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British Columbia Historical News

Journal of the B.C. Historical Federation



*The Fairbridge
Farm School*

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Member Societies and their Secretaries are responsible for seeing that the correct address for their society is up to date. Please send any change to both the Treasurer and the Editor at the addresses inside the back cover. The Annual Return as at October 31 should include telephone numbers for contact.

MEMBERS' DUES for the current year were paid by the following Societies:

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Nanaimo District Museum Society	100 Cameron Road, Nanaimo, B.C. V9R 2X1
Okanagan Historical Society	Box 313, Vernon, B.C. V1T 6M3

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EDITORIAL

WILLIAMS LAKE HO!

The Museum of the Cariboo-Chilcotin in Williams Lake is pleased to be the host of the BC Historical Federation's 1996 Annual Conference on Friday, April 26 to Sunday, April 28. Two workshops are planned for April 26. **Researching, Writing and Publishing** will be explained by panelists Jean Barman, Gordon Elliott and Howard White with moderator Helen Akrigg while **Acquisitioning and Processing of Gifts to Historical Societies and Small Museums** will be presented by Lee Boyko and Greg Evans, officers of the BC Museums Association. There are a limited number of spaces available at these workshops so those wishing to attend should contact Melva Dwyer at 2976 McBride Avenue, Surrey, B.C. V4A 3G6 or phone (604) 535-3041 to reserve a place at no extra cost. Deadline April 15, 1996.

Saturday will feature guest speakers, the Annual General Meeting and the awards banquet while on Sunday, April 28, there will be a bus tour to Likely and Quesnel Forks.

A warm welcome awaits BCHF members and non-members alike. This is a time when we should reach out to history buffs in interior and northern communities. Readers, please invite your friends and acquaintances to participate in this April weekend. Obtain registration forms after March 1st, 1996 from your local branch secretary or phone Lori Hudson-Fish at (604) 398-5825. Deadline for registration is April 15, 1996.

Naomi Miller

COVER CREDIT

This picture taken at an agricultural fair in Victoria in 1936 shows a group of students from Fairbridge Farm School with their bovine charges. These lads, in their suits with short pants, were members of the very first group to arrive at the residential school at Cowichan Station on Vancouver Island. See their story on page 17. BCARS #A-06317.

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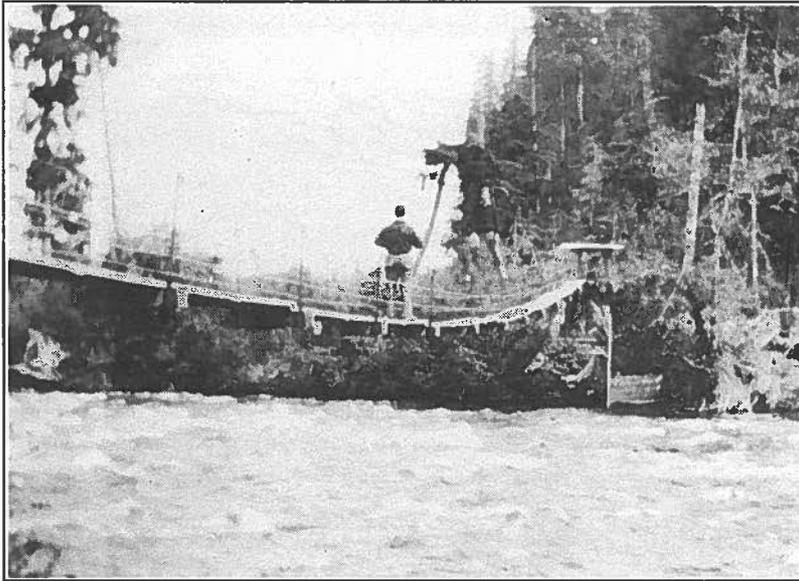
Manuscripts and correspondence to the editor are to be sent to P.O. Box 105, Wasa, B.C. V0B 2K0.
Correspondence regarding subscriptions is to be directed to the Subscription Secretary (see inside back cover).

Dear Editor Naomi

by Ernest A. Harris

Congratulations to you and your contributors for the Summer 1995 B.C. Historical News. I read the magazine from cover to cover, something of an achievement because my eyesight is so bad that I can only read with a print enlarger - useful but cumbersome. However it was worth it! All articles had their own special interests, but some struck chords of memories in my own recollection of people, places and events over the past 85 years.

I was, of course, particularly interested in Tom Barnett's "Englewood Sequel". He filled in some gaps for me for when I was at Englewood (1928-30). I did once visit Camp 1 (as it was known then) near the outlet of Nimpkish Lake via the Wood & English railway. Later, with a friend, I hiked up the Kokish River to its source in Ida Lake. But in the two years I was at Englewood I never even heard of Woss Lake. As Mr. Barnett says when CanFor acquired the timber limits it was a major decision to extend the railway beyond Nimpkish Lake to cross the Kokish River and follow it to tidewater at Beaver Cove. Though this logging railway may still be operative I imagine the old steam locomotives with their bulky spark catcher smokestacks have long since disappeared.



The only bridge across the Kokish River in 1929 before CanFor's logging railway bridge about twenty years later.

All pictures courtesy the author

Jessie Ades and her husband Marvin Kullander's diary recalled special memories for me. I knew that Jessie was a teacher. Her father's house was opposite the Burnett house at Laurel Street and 18th Avenue. Dot Burnett, also a teacher, later became my wife. In Jessie's travels up the B.C. coast she mentions calling at Englewood and other ports which, if I had never visited, I at least knew by name. I recall travelling aboard the Union Steamship **Chelosin** in October 1921 seeing Ocean Falls for the first time. The busy paper plant and its steep adjoining townsite gleamed in the brilliance of electric light. Ocean Falls and other places Jessie mentions have now diminished or disappeared along with the coastal steamers that served them.

Congratulations to Chris Li for his prize winning essay regarding the Chinese contribution to the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The era when the Chinese were treated as second class citizens is now history, but we should all remember democracy depends on a firm basis of tolerance and justice.

The stories about Will Miller and Annie Ronayne and their families, "Pemberton Pioneers",

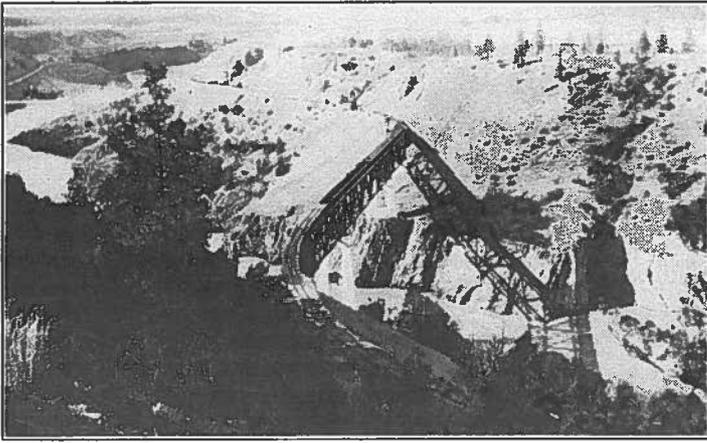
prove that immigrants who are courageous and capable can put down roots in a new land. Today Pemberton is an agricultural community famous for its potatoes, but it can be proud of its pioneers, too. My personal recollection of Pemberton is limited to two train trips. On the first, about sixty years ago, one took a Union Steamship to Squamish and there boarded a Pacific Great Eastern train of passenger and freight cars drawn by a steam locomotive (not the Royal Hudson). The PGE (Please Go Easy or Prince George Eventually) had gone bankrupt and had been taken over by the provincial government who operated the line to

a temporary terminus at Quesnel. Because of its huge debt the PGE was regarded as a white elephant. Some years later when the railway had been extended at both ends and renamed B.C. Rail I took a second trip. I boarded the Dayliner in North Vancouver, travelled along the scenic Howe Sound shoreline to Squamish. Then the train went through a now more pastoral Pemberton, past beautiful Anderson and Seton Lakes to Lillooet and then high above the mighty Fraser in to Clinton and -eventually- to Prince George.

