Views of any part of Victoria, Residences, &c., upon the shortest notice, Stereoscopic or otherwise.
He would again call attention to his having completed the additional improvements in the LIGHT at the Gallery, which is now 'First Class' and suitable to any kind of work at any time of day.
OPERATING FROM 9 TILL 3.
Photographic Materials from the best houses in Europe and the United States always on hand and for sale.
JOHN WM. VAUGHAN, 'Victoria Theatre'

Despite the announced improvements in the lighting of the studio, his hours of operation remained the same as they were in 1862 when the studio opened. The improvements may have consisted of both new props and panes of blue glass, evidence of which can be seen in cartes de visite of this period. Commonly used props were a column, draped or undraped, a curtain, an urn, usually on a column, and a chair.

A month after the above advertisement began, another appeared in its place (Colonist, June 10, 1864) in which Vaughan quoted his prices: \$4 for the first six, \$6 for the first twelve or \$3 for six, and \$10 for twenty-four or \$5 for twelve cartes de visite. This advertisement was replaced by another (Colonist, August 8, 1864) in which prices for ambrotypes were given "according to size and quality of case," with the best quality from \$5 to \$10 and the second quality from \$1 to \$4. Discounts were given for large orders of cartes and "large Photographs"; the latter may refer to albumen paper prints from negatives measuring anywhere from 5 x 7 inches to 10 x 12 inches. Photographs could also be coloured with watercolours or crayons and no charge was made for this service "except where extra work is required."

Vaughan was presumably anxious to increase his business when he ran an advertisement (Colonist, September 7, 1864) announcing that

The proprietor, J.W. Vaughan, having recently associated with him Mr. Geo. H. Brown, an experienced Photographic Artist, formerly connected with Brady's extensive Photographic Galleries of New York and Washington, U.S., and recently from New Orleans, La., will shortly be prepared to execute Photographic Pictures of larger size and superior character to any heretofore done in Victoria . . .

Mathew Brady (1823/24-1896) opened his first "Daguerrean Miniature Gallery" in New York City in 1844. His first operator was James A. Brown (1819-). Brown, also described as a water-colourist, was supposed to have operated his own studio at a later date. Whether this is the same individual hired by Vaughan has yet to be determined. Brown arrived in Victoria on the bark Rival from San Francisco on September 2, 1864. He may not have remained in Victoria for long, as the Colonist (November 8, 1864) ran another advertisement in which Vaughan

WANTED

A YOUTH TO LEARN THE PHOTO-
graphic business, and make himself generally
useful about a Gallery . . .

Vaughan's last promotion appeared on January 2, 1865 in the Colonist. With a flair for copy writing, he announced a photographic technique which he called

VAUGHAN'S EVERLASTING 'CRAYOTYPE'
is superior to anything afloat.
One sitting of a few seconds is
only required to produce sufficient
photographic definition for the artist
to work a picture of any size.
Distortion, occurrent in solarizing,
is avoided, and durability attained.
Medium size, \$20; Life size, \$30;
colored, \$50. Suitable frames, from
\$10 to \$30.

Five days later came the announcement that the lease of the "Photographic Gallery immediately adjoining the Theatre" was for sale. The advertisement mentions a private entrance from the sidewalk and suggests a future use as "Refreshment Rooms." Vaughan, whom we presume to be the proprietor, was preparing to leave for Honduras and wished to sell the lease quickly. The solicitor was Robert Bishop.

Vaughan did not leave town at once, for he was involved in a court case of his own making. He charged John Butts, a well known Victoria scoundrel, with having stolen "a quantity of photographic chemicals and apparatus" (Vancouver Times, January 16). The material was worth \$20 (Daily Chronicle, January 17). Butts' defense was that Vaughan, while drunk, had instructed him to sell the equipment (Evening Express, January 17). Appearing as a witness was George Robinson, mis-identified as "Mr. Robertson," Vaughan's old partner, who stated that he had bought the equipment from Butts at Scott's Auction Rooms about a year ago. The material which Robinson purchased was probably used by him to open his first studio in May 1864. So far as is known W. F. Robertson did not practice photography after the partnership with Vaughan.

The case was committed to trial, but the Colonist did not report the outcome. It is possible the case was dismissed for lack of evidence or because of Vaughan's departure from Victoria. Butts, however, was arrested once more in early February for theft of a keg of porter's beer (Evening Express, February 5, 1865). He was sentenced to three months in prison with hard labour.

Vaughan may have resided in Peru for a while, because The Photograph Collector's Guide (1979) lists a "Vaughn" as active in 19th century Peru. A J.W. Vaughan later turns up in Vancouver in the early 1890's, but this person is a surveyor and civil engineer and probably not the same person as the photographer.

George Robinson, to whom Vaughan sold the lease of the Theatre Photographic Gallery, is reported to have arrived in the Colony of Vancouver Island in 1854. He was in charge of developing the coal mines at Nanaimo for the Hudson's Bay Company and returned to England in 1859, but re-entered the Colony at Victoria in the early 1860's (Nanaimo Free Press, March 13, 1895). By 1864, as we have seen, he had opened his first photographic studio.

This studio was temporarily closed during June while he prospected for a group of investors in the area south of Barkley Sound. The Colonist published part of Robinson's diary detailing his explorations around Pachena Bay. Robinson returned to Victoria on June 29 (Colonist, June 30 and July 16, 1864). Resumption of his photographic business was announced in the July 4, 1864 Colonist.

Robinson departed the city once again in 1865, this time for the Queen Charlotte Islands, where he was to manage both the Queen Charlotte Coal Mining Company development and the Custom House. He also intended "to take views of the surrounding country" (Columbian, June 8, 1865). A further report on this mining company appears in the September 30, 1865 Colonist, but it is not clear whether Robinson was in Victoria or had remained in the Queen Charlottes. No record has yet been located of who operated the Theatre Photographic Gallery during his absence.

Another early photographer, Charles Gentile, who arrived in Victoria in 1862, opened a fancy goods store under the Occidental Billiard Saloon on Fort Street at Government Street (northeast corner) and later a photographic gallery (Colonist, October 31, 1863). The following February he sold the store to pursue the profits

of photography. By the summer of 1864, he, along with George Robinson, was exploring the central interior of Vancouver Island with their cameras. Gentile was even responsible for a minor gold rush in the Alberni district. In August 1864 when the Leech River gold rush was on, he journeyed to the area and photographed the mining camps and claims.

The following March he tried selling the studio, but, finding no buyers, continued his travels to New Westminster in May 1865 to photograph the Queen's Birthday celebrations, and in July and September to the Cariboo and Thompson River regions. Governor Frederick Seymour was so impressed with Gentile's work that he ordered a set of the photographs for the Cariboo Literary Institute at Barkerville, but there is no evidence the order was ever filled.

Gentile moved his photographic studio to Government Street "next door to the Attorney General's, and opposite to the Hotel de France" and "adjoining the Theatre Building" (Daily Chronicle and Colonist, May 18, 1866). The studio, which opened on May 17, was "constructed on the latest Italian principle, and possesses a great advantage over most other galleries in the Colony." An inaugural photograph was taken of the American General Frederick Steele and his staff. Gentile appears to have been on familiar terms with American officials, for that March he had photographed the waterfalls "on the Cascades accompanied by Governor William Pickering" of Washington Territory (Colonist, March 14, 1866).

Gentile may also have been among the social elite of Victoria, for he and his wife attended Governor Kennedy's ball at Government House (Daily Chronicle, May 26, 1866). That July he travelled once more, this time to Cowichan, Nanaimo and Comox (Colonist, July 25, 1866), while August saw him involved in a third court case (the first two being suits for non-payment for photographs) to recover \$104 for board supplied to Ernest Watson (Colonist, August 7, 1866).

An energetic but inexpert field photographer, to judge from the few remaining examples of his work, Gentile was at least innovative. He announced through the Colonist (August 15, 1866) that he had hired Noah Shakespeare to manage his photographic business during his absence from the colony. The next month he published an advertisement telling of an impending visit to Europe to arrange for the publication of his outdoor and portrait photographs.