"Those Legendary Leaks" were immigrants of a different sort but none the less remarkable. They were dreamers but not impractical. They were remote but within rowboat distance of a general store and post office. They built a house and storage shed, planted a garden and fruit trees, made a sawmill and landing pier. They lived out their active lives in the forest abode they had created. Today little of it remains but their story is well worth remembering. Orkney Islanders were no strangers to Canada. Because they were inured to a rigorous climate and accustomed to handling boats, the Hudson's Bay Company recruited Orkney men as crews to man the double-ender York boats that carried people and supplies from York Factory



Crossing Kokish River without bridge or boat - rapid water over slippery boulders (1929).



Pacific Great Eastern (B.C. Rail) bridge over the Fraser River near Lillooet (1931).

at the mouth of the Nelson River down Lake Winnipeg to Fort Garry and other settlements along the Red River. But that's another story.

Winston Shillock, in his article about British Columbia's roads, chose true words when he wrote, "For about two decades a miserable road called the Big Bend had followed the Columbia River north from Golden to Mica Creek and south to Revelstoke. Only the very hardy made the trip." It was indeed a rough, gravelly, round-about route. I drove it in the summer of 1940.

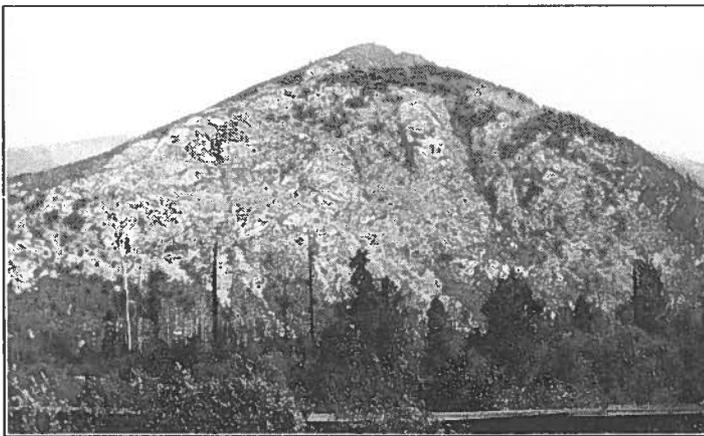
I also felt a kinship for the Robertsons and Wragges motoring to the Cariboo in 1926. On the return trip to Vancouver from Banff in 1940 we took the southern route through Nelson, Rossland and over the hump to Grand Forks. There was no obstruction by fallen trees but I counted thirty-nine hairpin bends. I seem to have duplicated their journey to the Cariboo when I

drove up the tortuous road from Yale, Spuzzum, Lytton, past Lillooet and on through Clinton, 70 Mile, 100 Mile, 150 Mile Houses to Horsefly. The Robertson's car appears to be a 1926 Model T Ford. Except for disc wheels it seems similar to mine. My trip was in July '31 so there was no ice or snow problem ... but it did rain hard beyond Clinton turning the road to a slippery muddy track. Fortunately I had been advised to take tire chains along; without them the car would

have bogged down or slid off the road. Motoring was always a bit of an adventure in those days.

Although I drove automobiles over B.C. roads for more than sixty years, my mechanical skills were marginal. I have nothing but admiration for Henry Stevenson and his friend Alfred Vyse, while still teenagers,

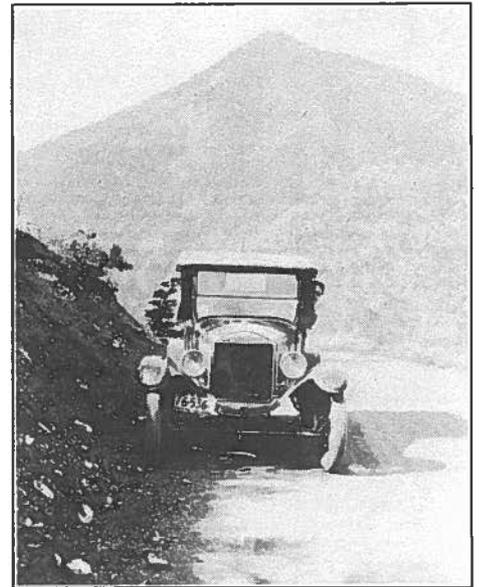
constructing a motor-car from bits and pieces. That their car successfully passed all the tests to drive safely on Nelson's steep streets was indeed an achievement! Henry Stevenson's well researched article about the wartime Japanese balloon bomb also had a Kootenay connection for me. I, at age 18, had my first teaching job at Boulder (located where Boulder Creek joins the Salmon River three miles north of Salmo.) Opposite Boulder was a rugged pyramid shaped mountain; on its far side Hidden Creek made its turbulent way through a deep cleft to join the



Mountain opposite Boulder Mill on the Salmon River, 3 miles north of Salmo. Japanese balloon-bomb landed on forested north slope (left) above Hidden Creek (1928 photo).

Salmon River. On the north side of Hidden Creek a logging company blasted a rough road to a camp deep in the forest. In the spring of 1928 I walked up this road to visit the camp. On the way I may have given a passing thought to bears but the idea of bombs never occurred to me. Therefore I was surprised to learn from Stevenson's article that a Japanese balloon bomb had landed in 1945 on the still rugged slopes of Hidden Creek.

Then there was the wonderful world of



Model T (July 1, 1931) on the Fraser Canyon road somewhere between Boston Bar and Lytton.

women's hats (always topical) with excellent illustrations. I can recall a hat story which I first heard some 80 years ago and which my elders often re-told. It concerned a northern cannery manager named Mr. Gilmore. He was a genial man but because of his deafness he always spoke in a very loud voice. On an occasion before WWI he attended a moving picture show in Prince Rupert where he was given a seat behind a woman wearing a wide brimmed hat with flowery, feathery decorations. After a minute or so, Mr. G turned to his neighbour and in a stentorian whisper that boomed across the theater (silent pictures in those days) he remarked, "I CAME HERE TO SEE A MOVIE NOT A WOMAN'S HAT."

Bio Note: Ernest Harris has contributed several delightful articles to the B. C. Historical News as well as providing cartoon illustrations suited to the topic. AND he sent photographs to illustrate this novel Letter-to-the-Editor.

The Alberni - Qualicum Indian Trail

by A.C. (Fred) Rogers



Adam Grant Horne and wife Elizabeth. Note the two pistols in his belt.

B.C.A.R.S. A-8365

Russians as well as the Spanish had made landings on the West Coast exploring for gold in the 1700's. The English under Captain Cook made contact there in 1792. The Americans came a little later on fur trading expeditions. But none of these ships it seems explored the Alberni Inlet beyond Barkley Sound. The natives living on the shore of Somass River and tidewater had never faced a whiteman until 1855-6, when Adam Grant Horne, an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company was summoned by his officers in Victoria to launch an expedition to explore the possibility of trading with these people in Alberni. There were rumours that a trail existed overland between Qualicum and Alberni, and his mission was to locate and explore this route. To the best of their knowledge, no white men had previously used this trail, so the feasibility of finding the trail and the dangers the small party might encounter were unknown.

Young Adam Horne was selected to lead this party for obvious reasons. He was a powerful man about six feet three inches tall weighing about 230 pounds. He was only twenty years of age when he first arrived in Victoria from the ship **Princess Royal** in 1851. He was put in charge of the company store in Nanaimo, and soon acquired some skill in dealing with the natives and their customs. He was known to be courageous and not easily intimidated.

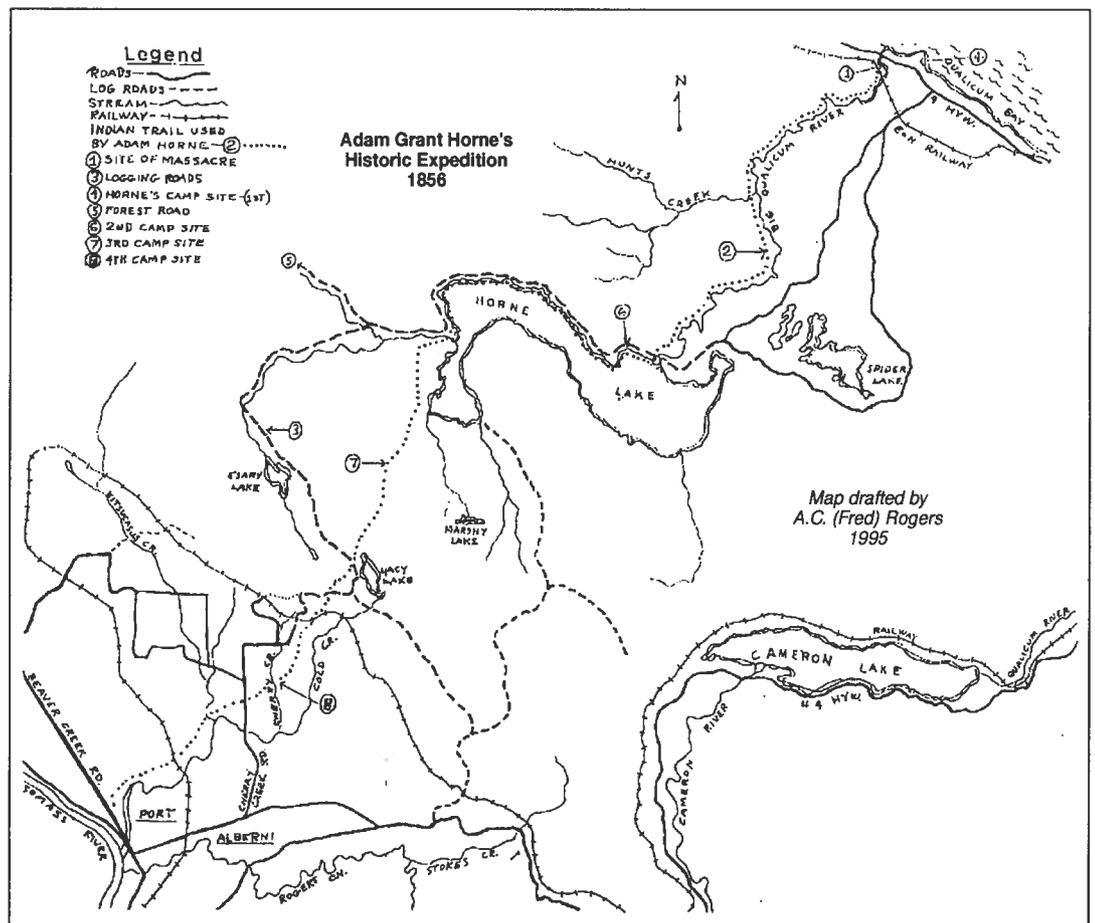
Horne was sent to Victoria where his party were outfitted with a large Indian canoe and provisions. His men included three Iroquois Indians from Eastern Canada and another local Indian from Victoria known as Cote. He was acting as interpreter and the others were selected as skilled canoe handlers.

Their First Expedition North

The explorers left Victoria early on the morning of Saturday, May 10, 1855. (There are conflicting reports about the date. An-

There are reasons to believe this historic Indian trail existed centuries before European white men explored Vancouver Island. Most of the native tribes on the island lived in isolated bands close to tidewater or rivers near tidewater where salmon could be easily harvested. Some of these bands were on friendly terms with other tribal bands who did a little trading or visitation for many reasons. There existed however, other groups of natives known to be fearful warriors and of a savage nature, living on the northern mainland and the Queen Charlotte Islands. For reasons only known to themselves, they occasionally embarked on voyages to make war with other tribes living a more peaceful existence. The natives living in the Alberni Valley were not plagued to such a degree by war-like northern Indians.

The aboriginal first nation people living on the West Coast of Vancouver Island often made contact with white traders. The



other source claimed it was 1856.) The group made their first stopover by a little island near Saltspring Island. They didn't light a campfire for fear of a possible attack from the Cowichan natives. Their next landing was on Newcastle Island near Nanaimo, and no campfires were made. On the third day, a good breeze and a small sail brought the men to Qualicum, but a gale forced a landing about a mile south of the Qualicum River. (Big Qualicum). Once again they concealed themselves in the forest that evening with their canoe. Horne had Cote

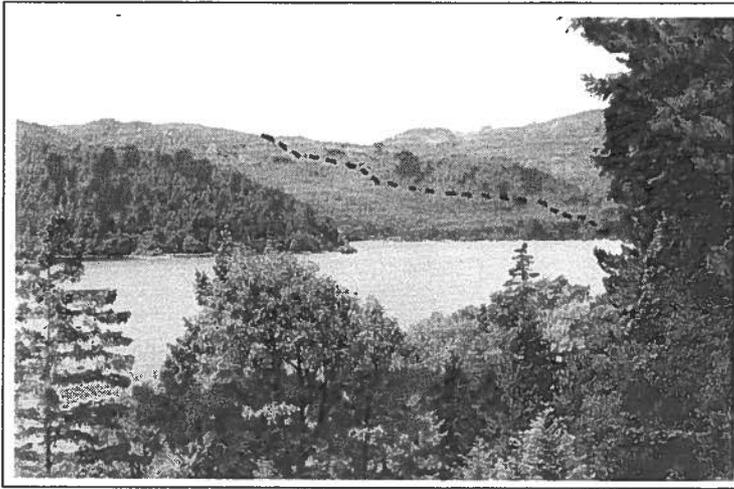
posted to stand guard with a loaded musket for fear of attack. These precautions paid off.