Misfortune struck, however, for in October there appeared an advertisement, run under Thomas Allsop's name, asking the finder to return a box of "photographs and stereoscopic views" that was left on either the Josie McNear or the Eliza Anderson on or about September 13 (Colonist, October 27, 1866). Both steamers left Victoria on September 13 for the Puget Sound and all evidence suggests that Gentile was aboard one or the other (odd that he did not remember which) and forgot his precious photographs aboard.

He probably never returned to Victoria, for, his Photographic Gallery in the capable hands of Shakespeare, he opened a photographic studio early in 1867 in San Francisco. After several years in the American Southwest as an itinerant photographer, he settled in Chicago where he continued to practice photography until his death in 1893.

Just about two weeks after Gentile opened his new studio next to Robinson's Theatre Photographic Gallery, another photographer announced his presence. Frederick Dally (1838-1914), who, like Gentile, had arrived in 1862 (Colonist, September 22, 1862) and started as a merchant, moved in March 1864 to the northeast corner of Fort and Government Streets where he occupied Gentile's old store.

Although he had tried to auction the lease of the photographic gallery at the same time he had auctioned his stock and the lease of the store, Gentile ultimately failed to sell the lease of the gallery. Thus, there is some circumstantial evidence that Dally may have acquired an interest in photography through Gentile.

Dally's photographic business began on Fort Street (Daily Chronicle, June 1, 1866), but it is not known if he remained in the Occidental building which Gentile vacated in May, or whether Dally moved into premises on the south side of Fort Street. It is this latter building which shows up in a few photographs of the late 1860's. Dally, like Gentile, made trips to the Cariboo and during his years in the United Colony of British Columbia and Vancouver Island accumulated a magnificent collection of images. His biography is presently being written by Joan M. Schwartz of the National Photography Collection, Public Archives of Canada.

Hannah and Richard Maynard were also well established in Victoria by 1866. Part of their story can be read in two recent publications.² Richard Maynard also had a boot and shoe store in the Occidental building, but it is generally believed he was taught photography by his wife and not by Gentile or Dally.

There were also a few amateur photographers in Victoria. One, Arthur Vipond, emigrated as a civilian with the Royal Engineers in 1858. He brought his camera and photographer's certificate, but so far as is known did not practice commercially. Some of the views of Victoria in the early 1860's usually attributed to Richard Maynard are more than likely Vipond's work. By 1874 Vipond was working as a gunsmith. The Provincial Archives recently acquired a number of Vipond's photographs and the certificate he earned in England.

With all this spirited competition, it is any wonder that George Robinson determined to remain in business. He sought and received his share of publicity by presenting to the Colonist three photographs of the Spanish bombardment of Valparaiso, Chile (Colonist, June 19, 1866). It is possible, however, that these were the work of Bischoff & Spencer, stereographic photographers of Peru and Chile. The Colonist (July 4, 1866) reported further naval photographs by Robinson who had captured the H.M.S. Alert in Esquimalt Harbour, "the only weapons he used in effecting his object were a camera and a bit of glass."

Robinson also advertised in one of the competing Victoria dailies, the Evening Telegraph, for the "Theatre Photographic Gallery (Up Stairs)," where cartes de visite could be had for \$5 a dozen, a \$1 drop in price from Vaughan's charge in 1864.

Yet another photographer appeared in Victoria in 1867 when the steamer Active arrived from San Francisco with William M. Ashman (Colonist, February 26, 1867). On February 27 the Colonist notified the public of his presence with this advertisement:

Gentile's Photographic Gallery
Government Street,
Adjoining the Theatre, Victoria.
Mr. Ashman, Operator, from London
and San Francisco
Portraits and Views Taken,
Pictures Copied.

² David Mattison, "The Multiple Self of Hannah Maynard," Vanguard (October 1980);
Claire Weissman Wilks, The Magic Box: The Eccentric Genius of Hannah Maynard (1980).

Only two examples of Ashman's photographs have been located. Both are cartes de visite. In one of the portraits there is a baseboard moulding which also appears in a carte de visite taken and signed by Noah Shakespeare (PABC #6638). The other carte is a photograph of a house (PABC #30027). There are also two tintypes of members of the Maynard family taken in the Gallery Next Door about 1867, possibly by Ashman. One is a stark portrait of a fatigued Hannah Maynard holding new-born Lillie. The distinctive floor pattern identifies the studio as the Gallery Next Door (Gentile's Photographic Gallery).

Noah Shakespeare, who had been managing Gentile's Gallery prior to Ashman's arrival, was hired by George Robinson to manage the Theatre Photographic Gallery. Robinson intended to take outdoor photographs only (Colonist, March 11, 1867).

Shakespeare (1839-1921), according to an article in the Victoria Times (March 10, 1917), arrived in the Colony of Vancouver Island on January 10, 1863. He was eventually hired by George Robinson Fardon to manage his gallery on Langley Street for a year while Fardon visited England (Colonist, July 8, 1865 and July 26, 1866).

Perhaps it was Shakespeare who answered Vaughan's advertisement for a youth to learn photography in November 1864, for it is unlikely Fardon would have hired an inexperienced operator. Following his year with Fardon, Shakespeare, as we have seen, was hired by Gentile to handle the Gallery Next Door to the Theatre Photographic Gallery.

George Robinson added a new occupation to his varied career, that of dentist, as evidenced by the advertisements from the 1868 Victoria directory. Another curious coincidence is Frederick Dally's subsequent career as a dentist in England. He left Victoria in 1870, studied dentistry in Philadelphia, and went back to England where he remained till his death. Since Robinson and Dally were both Freemasons in Victoria, it is easy to speculate on the influence Robinson's dental practice might have had on Dally.

MR. GEORGE ROBINSON,
SURGICAL & MECHANICAL DENTIST,
WOODBINE COTTAGE,
VICTORIA WEST.

OFFICE :—Theatre Photographic Rooms.

GEORGE ROBINSON,
PHOTOGRAPHER,
THEATRE BUILDINGS, GOVERNMENT STREET.

Shakespeare continued in his capacity as operator of Gentile's Photographic Gallery (1868 directory, p. 44). It is probable that during this year he acquired the lease of the gallery from Gentile. A photograph of the west side of Government Street looking north from Fort Street, possibly taken by Frederick Dally in 1868-1869, shows Shakespeare's Gallery next door to Robinsons's Photographic Gallery in the Victoria Theatre (PABC #8720).¹ By 1869 Shakespeare was totally in charge of this gallery, as shown by this advertisement from the 1869 Victoria directory:

N. SHAKESPEARE,

IS PREPARED TO TAKE

SOLAR PICTURES.

LIFE SIZE AND LIFE LIKE

Also, Enamelled Pictures, Ambrotypes, Melainotypes, Ferrotypes,
with neatness and dispatch.

A Collection of Indian Pictures on hand.

PHOTOGRAPHIC GALLERY, GOVERNMENT STREET
Next the Theatre, Ground Floor.

George Robinson retired from the photographic business, as announced by an advertisement in the March 29 - May 6, 1869 Colonist. The Theatre Photographic Gallery passed into the hands of J. Augustus Craigg, who also advertised in the 1869 directory:

THEATRE **PHOTOGRAPHIC GALLERY.**

Over the Theatre, Government Street.

The undersigned respectfully informs his Friends and the Public
that the old established Gallery is now conducted by him.

Ambrotypes, Melaintypes, and Cartes de Visite
DONE IN THE BEST STYLE.

Also, Solar Pictures. life-size and life-like.

J. AUGUSTUS CRAIGG.

The "solar pictures, life-size and life-like" that Craigg advertised were undoubtedly made from a solar camera, that is, an enlarging camera which used focused sunlight to produce enlarged prints from various sized negatives. Solar cameras were popular in the late 1860's and an example of their use can be found in William Welling's Photography in America: The Formative Years, 1839-1900. The equipment was usually set on a rooftop; it is possible that Shakespeare and Craigg shared the same solar camera and used the top of the Victoria Theatre building for this purpose.