Near daybreak, one of the guards woke Horne who was sleeping. A large group of Indians in about twenty huge canoes each holding about twenty or more men were closing in towards the mouth of the river. This turn of events caused considerable delay. In due time, the Haida warriors were seen leaving the river, and when well out of sight, the group proceeded to the river. Large columns of smoke were rising above the forest, and the men feared the band of Indians known to be living up the river had been attacked.

A short distance upstream, the men came upon a most frightful scene. They had noted many warriors leaving the river were standing and chanting while holding the heads of victims as trophies. The village was still burning, while scattered around were the headless nude bodies of women and men. It appeared there were no survivors, but one of the men heard a faint sound near the river and found an old woman hiding under the roots of a large tree. She had somehow escaped in the turmoil but was badly wounded. They did what they could to help but she was failing away. They learned the warriors had taken some young girls and boys as prisoners, and she was the lone survivor. Horne was hoping she could tell them if a trail existed and where it started, but she soon passed away. Horne's men begged him to abandon this dangerous mission, but he was determined to fulfill his commission.

Searching For The Trail

From the mouth of the river, the men paddled about two miles north and cached their canoe and some provisions for the return trip. They entered the heavy forest and began



A view to the head of Horne Lake. The dotted line shows approximately the route of the old trail.

Photo courtesy of author

walking south hoping to find a trail. This was slow, hard work, but four hours later, they came upon a trail. It went in a north-westerly direction so they followed it. (There was no mention about crossing the river so we can assume the trail was on the north side of the river.)

It was late that evening when they came upon a large lake. As they were dead tired, they made camp in the forest away from the trail to avoid any contact with other Indians that might be passing through. Their evening was occupied by Cote who related to Horne, some of the old woman's last words before she died. She said their band was related to the Cape Mudge band, and some time ago, the Haida's attempted to steal the Chief's daughter. During the battle, some Haida men were killed and this battle was for revenge. The Haidas deemed it unwise to attack Cape Mudge knowing it was guarded, so they quietly paddled up the Qualicum River undetected and out of sight to make a surprise raid.

The explorer's night was most unpleasant. They were disturbed by the howling of wolves nearby about midnight and the screech of a cougar. Cote then stood guard until the wolves were gone for they feared their food might be found. They discovered nothing was disturbed that night but two large wolves were still near their camp.

The trail alternately followed the lakeshore or in the forest. They noted the beach was marked with spoor of bears, deer and elk. The trail itself ran helter - skelter in the forest with many needless detours around wind-falls that with a little work could be by-passed. Horne shot a young elk that morning to supplement their diet with fresh meat, and they carefully cached the rest for the return trip.

The afternoon was hard work from the head of the lake while climbing the steep mountain. They made camp again and Adam Horne posted two men to stand guard, alternating every four hours. They were not taking chances of being discovered by wandering natives. The next morning they continued the hard climb and reached the summit of the pass about noon. From there they had a view of the Alberni Valley. After hiding more supplies for the return trip, they started down the mountain. Horne described this trail as exceedingly steep, with many

rocky bluffs where they eased their way down by holding onto bush. From the foot of the mountain, the trail went directly to an Indian village on the Somass River.

Contact With The Indians

The arrival of Horne's party produced great alarm and excitement. Most of them had never met a white man before. They ran into the forest shouting to each other. None were in sight but they stayed nearby and an arrow struck a tree close to Horne's head. Cote advised them to keep under cover in the forest. Most of the tribe were on the far side of the river. When the alarm subsided, Cote and Adam paddled over with some gifts and biscuits where they met the Chief. He was quite a fearsome looking man that Cote didn't trust. He was given a blanket, a knife and some biscuits they placed on the ground, and they then retreated to a safer distance at the foot of the mountain to make camp where they had the first good meal that day.

Another meeting was arranged, and a young Indian from the Nitinat Tribe near Victoria who was held as a slave wanted to return to his own people. Adam bargained with the Chief to release the youth for two blankets which he accepted. The Chief however came forward with the boy and now demanded three blankets. Horne refused and a dangerous situation prevailed. When the Chief took the boy away, Horne took hold of him and tossed the two blankets at the Chief's feet. Adam Horne broke the deadlock by firing his musket; that alarmed the natives who ran off leaving the two blankets. The party then hastily broke camp before the Chief returned with a war party. They ascended the mountain to a safe distance and posted guards around their camp. They left



Dr. John Helmcken.

B.C.A.R.S.

before dawn, and when near the summit, a few Indians were seen in the forest. They had a quick breakfast there and found their cache untouched.

They arrived at the lake again, shot some mallards for supper and left early the next morning, after another tense restless night where they kept a fire to ward off the howling wolves.

The group planned to follow the trail to the Qualicum River massacre site, for they didn't want to repeat the trip through the pathless forest. When they figured they were near the village site, they called a halt and sent a scout to check things out. He returned stating that he had found no living soul, canoes, or people out on the sea. It appeared no one had been there after they left. Some timbers were still smouldering and the bodies had been partially eaten by animals.

Adam Horne's return trip was uneventful. They were relieved to find their canoe and cache intact. They kept close to shore while going south, keeping a watchful eye for fear of the Haida warriors. Horne was enthusiastically greeted when he reached Victoria. He made a full report to his staff, but what his report contained was probably not published.

The old trail and plans of trading were left for a while, but Adam Horne made a number of other trips over this route at a later date. It is not known how his group appeased the

insult to the Chief on their first visit. Horne displayed great courage by returning to the Somass River knowing his head would be a prized trophy.

Adam Grant Horne was born at Kirkwall, Orkney Island, and at a later date, was the owner of a store in Nanaimo for many years. He was married on February 22, 1859, to Elizabeth (nee Bate) in Nanaimo. He died on August 10, 1901.

Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken of Victoria interviewed Adam Horne and wrote an essay about his historic trek across the Vancouver Island trail. In later years, George Bird of Port Alberni published some of Adam Horne's adventures in the Alberni newspaper, **West Coast Advocate** from Dr. Helmcken's book - **Stories of Early British Columbia**.

In October of 1856, James Douglas, Governor of the colony of Vancouver Island and manager of the Hudson's Bay Company, organized another expedition to explore the country Adam Horne had travelled. This group was supervised by Joseph Despard Pemberton, the H.B. Co. surveyor. He crossed over the same trail used by Horne. He made another crossing again the following year.

In 1859, Adam Horne and Capt. George Henry Richards made another trip from Qualicum River to Alberni for the purpose of opening a road. He reported the mountains were too steep and the route could never be used for a roadway.

In 1861, Lieutenant Richard Charles Mayne, R.N., was instructed to find another route if one existed through the mountains from Alberni to Nanaimo. His party started out from Alberni on April 29. The trip took seven days of hard travel without the benefit of a trail. He had a crew of six Indians for guiding and packing as well as William E. Banfield and one Royal Marine from **H.M.S. Hecate**. The men had trouble keeping the



Mrs. Nicholas and her children walked over the Indian trail in 1886.

Alberni Valley Museum-PN 745

Indians moving, for they stopped for the slightest reasons. One man complained his feet were hurting him and wanted some boots. He was given boots but he didn't wear them. He carried the boots on his pack. For some unknown reason, the Indians had never used this route they were blazing through. They had no knowledge of Cameron Lake or the country they travelled through. The new trail was eventually upgraded and in 1890 a wagon road was built over the route. It followed the north shore of Cameron Lake and not where the present highway exists.

Many pioneers and travellers used the original Qualicum Alberni trail. Every group that went through did improvement work to shorten the trail. In 1874, Father Brabant wrote in his diary that he walked over this trail which was greatly improved. And Missionary Father Eussen walked the trail in winter with an Indian who carried his blankets and rifle. He made the trip in 1884 and walked from Qualicum to Nanaimo.

Other travellers include C.A. Cox who used the trail in May, 1884. Other pioneers who came to Alberni in 1886 were Edmund Gill; John Love; and John Fisher. And John C. Mollet came through in 1886 with his mother and father.

The most daring adventure was made by a woman, Mrs. Sarah Nicholas with her four young children, Bertha, Ette, Alfred and William. Her husband had left Australia in 1885 to join his uncle, Peter Merrifield who was in poor health. After helping his uncle build a house, Nicholas decided to stay and sent a message to Australia for his wife and the four children to join him. In the meantime he built his own house for the family. It was located beside the trail where the present-day hydro powerlines are located just north of the golf course. She walked the trail with the help of her brother-in-law William Nicholas in 1886. The trail had been greatly improved by then and a boat was established on Horne Lake to avoid a six-mile walk. One of the children, Alfred, only four years old died not long thereafter.

An Indian who was known as Qualicum Joe of Qualicum established a boat on the lake to assist travellers and the man who carried the mail from Qualicum to Alberni. When the Anderson sawmill was built by Capt. Edward Stamp in Alberni in 1864, one

of the mill hands Walter Underwood decided to stay after the mill closed a few years later. He married a native woman and they had a son also named Walter who later got the contract to carry the mail over the trail twice a month. "Watty", as he was known, first walked the trail until he got a horse. His route crossed over the little Qualicum River and the big Qualicum River just below the lake in the canyon. He had a large log for a bridge with a handrail, and his horse often used the bridge during high water.

When the new wagon road was opened for travel around Cameron Lake in 1890, the old trail was abandoned. The author could find no evidence of the original trail despite extensive searching of the area from Horne Lake to Alberni. The area was logged by railway in the 1920's and 30's, and the trail destroyed. But hiking the area is possible by following old logging roads and the use of a good detailed map. But be cautious. You could get lost, for there are many old roads to confuse those not familiar.

Bio Note: The author makes his home in Qualicum Beach. He describes himself alternately as a marine historian or the publisher of two books about hiking trails, one referring to trails in the Qualicum-Parksville area, the other highlighting trails in the Alberni and Nanaimo districts.

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Opening of Teit Gallery in Merritt

by Esther Darlington



Sigurd Teit, Merritt
Courtesy Esther Darlington

A new wing in the Nicola Valley Museum in Merritt commemorating the invaluable life's work of one of North America's foremost anthropologists, James A. Teit, is "A start", says his son Sigurd Teit. The opening is long overdue.

Teit's almost life-long absorption of native Indian cultures and languages, provided the meat and bones of studies by famous anthropologists such as Franz Boaz. Boaz's historic meeting with Teit near Spences Bridge is a theme sought by the Nicola Valley Museum Archives Association and a number of distinguished researchers across North America to be commemorated in a postage stamp. An application and supportive material was sent to Canada Post, Ottawa, last year.

The new wing includes artifacts and written work by Teit, a buckskin shirt worn by

Teit, a gun case, and a camera. Other artifacts include a variety of coiled pots and trays, cooking utensils, tools, clothing, photographs and a mural by Susan Stevenson, depicting Teit as a chronicler of native life, language and traditions.

The Teit Gallery is the newest addition of the Nicola Valley Museum. Most of the artifacts in the gallery were donated by Teit's son, Sigurd.

Launching the new gallery July 31, 1995 were a number of civic and provincial government officials, including the Mayor, Clara Nygaard; The Honorable Bill Barlee, Minister of Small Business, Tourism and Culture; MLA Harry Lalli; native elder Mary Coutlee; Linguist Mandy Jimmie; former chief Don Moses; Professor Rod Sprague, University of Idaho; Dan Bruce of Kelowna Museum; David Scheffel, University College of the Cariboo; and others. All acknowledge Teit's invaluable contribution to the preservation of native Indian cultures of several tribes; Thompson, Shuswap, Lillooet, and Okanagan.

Dan Bruce, who was doing a degree in

Anthropology in London when he discovered Teit's work, said the work was a revelation to him. Absent of jargon, comprehensive and true in its interpretation, Bruce said, "It was a real person, talking about real people in a real place. You could understand it".

Native spokeswoman, Carol Michel, said, "It is important to Indians to see what Teit collected. The song recordings made by Teit were the beginning of the collections made later".

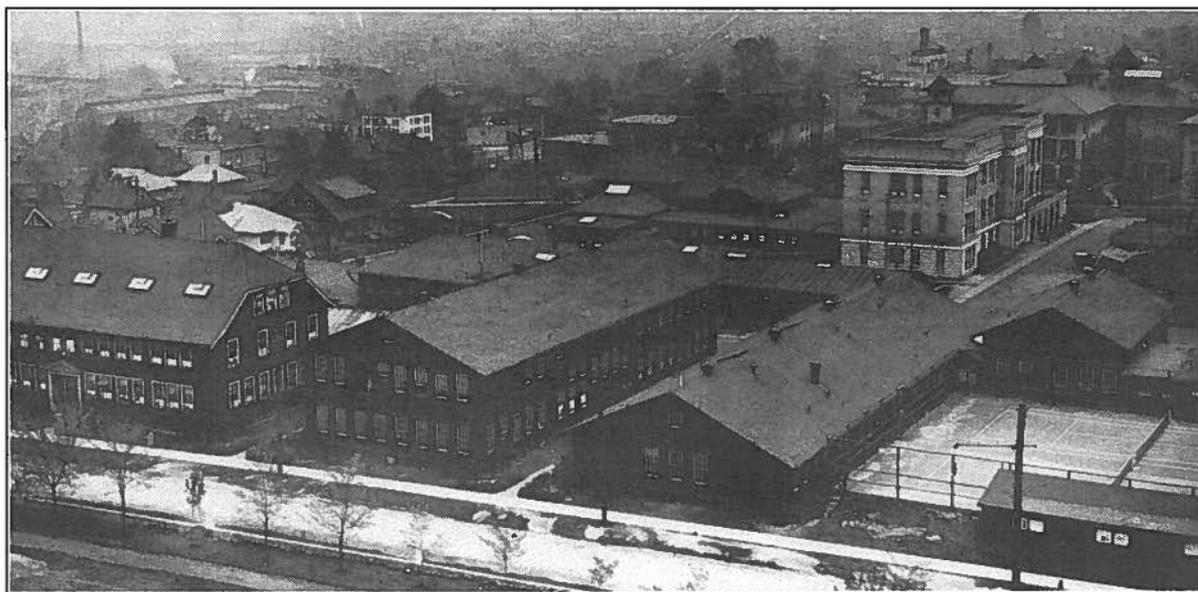
Don Moses said, "We are indebted to Teit. To me, the man really adopted the Indian ways, otherwise he would never have been able to collect what he collected".