Only a few examples of Craigg's photography have been located. One carte de visite portrays a sombre youth in a Scottish costume. Seated on a table covered with a cloth that appears in several portraits by J.W. Vaughan, the subject's backdrop appears to be a coastal scene with a distinctive white spot, possibly a sail (uncatalogued carte de visite, PABC).

¹ This photograph is shown on the front cover of this issue.

This "coastal" backdrop with its distinctive crooked tree appears in portraits by Robinson and was installed in 1865-1867. A.N. Birch, last administrator of the Colony of Vancouver Island, had his portrait taken in the Theatre Photographic Gallery before he returned to England (Columbian, June 26, 1867). G. R. Fardon used a very similar backdrop for a while and later Shakespeare photographs with his Government Street address can be identified as having been taken in Fardon's Langley and Yates Streets studio between 1865-1866.

Many Robinson cartes, on the other hand, with the imprint shown earlier have a plain backdrop with the sitter standing beside a chair, an odd juxtaposition since many children photographed by Robinson were shown standing rather than seated. Quite possibly these portraits were taken in 1864 before he moved in to the Theatre Photographic Gallery.

By the summer of 1870, Shakespeare had remodelled the lighting of his gallery (Daily Standard, August 20). Craigg, meanwhile, announced a price reduction in the same issue (Daily Standard, 20 August 1870). He was to remain in business, price reduction or otherwise, for another two years. He sold the Theatre Photographic Gallery in early April 1872 to Stephen Allen Spencer.

Spencer, who came from San Francisco remained a U.S. citizen until at least 1875 when he tried to get out of jury duty by claiming alien status (Colonist, December 1, 1875). He is supposed to have arrived in Victoria in 1858. His third studio, opened in January 1862, remained open only a short time (Colonist, January 11, 1862). Spencer was still practicing photography as late as October 1863, for the Daily Chronicle (October 30) reported the departure of the Hudson's Bay Company steamer Otter for the Queen Charlotte Islands copper mine with passengers Robert Burnaby and "Mr. Spencer, a skillful photographer, (who) accompanies the expedition to take views of the mines and the surrounding country."

Spencer's life between this date and June 30, 1871 are a mystery so far. On the latter date he arrived in Barkerville via Yale on Barnard's Express (Cariboo Sentinel, July 1). The following April he purchased Craigg's Photographic Gallery over the Theatre Royal. Spencer was described as "a gentleman well known to the Victoria public as an accomplished Photographer, and who intends to fit it up and conduct it on San Francisco principles" (Colonist, April 12, 1872).

The Colonist (May 9, 1872) ran an advertisement for "Spencer's New Gallery, Theatre Royal, Government Street." Theatre Royal was the name given to the Victoria Theatre in 1867 at the time it was remodelled (Colonist, September 30 and October 3, 1867). The May 9 issue of the Colonist also contained an adulatory description of Spencer's newest gallery, but gave no real details, simply advising readers "to take a look into it to see the great improvements." As an inducement to public support, the newspaper commented on the drop in prices.

Although at this time there was a new style of portrait photography called the cabinet card photograph, its appearance in Victoria on a mass scale does not seem to have occurred until the mid- or late 1870's. Cabinet card prints measured about 4 x 5 1/2 inches on a card about 4 1/2 x 6 1/2 inches. The cabinet card format was being used by New York City photographers as early as November 1866. Later evidence suggests Spencer may have been one of the first to try this style of photography. On November 7, 1874, the Colonist reported his return from San Francisco with "approved appliances for taking and finishing pictures. Mr. Miller, an experienced retoucher from the first San Francisco galleries, came with Mr. Spencer, having been engaged by him." Retouching only originated with the cabinet photograph,

so this indicates Spencer was practicing the style by this time.

Noah Shakespeare at this point was showing interest in political photography, for the Colonist (November 23 and 24, 1872) commented on photographs he made of caricatures drawn by the Chief Commissioner of Land and Works and John Robson. Perhaps it was these photographs which led him in 1875 to photograph the Legislative Assembly members on the closing day of the assembly (Colonist, April 23, 1875).

Before this happened, however, another change in the management of the Gallery Next Door to the Theatre took place. John B. Uren and an individual named Hoyt purchased "the photographic gallery of Mr. Shakespeare" (Colonist, April 30, 1874). The next day an advertisement began which read

For the Best
Photographs,
Go (to) the
Uren's
(Late Shakespeare's Gallery.)
See specimens in show window.

The advertisement ran until June 8 when it was renewed. The Daily Standard (May 4, 1874) also referred to the change in ownership, noting that

The firm (Uren & Hoyt) we allude to has just leased the office hitherto occupied by Mr. Noah Shakespeare, on Government Street, and we understand are prepared to eclipse all former photographic productions emanating from artists of this city.

No photographs by Uren & Hoyt have been located yet.

Shakespeare apparently re-acquired the lease of the Gallery Next Door some time that summer, for in August he was credited with a panorama of Victoria taken from the Driard Hotel (Daily Standard, August 20, 1874). This incredible panorama (PABC #2108) shows the top of the Theatre Photographic Gallery. Beneath the arch can be read the old sign "Vaughan's Photographic Gallery."

Shakespeare was in control of the Gallery Next Door by October 1874. On June 20 the Daily Standard announced that S.A. Spencer had hired R.A. (or B.) Desmond, retoucher, a recent arrival by the steamer Prince Alfred from San Francisco. He came from the famous studio of Bradley & Rulofson. The Colonist (October 16, 1874) reported that

N. Shakespeare...has perfected arrangements with Mr. R.B. Desmond, late artist of Spencer's Gallery, whereby his services are transferred to the Shakespeare Gallery from this date.

By the next year, 1875, Shakespeare was able to buy out Spencer's lease on the Theatre Photographic Gallery (Colonist, May 13, 1875). Spencer moved to a new location on Fort Street near Broad (Colonist (June 29, 1875). On July 7 the Colonist announced:

Spencer's New Photographic Gallery.--Mr. S.A. Spencer will open his handsome new photographic studio on the second floor of the building lately erected by Hayward & Jenkinson on Fort Street opposite Fell & Co.'s. The studio is reached by a spacious staircase. The visitor first enters a large and finely finished reception room, and thence is conducted into the gallery, where improved appliances are in use for the successful prosecution of the profession. There is every convenience for visitors on the premises, and Mr. Spencer is now prepared to take pictures in the highest style of the art.

It was in this studio that the bulk of the extant Spencer portraits were taken. At this time Spencer, leaves the stage of our drama.

The denouement followed with the 1878 reappearance in Victoria of John Uren. Having spent the summer of 1875 in the Cariboo, he probably returned to Nanaimo in 1876 and remained there till he purchased the Theatre Photographic Gallery, probably from Shakespeare (Colonist, June 5, 1878). John Uren is listed in the 1877-78 directory as a photographer in Nanaimo. So far as is known he is the last photographer to occupy the Theatre Photographic Gallery. By February 1879 he had moved to New Westminster and opened a photographic studio "on the corner of the streets leading to the Drill Shed, a few doors from Columbia Street" (Mainland Guardian, February 8, 1879).

The last mention of photographic activity in connection with the Gallery Next Door was, as we have seen, in the summer of 1874. It is highly likely that once Shakespeare leased the Theatre Photographic Gallery from Spencer in 1875, the Gallery Next Door was torn down or converted to some other use. In October 1882, the Victoria Theatre/Theatre Royal was torn down.

**THEATRICAL PROPERTIES
FOR SALE.**

**THE SCENERY, CURTAINS, SEATS AND
other moveable appurtenances of
THEATRE ROYAL
Will be SOLD LOW.**

**Apply by letter or in person before the 14th Sept.
to The Colonist office.**

The Colonist (8 October) wrote the obituary.