Professor Sprague said, "Many years ago, as a graduate student working with a professor Alex Smith, I was told by him, "Begin with the Thompson Indians by James A. Teit".

"It is the start of recognition of James A. Teit", said Sigurd Teit at the end of the ceremony. "When we grew up, nobody knew who James Teit was, and something like this is very important."

Health Care Changes in the Early 1900s

by Glennis Zilm and Ethel Warbinek



University of British Columbia at Fairview site on grounds of Vancouver General Hospital, circa 1919. The three-storey stone building was used for classes and is surrounded by the wooden buildings that gave rise to the name "Fairview Shacks".

Courtesy Special Collections UBC Library

Health, in the early 1900s, was a challenge. Just being healthy and remaining so was difficult. Typhoid, cholera, and tuberculosis were still common causes of death, especially in cities, where sewage systems were often inadequate and where unpaved, muddy streets were littered with refuse and manure from horse-drawn vehicles. Home sanitation measures about clean food and water remained problems for the general populace. Despite increases in scientific knowledge and introduction of new vaccines, infectious diseases such as smallpox, whooping cough (pertussis), measles, scarlet fever, and infantile paralysis (poliomyelitis) remained major killers. Workplace accidents killed many heads of the households, leaving families fatherless. Puerperal fever was a common killer of women following childbirth, leaving families motherless. Large families were the norm, but one of four newborns was likely to die before the second birthday. Medical knowledge had expanded but, generally speaking, statistics on sickness (morbidity) and death (mortality) were not noticeably improving.

The public health movement of the early 1900s in British Columbia set out to change all that. The main impetus called for education of public health nurses, who were to introduce health instruction in home and

school, oversee sanitary measures, and assist in providing maternal and child nursing care. The call was for university education for nurses, especially for those nurses who would carry out new public health duties and those who would be teaching in nursing programs. In response, the first degree program in nursing in Canada opened at the University of British Columbia in the fall of 1919. As with all such innovations, this event occurred in response to a variety of contemporary social pressures. For example, at this time, nurses were prepared only in hospital schools of nursing and their programs concentrated on preparing young women to carry out bedside care. Nursing leaders and enlightened public health officials recognized that better educated nurses would be able to do much more than bedside care and would be able to introduce measures to deal with the appalling health problems of the day.

During the "golden years" of 1900 to 1914, Vancouver's population had quadrupled from 27,000 to more than 113,000.¹ Despite economic fluctuations, the province became more industrialized and urbanized, with a growing affluent middle class. This period of growth and prosperity also was a factor in prompting the major changes in the ways health care in general and education of nurses

in particular were offered.

Payment for most health care in the 1910s and 1920s was the responsibility of the individual patient or family; medical and nursing care insurance was almost non-existent. Private plans, such as Metropolitan Health Insurance, were just beginning to be set up, although many early nursing leaders advocated government-run insurance programs. Most graduate nurses were paid by their patients

for bedside care in the home. However, in many communities and rural areas, a nurse was the only health worker available and some communities arranged for the nurse to do teaching and health promotion.

Organization of public health services in B.C. began in 1893 with establishment of the Provincial Board of Health. Dr. C.J. Fagan, secretary of the Board, was soon urging that nurses should visit schools and homes to educate the public about better infant and child care and to assist in reducing the incidence of tuberculosis and other communicable diseases. The first "school nurse" in Vancouver was appointed in 1910 by the city to help supervise the health of 9,800 children in Vancouver's 16 schools.² In 1911, a provincial act to provide for medical inspection in schools was passed, but as few physicians were available to carry out this work, the provincial authorities called for use of "school nurses" throughout the province. Despite this start, however, in 1914, the death rate in children under age two was 25%.³ Dr. Henry Esson Young, minister of education and responsible for the provincial board of health, called for better educated nurses who could provide more comprehensive public health care, including family health teaching.



Dr. Henry Esson Young, minister of education and responsible for the provincial board of health. He was responsible for guiding through legislation calling for medical inspections of all schools in the province. After he retired from politics, he became the head of the provincial board of health, later the provincial health department. This portrait was taken in 1911.

BCARS #A-02547

Emphasis on Education

British Columbia already had a strong commitment to improved education in many fields. B.C.'s public school system had been co-educational since its inception in the 1850s, but with increased prosperity in the province, high school education was becoming the norm. A Provincial Normal School, for education of teachers, had opened in Vancouver in 1899 with 50 students.⁴

Training schools for nurses had been among the first higher-level educational institutions in B.C. The first Canadian nursing program to be based on the educational model developed by Florence Nightingale had opened in St. Catharines, Ontario, in 1874. Nightingale's far-reaching influence had caused many changes in nursing education, but one outcome was that it had become largely a female occupation. B.C.'s first Nightingale-based nursing program opened at Victoria's Royal Jubilee Hospital in 1891⁵ and by 1899 Vancouver had its first nursing school.⁶

Changes in health care, new scientific advances, and increased emphasis on public education and prevention of illness made public health nursing a potentially appealing and rewarding career. Nurses recognized, however, that such a career required advanced

education, and nursing leaders were calling for university programs. Hospital nursing education programs prepared graduates only for bedside work in hospital settings. Illness prevention, family education, and community leadership were not taught, despite the fact that once nursing students graduated almost all worked as private duty nurses in patients' homes.

The move to university preparation for nurses had begun in Scotland in 1893, when students at the Glasgow Infirmary received short courses in theory at St. Mungo's College before they began their practical work at the hospital.⁷ In the United States, the first university course for graduate nurses had opened at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, in 1899. Canada was not far behind.

Nurses, like other women's groups, were forming organizations to promote better care for the public and better education for themselves. A graduate nurses' association had been formed in B.C. in 1912, with Scharley Wright (later Mrs. Bryce Brown), a school nurse in New Westminster, as its first president. This association secured provincial legislation for registration in 1918.⁹ The legislation ensured registered nurses met proper standards and thus protected the public from unqualified practitioners; it also established the first minimum standards for training schools.

The public interest in education had led to the opening of the University of British Columbia (UBC) in 1915. The first classes for the 379 registrants were held in a three-storey former hospital building located on the Fairview property of the Vancouver General Hospital (the "Fairview Shacks"). Although a site at Point Grey had been allocated by the provincial government, Canada's entry into World War I in August 1914 turned attention and funds away from grand university plans. Despite the war, by 1918 the student population in the three faculties of the time (Arts, Agriculture, and Applied Science) was 273 females and 265 males.¹⁰ This predominance of women was considered "temporary" because of the numbers of young

men serving overseas. The numbers of women, however, was evidence of another trend of the time.



Ethel Johns, first head of the department of nursing at the University of British Columbia, 1919-1925.