Vanity Fair. Yesterday the removal of the front or entrance portion of the old theatre on Government Street was completed and considerable inroads were made into the interior. The previous day the curtain was carefully wrapped and removed from its place, and no more will an expectant and appreciative audience be compelled to read its gilt lettered advertisements while waiting for the play, and its loss to literature and scenic effect must be regretted....But the falling timbers

recall the dreamer to the present. The music ceases, the gay throngs vanish from their seats, the curtain begins to fall and the footlights flash out, and in dust and gloom, with its banners of waving cobwebs, the old theatre is going too.

Colonist, October 8, 1882.

The final irony in the play is that the building erected on the site of the Victoria Theatre/Theatre Royal housed the new offices of the Daily Colonist, the newspaper which had frequently documented the changes in both the theatre and the Theatre Photographic Gallery.

Sic transit gloria theatri.

David Mattison,
Vancouver, B. C.

David Mattison, a photographic historian and critic, is preparing a photo-biography of C.S. Bailey (1869-1896), a Vancouver photographer. He wishes to thank J. Robert Davison and Les Mobbs of the Provincial Archives, Joan Schwartz of the Public Archives of Canada and Rob Johnson of Nanaimo for assistance in preparing this article.

SAPPER DUFFY'S EXPLORATION CAYOOSH CREEK TO LILLOOET LAKE, 1860

In the late summer of 1860, a small party of Royal Engineer surveyors was laying out town and suburban lots at Cayoosh (now the town of Lillooet).¹ The lots were needed by the colonial government for sale by auction to anxious settlers. Field notes in the Surveyor General's office show Sapper Duffy was triangulating the principal features of the district with a five inch theodolite, while Sapper Breakenridge was booking the readings.

During the survey, His Excellency Governor James Douglas came into town on Friday, 07 September, 1860, via "the Horse-way, formed in 1858."² He was inspecting the Harrison-Lillooet (Lake) route to the goldfields, with a view to converting it to a waggon road. Douglas wanted to be sure he had the best location for the Second Portage, which ran from Lillooet Lake to the town of Cayoosh on Fraser's River.

1 Moody to Assistant Commissioner of Lands, Lillooet. 19 June 1861 "... the Governor desires that the town sometimes known as Kayoosh should be known by its original Indian name of Lillooet." PABC C/AB/30.7/2

2 Despatch No. 13, 09 October 1860, Douglas to Newcastle, para. 21.

Before reaching his decision, he required the exploration of an alternative³ Indian pass to Lillooet Lake via Cayoosh Creek. He called for a qualified volunteer to lead the expedition. With some diffidence, Sapper James Duffy stepped forward (and made his name immortal), but was soon reprimanded⁴ by his military superiors for leaving his regular surveying duty without authority.

Duffy was one of the group of military surveyors who arrived in British Columbia in 1858, under Captain R.M. Parsons, R.E., as part of the Columbia Detachment of the Royal Engineers. This detachment was separate from the North American Boundary Commission whose members had arrived earlier, under Captain J.S. Hawkins, R.E., to survey and mark the boundary along the 49th parallel.

On the morning of Monday, 10 September 1860, Duffy started up the Cayoosh trail with several experienced Indians. He had received written instructions⁵ from Cayoosh magistrate Thomas Elwyn, who sent a second letter to Lieutenant H.S. Palmer, R.E., at Port Pemberton, asking Palmer to meet Duffy "on Lillooet Lake with a supply of provisions."

Duffy travelled an estimated 56 miles to Lillooet Lake at a steady eight miles per day, descending steeply to the lake on Sunday, 16 September 1860 at what is now Joffre Creek. His route, mostly on the Indian trail, ran up the left (north) bank of Cayoosh Creek past a long lake⁷, then over the divide and down the right (north) bank of Joffre Creek. He did not return by the same route, but went three miles north up Lillooet Lake to report to Lt. Palmer in Port Pemberton, at the mouth of Birkenhead River.

Duffy's report of exploration is dated Wednesday, 19 September 1860, R.E. Camp,

-
- ³ Douglas to Moody, 08 September 1860, reporting having found the Indian who knew a road direct from this place to Lillooet Lake, PABC F485c/4.
 - ⁴ PABC F495a/2. Luard to Duffy, 26 September 1860, New Westminster;
Duffy to Luard, 06 October 1860, Cayoosh.
 - ⁵ Elwyn to Duffy, 10 September 1860, Original not found, but copies are identified below at 6, 7.
 - ⁶ Duffy's long strip map of the exploration at 1 inch=1 mile. PABC 8500 A61
 - ⁷ The first record of this lake's existence is on: "Sketch of Part of British Columbia by Lt. R.C. Mayne, R.N. of HMS Plumper, 1859. Approximate scale 1/4 inch = one nautic mile." On the line of what is now Cayoosh Creek is noted: "from Cayoosh Lake, exact position unknown." Surveyor General of B.C.: 33 T1 (Large) Original Maps.

Harrison Road. His notes⁸ and sketch maps⁹ give an adequate description of the route. (See the extracts concerning natural history collected at Appendix A. and a map compiled from his report at Appendix B.) Duffy mentioned having received verbal instructions from the Governor to look for gold en route, and records washing eight specks of gold from a shovel full of dirt, at mile 18.

Regarding the prospects for a waggon road, Duffy says, "The line of road is generally pretty good - as far as I can judge practicable for a waggon road ... The greatest obstacle is at the Lillooet Lake end where there is a very rapid fall of about 1,000 feet to the Lake. I think a waggon road could be made up this portion by zigzagging."

On his one mile to one inch strip map, Duffy names the long lake between his camps 4 and 5 as Lake Melvin. We do not know whom Duffy was honouring, and the lake was actually named "L Duffey" on the map¹⁰ of British Columbia later completed by his colleagues¹¹ in New Westminster as they were disbanding in October 1863. The name remains to this day.

Duffy's "Lake Melvin" was accommodated by a later Surveyor General who named a small Melvin Lake and Creek about five miles east of Duffey Lake. Duffy shows Joffre Creek as Sunday River, for the day he descended its right bank to Lillooet Lake. It was, however, shown as Duffey Creek on provincial maps until 1914, when it was renamed in honour of another soldier, Marshal J.J.C. Joffre, Commander in Chief of the French Army.¹²

Following his report of exploration, which he handed to Lt. Palmer, Duffy returned to his duties at Cayoosh town, where he found a questionnaire¹³ demanding an explanation of his absence from duty. He answered with commendable forthrightness.

⁸ Duffy to Palmer, R.E. Camp, Harrison Road, 19 September 1860, Report of ten pages, including copy of instructions Elwyn to Duffy, 10 September 1860. PABC F495 a/2.

⁹ Duffy's general sketch map showing old and new routes to Lillooet Lake, with a second copy of instructions Elwyn to Duffy, 10 September 1860. PABC 8500 A60 See also note 6.

¹⁰ Map: (part of) "British Columbia," ten miles to one inch, sheets 2 and 5 joined. "Prepared under the direction of Capt. Parsons, R.E., New Westminster, September 1863. Reduced and drawn by (Corporal) J. Conroy, R.E. Lithographed by (Sapper) W. Oldham, R.E." Received by the Royal Geographical Society, London, 04 November 1867. RGS call no. D52.

¹¹ Parsons to Moody, 13 October 1863. PABC F1313/10. "I enclose the Lithograph of Sheet 2 it will be in our power to produce the sheet north of it, No. 5, ... in ten days if I be permitted to retain Corporal Conroy for that period and Sapper Oldham for a few days to print the copies."

¹² Dept. of Lands, map 2B: "New Westminster and Yale (Districts), 1914, four miles to one inch," shows "Joffre (Duffey) Creek." Surveyor General, B.C. Plan 1T6 Lillooet Indian Reserves, also shows "Joffre (Duffey) Creek."

¹³ PABC F495a/2.

The town plan of "Kayoosch" was soon completed, and the lots sold. The manuscript is filed by the Surveyor General as 9, 10T2, Townsites: and tracings by Corporal J. C. White will be found in 2 Locker 13H.

We have not traced Duffy's movements for the remainder of 1860, but he was back on the Harrison-Lillooet trail early in 1861. The British Colonist and the New Westminster Times reported¹⁴ he was found frozen to death in the snow on the first, or long, portage between Douglas (head of navigation on Harrison Lake) and Lillooet Lake. With some difficulty, his body was returned to New Westminster where he was escorted to his grave by the whole detachment of Royal Engineers on Sunday, 19 January. His widow, Alice, was enquiring about her inheritance in the Fall of 1862.

Duffy's name has been recorded three ways. Governor Douglas used "Duffie" in his diary and when reporting¹⁵ the intended exploration to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary in London. Army records in England show "James Duffy" enlisted 02 October 1848 and was assigned Regimental Number 2146. His was the only death in the Columbia Detachment in 1861; the date is recorded as 09 January.

Duffy and his colleagues used Duffy and Duffey almost indiscriminately; there was a slight preference for Duffy, though it is recorded as Lake Duffey on the last Royal Engineer map of British Columbia. This inconsistency of spelling continues today, when both spellings may be found on one page.¹⁶

The Gazetteer of Canada has adopted "Duffey", possibly to distinguish it from the Duffy Creek and Lake south of Kamloops Lake, which was named for Patrick Duffy the pre-emptor of Lot 824, (near the mouth of the creek), 27 August 1896.

A century after Duffy's exploration, a forestry road was completed over Duffy's Cayoosh Creek route to Lillooet Lake. It is now (1980) a provincial highway, connecting Pemberton, and Lillooet Lake, with Lillooet town. A new bridge over the Fraser River near Lillooet town will handle traffic from the "Duffy" highway.

R. C. Harris.

¹⁴ The British Colonist, 18 January 1861; New Westminster Times. 26 January 1861.

¹⁵ Despatch No. 13, 09 October 1860, Douglas to Newcastle. "Three exploratory parties were dispatched, during my stay, from Cayoosh: the first under the charge of Sapper Duffie, had orders to examine a route by the Cayoosh River from Port Anderson to Lake Lillooet, reported by the natives to be more direct, and in many respects more convenient than the present route by Anderson Lake; the second, under Sapper Breakenridge,"

¹⁶ Beautiful British Columbia, Summer 1980, p. 3.

Appendix A

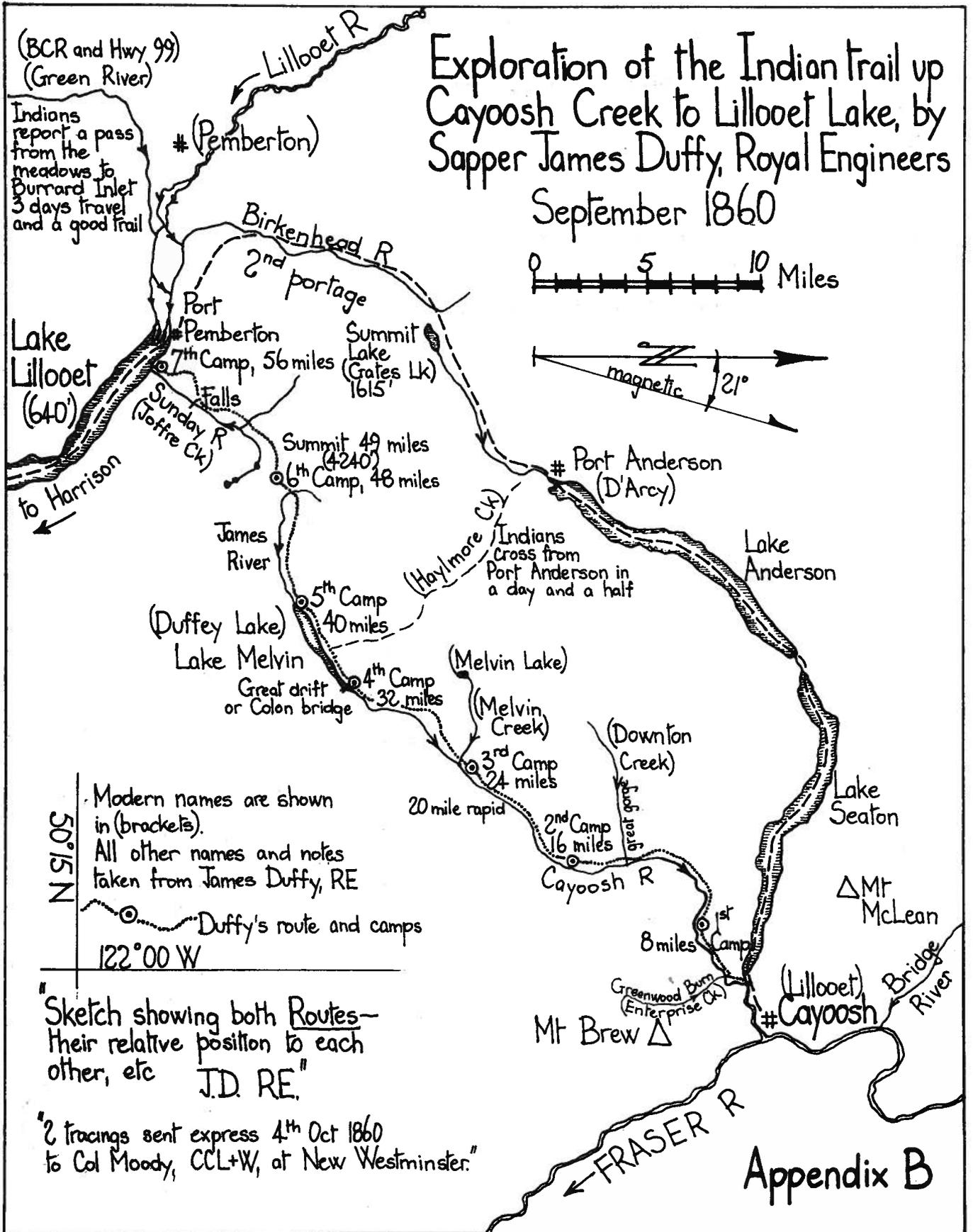
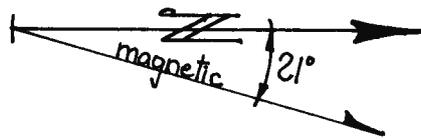
Items of natural history, sampled from Duffy's report.

Approximate
Mileage

- 16 Cedar, Cottonwood, Poplar
Caught 36 trout (up to 1/2 lb.) in an hour, with a fly
High bush cranberries very plentiful.
- 18 Gold found here, 8 specks in a shovel full of dirt.
- 19 Slide - Marble blocks
- 27 Good grass and Indian wapatos (potatoes).
- 27 1/4 Indian camping ground.
- 30 Berries of several kinds, very plentiful
Bear ponds.
- 30 1/4 High bush cranberries very plentiful
- 33 Blazed trees and an Indian camp - good soil.
- 36 Several large black bears seen here.
- 37 1/2 Ground hogs (marmots, from Duffy's description) and sheep.
Bear pools.
Great quantities of goose and raspberries.
- 47 1/2 Good soil.
Bilberries very plentiful.
- 48 Grouse plentiful.

END

Exploration of the Indian trail up Cayoosh Creek to Lillooet Lake, by Sapper James Duffy, Royal Engineers September 1860



50°15' N
122°00' W

Modern names are shown in (brackets).
All other names and notes taken from James Duffy, RE

○ Duffy's route and camps

"Sketch showing both Routes - their relative position to each other, etc J.D. RE."

"2 tracings sent express 4th Oct 1860 to Col Moody, CCL+W, at New Westminster."