Courtesy of UBC School of Nursing Archives

A Growing Feminism

The Women's Movement had emerged in the late 1800s and early 1900s. This early feminism was another important social pressure. British Columbia women had joined the agitation for suffrage and obtained the vote in 1917, with B.C. the fourth province to gain the franchise. The Canada Election Act of 1918 gave women voting rights in federal elections.

Several women's organizations developed around the turn of the century so women could support one another and make their collective voices heard in their demands for better educational, employment, and political opportunities. The National Council of Women was formed in 1895, with one of its goals the improvement of the health of women during the childbearing period. The local councils were particularly interested in the development of schools of nursing and improvements in public health nursing care.

When Countess Ishbel Aberdeen, wife of Canada's Governor-General and a founder of the National Council, was in Vancouver in 1896, the idea of a visiting nursing service, modelled on a British service, was suggested to her by two Vancouver women.^{11, 12} This sparked the establishment in 1897 of the Victorian Order of Nurses (VON) for Canada to bring nursing services to women in poor, rural, and isolated areas and so reduce the high maternal and child mortality rates.

Development of UBC's Nursing Program

All these factors contributed to the demands in B.C. for a university-based nursing education program. As well, the heroic activities of nurses during World War I and in the care of the Spanish flu victims in the post-war, world-wide epidemic of 1918-1919 had imparted a glorification of nurses. Nurses had served magnificently in field hospitals, often near the front lines, and were icons to be emulated. Even women's fashions were influenced by the shorter, more practical length of the skirts of nurses' uniforms.

Authorities had also recognized that the young men called up for military duty could have benefited from better health education during their early years. Many had failed the physical exam and evinced a lack of nutrition and health education during infancy and childhood years. Following the war, the League of Red Cross Societies called on the national associations to put their peace-time efforts into prevention of disease (especially tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and malaria) and promotion of health.

The influenza epidemic, which killed more than 50 million people world-wide and 50,000 in Canada, also brought home to the public the need for better health care generally. Authorities awakened to the fact that such care could be provided by well-prepared public health nurses.

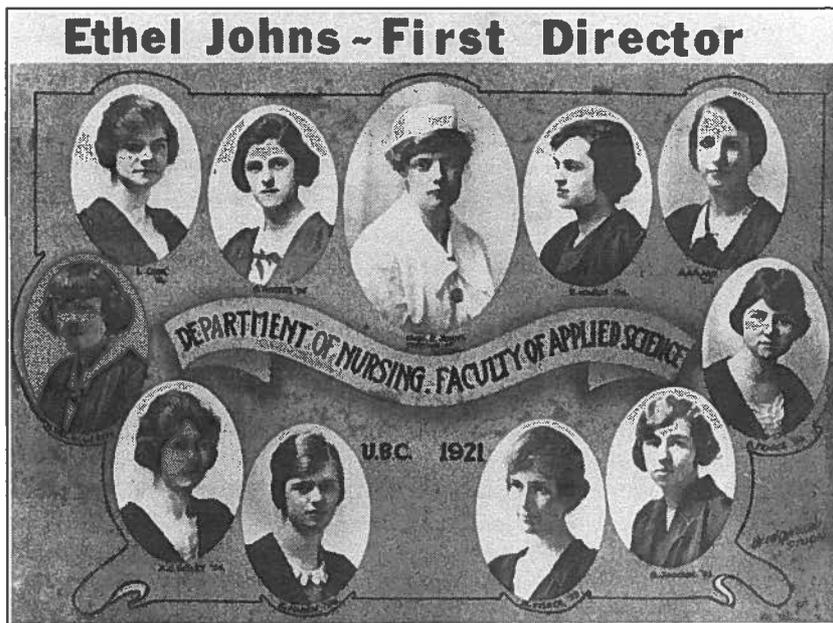
The influential Dr. Young definitely favored advanced education in public health. As minister responsible for school health, he had promoted the School Medical Inspection Act of 1911. This legislation called for

every school child in the province to have a physical examination every year. He and Dr. Fagan had appointed the first provincial school nurse in 1913 and soon most centres also had school nurses (either under the provincial department or through a local school board). As well, he believed well qualified

province, with various approved hospitals used for practical experience. Dr. Robert McKechnie, chancellor of UBC and chair of the Senate meeting, was a close working colleague of Dr. MacEachern and also supported these views.

After much deliberation, the Senate and Board of Governors approved the idea of a Department of Nursing¹⁴ under the Faculty of Applied Science, and the stage was set for the first baccalaureate nursing degree program in Canada to open in the fall of 1919. The Board of Governors had been advised that Vancouver General Hospital would pay the salary of the head of the nursing department, and approval was thus given on the grounds that the University would have no financial responsibility. The approved program called for two years of university courses (at least one of which must be at UBC), two years in an approved hospital program, and a final year at UBC.

Ethel Johns became the first director, appointed in August of 1919 to be both Superintendent of Nurses at Vancouver General Hospital and head of the newly approved UBC Department of Nursing. A graduate of the Winnipeg General Hospital School of Nursing with a year in the university program at Teachers College, she was a strong, dynamic leader. She had been instrumental in urging university nursing education in Canada. She had the foresight to see that a strong, science-based, liberal education for nurses belonged in a university system, paid for from educational, rather than health care,



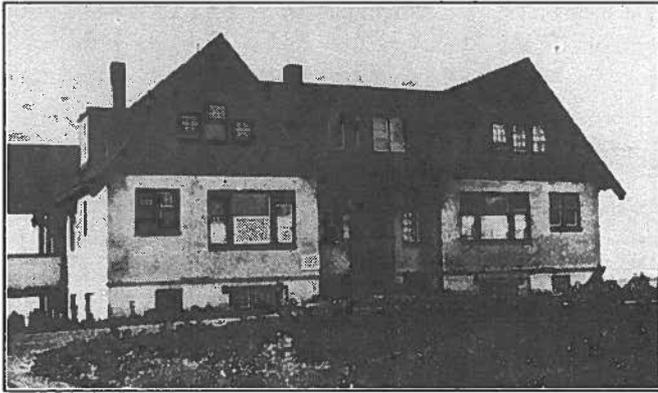
Ethel Johns, first head of the department of nursing, with the ten students enrolled in the UBC degree program in 1921.

Courtesy of UBC School of Nursing Archives



Mary Ard. MacKenzie was instructor of public health nursing in the UBC Department of Public Health funded by the Red Cross from 1920 to 1923.

Courtesy of UBC School of Nursing Archives



The Saanich Health Centre, opened in 1919, was the first provincial public health department.

Courtesy of Canadian Public Health Association

budgets. She accepted the challenges of trying to bring such a program into being.

She arrived in Vancouver from Manitoba, where she had been head of the Winnipeg Children's Hospital, and began her new role on October 1, 1919. She remained only six years, a turbulent time during which she set a secure foundation for the UBC Nursing Program. She left to become field director of nursing programs in Europe for the Rockefeller Foundation and to fill a variety of influential positions in the United States. She returned to Canada in 1933 to become editor of *The Canadian Nurse*, a professional journal established in 1904 and still published for all nurses in Canada.