Appendix B

BOOK REVIEWS

THE FORCES WHICH SHAPED THEM: A HISTORY OF THE EDUCATION OF MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA. Mary Ashworth, Vancouver, B.C.: New Star Books, 1979. Pp. iv, 238; illus.; \$6.50 pa; \$14.95 cl.

The Forces Which Shaped Them is an educational history of five important minority groups in British Columbia--native Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Doukhobors, and East Indians. The chapter on native Indians is the longest and one of the most interesting. Tracing the efforts of the early missionaries, it focuses on the residential schools, the suppression of language and culture, and ends with recent attempts to provide a policy for native education. All the chapters, of course, deal with discrimination, but the ways of discrimination were often strange and varied. The sections on the Chinese and Doukhobors, for example, reveal the odd quirks of racism--how in the former case popular opinion favored dispensing with any public obligation to educate the race, preferring instead to allow the Chinese to run their own segregated schools; and how in the latter case, popular opinion seemed to favor compulsory attendance in state run schools.

One of the strengths of the book is that it attempts to bring matters up to date. This characteristic may well stem from the fact that Ashworth is not a professional historian and is thus less apt to be satisfied with a period piece. This is not to demean the professional since he is often quite right in seeing clearly defined periods in history. It is possible concerning the Doukhobors, for instance, that most of the story ended years ago. Not surprisingly, Ashworth is least successful in bringing the Doukhobor chapter to the present.

Another strength of the book relates to the author's use of certain "new" sources, the most effective of which are interviews regarding Doukhobor incarceration in the Girls' Industrial School in 1932, and the escape from New Denver in 1955.

The work might be criticized for failing to use effectively a number of important works in the field. Ashworth manages to pick up Forrest La Violette's The Canadian Japanese and World War II (1948) in her bibliography, but her relevant chapter does not draw on the work, especially on La Violette's interesting thesis regarding the level of self-consciousness in British Columbia and its relationship to the social position of Orientals. Nor does she employ Tien-Fang Cheng's Oriental Immigration (1931), a crucial contribution to the literature on the Oriental problem by an Oriental, a book which, like N. Lascelles Ward's tract Oriental Missions in British Columbia (1925), would have moved her more into a critical discussion of the alleged inassimilability of Orientals.

The book fails to detail a social theory which might make the minority problem in British Columbia more understandable. This weakness may be less the fault of Ashworth than of a publishing industry which for its own survival cannot become too theoretical. Where there is theory, after all, can tedium be far behind? Such is the thinking of many "popular" publishing houses.

These shortcomings aside, the overall impression The Forces Which Shaped Them leaves is favorable. The book is unified and nicely illustrated. It is eminently readable, and the frequent long quotations rather than detract, lend a documentary air, credible and illuminating, capturing the essence poignantly at times. More than that, the book is interesting--a point many professional historians could well emulate.

David C. Jones, University of Calgary.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS. Edited by Martin Segger. Vancouver: Arcom, 1979. pp. 88, illus., \$8.50 softcover, \$24.95 casebound.

This publication traces the history of British Columbia's seats of government with particular emphasis on the present day Parliament Buildings and its restoration. Under the general editorship and authorship of Martin Segger, contributing authors Douglas Franklyn, Robert Watt and George Giles have chapters reflective of their areas of expertise. The word chapters is used loosely as the general feeling of the publication is that of a collection of short stories sharing the same main character. Each in its field is authoritative, but the disparate styles and aims make for an uneven whole.

The book starts with an introduction that fits the Parliament Buildings into its historical, social and stylistic context. Similar public edifices across Canada are discussed, as is the need for such a building in British Columbia. Architectural influences and prevailing aesthetics are considered. Chapter two is a somewhat breathless excerpt from the Victoria Times of February 10, 1898 entitled "A Marble Palace" which made this reviewer wish for a complete period photographic record of the unknown correspondent's tour. Instead, fine present day photographs of the Buildings are interspersed throughout this text, illustrative of the unknown correspondent's remarks, but, their juxtaposition with copy is disconcerting. For instance the reference to mosaic floor occurs on page 20, with a tantalizing close-up detail photographed. The floor is not revealed entirely until page 28. Generally, throughout the publication, recent photographs take precedence in size and location over historical photographs and illustrations. This is unfortunate as present day visitors can see much of the Buildings themselves but few have ready access to the historical details. Mention must also be made of the marginal notations. At first it was hard to decide whether they were precis or additional information. At the risk of quibbling, I would suggest cut lines under photographs and illustrations rather than on opposing pages would be preferable.

The chapter written about previous Government Buildings, particularly those appealing oddities, "The Bird Cages", certainly puts the present Buildings into historical perspective but, being of a relatively ordered mind, this reviewer would have appreciated having the information in the introduction to the book. A possible progression of chapters might have evolved with chronological reorganization. The Design Competition and the subsequent triumph of F.M. Rattenbury is next detailed. The inclusion of illustrations of five competing designs confirms the happy choice made by the committee.

The section devoted to the individual creators and firms who worked on the building deserves further treatment, and one looks forward to an expanded, detailed book or pamphlet to use as an on-the-spot guide. The story of the restoration naturally follows from an examination of craftsmen, and is treated as an epilogue. In a mere two and a half pages it condenses what must have been a Herculean effort that is still underway. Again, a book or paper devoted to the history of the restoration, the techniques used and those developed would be a happy adjunct to existing information.

Any reservations about this publication centre more on its style and presentation. The basic historical information is well researched and well written, but one must ask for whom? Is it intended as a guide book for the layman which the glossy format suggests, or is it for the interested admirer of art, architecture and history as the text suggests? Combining the two has resulted in an uneven compromise.

Tom Palfrey, B. C. Provincial Museum.

TRAIL BETWEEN TWO WARS Elsie G. Turnbull. Victoria: Morriss Printing, 1980. Pp 93, illus. \$6.00

Students of Trail history have recently welcomed a third major work by Mrs. Elsie Turnbull on the history of the 'Silver City', entitled Trail Between Two Wars. This book is a follow-up to Mrs. Turnbull's very successful Topping's Trail published in 1964, and covers the period 1911 to 1945. This period in Trail's history is one of growth and prosperity for the town following the successful advancements of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Co. (C.M. & S. Co.) smelter in Tadanac (now Cominco Ltd.). An account of this period is long overdue and Mrs. Turnbull has filled this void in Trail's recorded history very well.

Any history of Trail must inevitably contain a history of the C.M. & S. Co.. Trail's future has always hinged on the fortunes of the smelter and the city's growth and prosperity closely parallels that of the Company. In her foreward Mrs. Turnbull indicates her theme - the growth of the community and the C.M. & S. Company, the part the town played in the successes and failures of the Company, and the stewardship of the Company by S.G. Blaylock and his influence and role in community affairs.

Mrs. Turnbull has attempted to do justice to all of these, a difficult task in 93 pages when writing a history of the Company alone in this period would be a major undertaking. If Mrs. Turnbull has one failing in this book it is the emphasis she has placed on the development of the C.M. & S. Co., in particular the career of Blaylock. This is particularly noticeable in the chapters on the 1930's and the World War II years. She devotes one chapter alone to the C. M. & S. Company's pioneer use of airplanes for mineral exploration in the north. I question this connection to Trail's history.

As the book progresses through the 1920's and 1930's, Mrs. Turnbull provides the reader with less a history of Trail and more a history of the C.M. & S. Company. This is not a major criticism as her story of the Company is interesting and well written. Mrs. Turnbull's treatment of the career of Blaylock is excellent and long overdue. However, more of a balance between the Company's history and the town's would have made the book that much more enjoyable.

Mrs. Turnbull does, in touching briefly on events or people prominent in Trail's history, spark an interest in pursuing our history further. It is a period in Trail's history that has not been explored and Mrs. Turnbull's work is most welcome. The author has a fluent writing style making her works easy and enjoyable to read. They are well organized and researched and provide a good reference for further study.

By and large an enjoyable book, a must for anyone interested in Kootenay history and, on a broader scale, the unique evolution of the industrial company town in B. C.

Jamie Forbes, Trail City Archives.

LOWER CANADA, 1791 - 1840: SOCIAL CHANGE AND NATIONALISM. Fernand Ouellet. Translated by Patricia Paxton. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980. pp. xiv, 427, illus., maps.

The writing of Canadian history has changed significantly during the past two decades. This change has involved two distinct elements: the nature of research questions and the type of sources which are brought to bear on those questions. The traditional focus on great men and events has expanded to include all forms of popular experience and even subtle aspects of social change. Similarly, conventional emphasis on literary evidence such as newspapers, government records, and personal correspondence has given way to pursuit of information about the inarticulate. Historians have found this information in sources like the census, land records, and assessment rolls. Fernand Ouellet's Lower Canada, 1791-1840: Social Change & Nationalism offers an example of certain aspects of these current trends in historical thinking and should be of interest to historians of British Columbia.

Ouellet divides the history of Lower Canada between 1791 and 1840 into two periods. The first period endures until 1815 and was the product of structural changes and ideological shifts dating from the time of the conquest. Ouellet argues that economic developments reorganized Lower Canadian society; a merchant bourgeoisie emerged, tradesmen became important, and rural society diversified. These developments engendered an effective challenge to traditional power groups, the aristocracy and the clergy, and thereby led to a new political realignment which lasted until the early nineteenth century. Significantly, however, this realignment was not predominantly characterized by cultural tension although the seeds of such tension are evident as early as 1800.

In Ouellet's analysis, the 1815-40 period must be understood in the context of French Canadian nationalism and the dominance of ethnic struggle. Ouellet emphasizes that at the root of these phenomena was a severe social crisis which tore apart Lower Canada. This crisis was brought on by the demographic pressure of rapid population growth and by economic difficulties associated with soil exhaustion and land shortage. In this context, urban and rural discontent came to be expressed in cultural terms, most significantly in the Rebellion of 1837-1838. Although this "revolutionary adventure" failed, the establishment of cultural tension had lasting importance.

Many of the questions which Ouellet considers in the case of Lower Canada are also appropriate to other times and places including British Columbia. One example concerns the relative importance and interrelationships of cultural conflict and social division. Similarly, Ouellet's research strategy represents fresh avenues of approach. Ouellet supports his analysis by reference to the ideas of major leaders but, more importantly, by also examining population patterns, economic change, and political behaviour including voting results. Evidence from sources such as the census, poll books, and parish account documents form an important dimension of Ouellet's approach to the questions of social change and nationalism. This evidence is not examined in the style of the "New Social History" but is used to establish a general context within which the activities of certain groups and individuals can be properly understood. The Rebellion thus becomes more than the experience of a small number of political and social leaders; rather, it represents decades of social and ideological development involving the entire population of Lower Canada. This perspective has broad application and represents a major strength of recent historical writing.

Finally, Lower Canada, 1791-1840 is important as one of the few English translations of a major work concerning Quebec. The translation itself is smooth and accurate.

Chad Gaffield, University of Victoria.

INDIANS AT WORK: AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF NATIVE INDIAN LABOUR IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1858-1930. Rolf Knight. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1978 Price \$6.50 paper, \$13.95 hard cover.

Native history in Canada has been dominated by a few main themes such as government-native relations, missionary programmes among natives, the role of the mounted police, and the contact phenomenon. This book, along with a few others, begins the difficult task of broadening out beyond the traditional preoccupations. It attacks a myth manifest in our historical views of Indians: that once the white man became established, the native people faded into villages of poverty on remote reserves, unable to adjust to white society. Knight demonstrates how inaccurate that view is. He strips the layers of romanticism and paternalism of the traditional views and advances effectively a new argument: that B.C. Indians, at least, adjusted well to the advent of the white man's economy between 1858-1930.

Knight makes his point by methodically examining a series of industries in turn. He looks at the fur trade, cottage industries, farming, fishing, canning, the merchant marine, the forest industries, mining, railway construction, and casual labour, and, in each case, finds significant Indian participation. He demonstrates that the Natives as a group were stable, resourceful employees who played a major role in the opening and development of the province. He also documents several instances where Indians became successful entrepreneurs, farmers, and fishermen. He also shows that many Indians made an easy adjustment to white man's technology, and he does not accept the common notion that Natives had any particular difficulty in adjusting to white work systems.

Throughout the book, there is a tendency to see Indians as part of a large amorphous work force buffeted by the harsh way in which the province was developed. Somewhat like many whites, they floated from job to job, finding work where they could, usually in areas close to where they lived. In many instances, Indians were similar to the navvies, the blanketstiffs and the immigrant workers who flowed through B.C. for much of the period Knight discusses. In many other instances, they were like the thousands of subsistence farmers or small fishermen who were unable to withstand the assaults of better financed, better educated competitors. One corollary of this view is that we mustn't be too hasty in assuming a kind of permanence to white work patterns in the years before 1930. Mobility, for both whites and Natives, was a fact of life; most economies were localized, work was varied, and security was rare. In that environment, Knight shows the Indians fared well.

One hesitates to criticize a book so obviously born of hard work and dedicated labour. Nevertheless, a few weaknesses should be mentioned. First, the volume shows the need for better editing. The syntax is often convoluted, and the organizational structure is weak. It reads as a series of virtually independent essays ended by a remarkable Appendix which surveys Indian-white relations generally. Surely, it would have been better to develop this context throughout the book.

Second, the author should have discussed the nature and weaknesses of his sources more explicitly. Normally, historians can avoid such a discussion, but historians of Native themes can rarely do so. Specifically, Knight seems not to have examined the records of the Department of Indian Affairs and its predecessors, except for its publications. This may explain the frequent vagueness as to numbers and trends. He relies for effect--and perhaps because of problems with his sources--upon examples or small groups of people. How reliable are the generalizations that

are then made? Third, the author, in attempting to correct over-emphasizes on racism, perhaps errs in hardly taking it into account at all. Surely, the attitudes and institutions emerging from white societies must have had an effect, even in the years before 1930.

Nevertheless, Knight has made an important contribution. He has argued effectively that until recently Indian people in B.C.--and perhaps, he suggests, across Canada--were important participants in wage economics and commodity production. It will be fascinating to see if other researchers exploring the same theme elsewhere find the same result. It will be equally fascinating to see how reserve dependence and semi-permanent unemployment became institutionalized in the years since 1930. Knight has presented a new and stimulating interpretation for all those who are interested in the role of Native people in our society.

Ian MacPherson, University of Victoria.

NEWS AND NOTES

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Greetings in this new year of 1981!

It is good to report that 1980 saw the BCHA take significant steps in providing services to individuals and societies working to preserve our province's heritage. Many of our members remain unaware of the proposals and accomplishments of the executive council of this organization because only a minority of member clubs takes advantage of its right to take part in Council discussions. This provides me with the opportunity of bringing them to the attention of all. We may take pride in the record of 1980 which is only made possible by the dedication, the generosity, and the drive of our volunteers, some of whom are mentioned below.

You are all aware, of course, of the contribution of our editors, Pat Roy and Terry Eastwood, who vacate their posts with the completion of Volume 14 of the British Columbia Historical News. They leave with our regret, gratitude and best wishes. As yet, no successor has been appointed.

The low scale of membership fees has proved insufficient to offset the cost of publishing the News for some years. Since our first application to it in 1978, the Ministry of the Provincial Secretary has provided a subsidy supplying the deficit. In Canada, most journals of provincial historical associations are supported in part by public funding. The revenue from our membership fee structure provides nothing for the administrative costs of the BCHA. We could forge stronger links with our member societies, improve inter-communication and build up membership if funds were available for travelling, etc. by the officers, and thus create a stronger provincial organization.

Last spring, we received an additional sum in the provincial grant which enabled us to conduct a subscription drive, in which some 950 sample copies of Volume 14, number 1 were mailed to Canadian institutions viewed as possible subscribers to the News.

If escalating costs do not abort the project, a portion of the grant just received is to be spent converting the physical format of the News to one which is more attractive, more compact and more easily shelved, commencing with Volume 15 in the Fall of 1981. So much for the News!

These last two summers, our second vice-president, Winnifred Weir, has organized meetings of historical groups of the East Kootenays in the interests of mutual co-operation and the exchange of ideas. We are, also, developing a liaison with the federation of historical societies in the Okanagan Valley.

In future, you will receive a report by Arlene Bramhall of a publications assistance fund for our members, set up by means of a gift from an anonymous donor and added to by the Nanaimo Historical Society. We hope that this will prove to be a revolving fund such as is our convention fund, provided from the surplus of Nanaimo's convention of 1979. Conference hosts may draw on this latter account, the sum to be returned after the event.

Are there would-be historians in your region who would benefit from a workshop in the researching, writing and publishing of local history? The well-known chroniclers of B.C. history, Philip and Helen Akrigg, our past president, have been conducting most informative sessions in a series organized by our first vice-president, Barbara Stannard, and their success has led us to establish a seminar fund. Mrs. Stannard's interim report appears in this issue.

Our 1981 convention is preparing a programme as varied and interesting as that which we enjoyed so much in Princeton. Chairman Turner of the convention committee when discussing it at our November Council meeting, informed us that delegates can register at the convention hotel in Cranbrook, The Inn of the South, where our meetings are to take place. Convention dates are May 28, 29, 30 and 31. For this event the Vancouver Historical Society has offered to prepare a display for the exhibit and sale of members' publications.

I feel sure that those registering the East Kootenay Historical Association's convention will find it to be both stimulating and rewarding, and I look forward to meeting many of you at that time.

December 20, 1980

Ruth Barnett, President.

B.C.H.A. SEMINARS

Two very successful seminars were held under the auspices of the B.C.H.A. with Dr. and Mrs. G.P.V. Akrigg presenting them both.

The first was held September 30 and October 1, 1980 in Golden. The format took the form of an illustrated lecture on Gold Rush Days in early B.C. on September 30, and a talk on B.C. place names on October 1 to the High School students of the area. This seminar was very well received.

The second seminar was held in Nanaimo at Malaspina College on November 8, 1980 with a different format. The morning session presented place names studies, local histories, and teaching B. C. history. The afternoon session was researching B. C. history and writing and publishing B. C. history. An interesting discussion period followed. This seminar was well received with good attendance and with favorable comment.

I feel this is a very worthwhile project for the B.C.H.A. to sponsor. It takes the work of the society to a larger section of interested persons.

Barbara N. Stannard

NEWS FROM THE BRANCHES

CHEMAINUS - At its November meeting, the CHEMAINUS VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY heard W. H. Espey, a retired customs officer, speak on interesting and amusing events in his career at Churchill, Manitoba, Chemainus, and Nanaimo.

Mrs. Tom Twentyman recently gave the society a painting she had done of one of the oldest houses in Chemainus, "the old Lewis house," which was torn down last year.

VANCOUVER - According to the November newsletter of the VANCOUVER HISTORICAL SOCIETY, members of that branch have recently enjoyed tours of the Historical Photograph Section of the Vancouver Public Library and of the North Shore, its Archives and its Museum. They are looking forward to a Ukrainian New Year's Luncheon in January. Among their recent speakers have been Victor Wilson and Harley Hatfield on the Cascade Historic Trails Wilderness and Rhonna Fleming on the current scene in Vancouver Heritage affairs.

VICTORIA - The VICTORIA branch has published over thirty "Family Capsules" in a twelve page booklet. Copies of these brief histories of Victoria families are for sale at \$1.00 each.

Members enjoyed their annual Christmas Dinner early in December. The guest speaker, Provincial Archivist, John Bovey, spoke on "Riding to the Hounds in the Cariboo." At the regular November meeting, Reuben Ware addressed the Victoria section on "The Songhees Indian Reserve."

HISTORIC SCHOOL BUILDINGS

The Canadian Inventory of Historic Building is about to begin a study on early schools in Canada. As a base for this work, we would like to locate any buildings constructed as schools in Canada before 1930. If there is such a building in your area and you would like to see it included in the study, please write to: School Study, Canadian Inventory of Historic Building, Parks Canada, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 1G2.

WINNER

The winner of the contest in the last issue is P.L. Miller of Golden. The editors wish to thank everyone who took part. To judge by the entries spelling is not a lost art. The word apropos seemed to be the stickiest wicket.

Congratulations to P.L. Miller, who has won a copy of The Colour of British Columbia.

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- MUNICIPAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY. "Your Worship, Members of Council"; highlights from municipal reform movements in the Lower Mainland. Vancouver, Society, 1980. 104 p. \$4.95.
- QUIMBY, George Irving, and Bill Holm. Edward Curtis in the land of the war canoes. Vancouver, Douglas & McIntyre, 1980. 132 p., ill \$18.95.
- ROY, Patricia E. Vancouver: an illustrated history. Toronto, James Lorimer, 1980. ill. \$24.95.
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BRITISH COLUMBIA COMPANY RECORDS

The files of defunct firms may not sound the most exciting source of documents but they can contain some very useful information for social, economic, business and labour historians. They reveal the date of registration and the location of the registered company; lists of directors and shareholders, including their occupations and addresses; information about the capital structure and some annual balance sheets, especially if they were public companies; and the Memorandum and Articles of Association give details about the company's objectives and the legal framework within which it operated. As a number of British Columbian firms were

registered in London, the Public Record Office at Kew¹ can be an important source of documents because the Companies Registration Office of the Board of Trade has most of its pre-World War II records lodged there.

These records are listed under the classification BT 31, Files of Dissolved Companies 1856-1948² and each company has an individual number. There is an index, two large bound volumes, in which many of the companies are listed by name, but P.R.O. archivists hasten to remind you that this index is not exhaustive and that the only complete listing is on the catalogue cards at the Companies Registration Office.³ In order to get a full listing even for British Columbia one would need at least two years full time work, because every catalogue card would have to be checked and a very large number of the individual files would also have to be scrutinised. An additional complication arises from the fact that a destruction schedule was drawn up in 1950 and most of the extant files are incomplete. Only the first and last and every intermediate fifth of the annual returns has been retained. However, a one per cent sample of the files has been preserved in its entirety.

There is also another group of records classified as BT 34, Dissolved Companies, Liquidators' Accounts 1890-1932. This is a much smaller collection because liquidators' accounts were only deposited with the Registrar of Companies as a result of the Companies (Winding Up) Act 1890.

Any researcher who has the name of a firm he wishes to trace can easily check with the Reference Room of the P.R.O. in order to ascertain if the company in question was one of British registration and whether any papers survive. I have prepared a list of sample British Columbian firms that gives an indication of some of the sorts of companies which were registered, but mining and land development ventures are prevalent. The listing was derived by using geographical place-names and is not exhaustive given that basis of selection. Moreover there are many other companies whose names began with Canada or Canadian and upon closer inspection it may be discovered that some of them relate specifically to British Columbia.

Graydon Henning - University of New England, Armidale, New South Wales.

[Editor's note: Graydon Henning's list is on file in the Manuscript Division of the Provincial Archives, Victoria, from where a copy of it may be obtained.]

¹ The address of the Public Record Office is Ruskin Avenue, Kew, Richmond, Surrey TW9 4D4, England.

² There are 33,943 boxes of these records and nearly all of them contain at least five files.

³ The Companies Registration Office was created in 1904. It is situated at Companies House, 55-71 City Road, London EC1Y 1BB, England.

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, Chemainus, 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.
- Gulf Islands Branch: BCHA, Mrs. M. Ratzlaff, Box 35, Saturna Island, B. C. VON 2V0
- 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.
- Ladysmith New Horizons Historical Society, Mrs. B. Berod, Box 130, Ladysmith, B. C. VOR 2E0
- 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 Blatt, 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 Societe 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