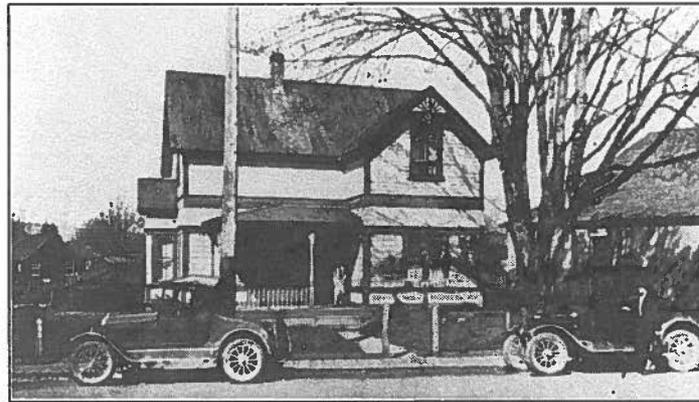
Her tenure with the UBC Nursing Department, from 1919 to 1925, reflected the social, economic, educational, cultural, political, scientific, and technological climates of the period. However, she and the young women who entered the first Canadian degree programs during this period also helped shape the events for the following decades.

Ethel Johns summarized her views on nursing education in an address to a mass meeting when she became director of nursing at the 1,200-bed Vancouver General Hospital in 1919.¹⁵ She explained that when she served on Manitoba's Royal Commission on Public Welfare she found the politicians and the public were looking to nurses for leadership in health questions, for teaching, and for a vitalizing force in community life; unfortunately, the quality of nursing education in hospitals was not good enough to prepare such leaders. She stressed that educational institutions would have to open their doors so that nurses could take up the challenges of health care. "Do you think any preparation too broad and deep for such a task as this?" she asked. "Do you think we can rest satisfied with what we have? It is good, but not

good enough."¹⁶

The fact that the UBC program succeeded is a tribute both to her skills and to the enthusiasm and support she received from nurses and from medical and public leaders who supported these goals. It is also a tribute to the dedication of the young graduates of the program who went into the communities and changed the way health

care was delivered. Their contributions have not been adequately reported or acknowledged in histories over the years, but change health care they did.



The Cowichan Health Centre opened in 1920 in Duncan and provided office, clinic space, and living quarters for public health nurses.

Courtesy of Canadian Public Health Association

The First Students

One of Ethel Johns' first acts was to meet with and interview four young women — Marion Fisher, Margaret Healy, Beatrice Johnson, and Esther Naden — who were interested in the nursing degree program and whose educational backgrounds made it possible for them to be enrolled in the second year of the university course. The program proved to be a hard and demanding one for these young women.

Bea Johnson reported much later that the 1919-1920 university year was heavy on the sciences and "was a very strenuous year."¹⁷ As female students in this era usually tended to take courses in the humanities rather than the sciences, the nursing students had a number of the science courses to make up so they would achieve the Senate's goals. During this year, the students also were asked to decide whether they wished to graduate in public health or administration. Bea Johnson

recalled, "Well, you looked at all the administrators and you didn't want that."¹⁹ All four of the first students chose public health.

It was not surprising that they elected the public health option; public health nursing was the glamor and growth industry for women at the time. The Canadian Red Cross Society had taken as its goal improvement in public health and, in 1920, to achieve these ends several of its provincial branches offered special subsidies to universities to establish post-graduate short courses for registered nurses so they could take up public health nursing.¹⁹

UBC was offered one of these subsidies by the B.C. Red Cross Branch. The Red Cross proposed to pay up to \$5,000 a year for three years for the salary of a professor appointed to a Red Cross Chair of Public Health, starting in April 1920.²⁰ Dr. R.H. Mullin, head

of the Department of Bacteriology, head of the Provincial Laboratories, and on the medical staff of the Vancouver General, was considered the logical choice to take the Chair, but he elected to share his salary with a nurse to ensure the course was truly a nursing course. A Department of Public Health, separate from the Department of Nursing, was

set up under the Faculty of Arts, with Dr. Mullin as its head.

The nurse chosen to design and teach the first special 14-week public health nursing course was Mary Ardcronie MacKenzie, who had been Chief Superintendent of the Victorian Order of Nurses from 1908 to 1917. Miss MacKenzie was well qualified for the UBC position. Born in Toronto in 1869, she received a bachelor of arts at the University of Toronto in 1892, and a "Higher School" Teacher Certificate with specialist standing in modern languages in 1893. She taught in high schools and was a principal of a high school in Sherbrooke, Quebec, before entering nursing. Later, she became the second president of the national nursing association. She had expanded the training programs in district nursing initiated by the VON around the turn of the century, but recognized that university programs should take over these programs.

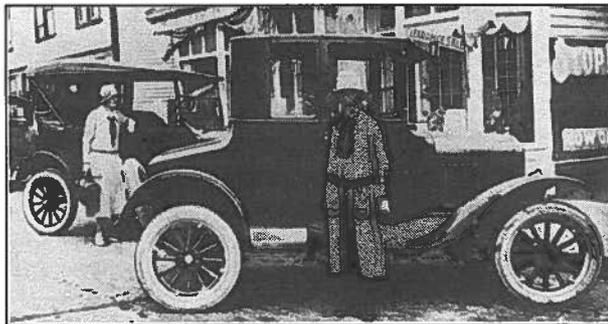
UBC's first short course in public health nursing for graduate nurses started in November 1920. Twenty-six nurses graduated with Certificates in Public Health Nursing from the first course after six weeks of academic work on the Fairview campus followed by eight weeks of field work.²¹ Almost immediately, a decision was made to lengthen the course, and it became a full academic year by the time the degree students reached their graduating year so both groups of students took much the same course.

The aim of the course was to prepare qualified graduate nurses to deal with problems of sanitation, economics, and education in local communities. Students received classes from some 20 well-known and prestigious specialists, including Dr. Young and Dr. F.T. Underhill, Vancouver medical health officer. One important lecturer was Judge Helen Gregory MacGill of the B.C. Juvenile Court, the first woman appointed as a judge in the province. Dr. L.S. Klinck, president of UBC, and Mr. M.F. Angus of the Department of Economics, UBC, also gave lectures to the nurses as did Dr. MacEachern and Ethel Johns and a host of other nurses, social workers, and economists. Field work was taken at local branches of the Victorian Order of Nurses in Vancouver, the Rotary Institute for Chest Diseases in Vancouver, the Vancouver School Board and City Health Department, and the Social Service Department run by the Women's Auxiliary of the Vancouver General Hospital and in Saanich and Colwood.

The latter were selected for field work experience because they were B.C.'s first provincially-run health centres. Saanich opened in 1919, with financing from local taxes and grants from the Provincial Board of Health. In 1920, the Cowichan Health Centre at Duncan and the Rural Esquimalt Nursing District at Langford (near Victoria) were established.²²

The province-wide public health service became a network of health centres in local districts throughout the province through which these nurses would work. Each district set up a community board to administer the service. In some districts, part of the funds came from the Provincial Department of Education, which had agreed to pay the same grant for a public health nurse as for a teacher.²³ The public health nurse was to be

a generalist working to improve health of children and families. A major portion of the work included infectious disease control, especially identification and control of tuberculosis. As well, the nurse would introduce well-baby clinics and school health programs that would allow greater education of the public.



Esther Naden, charge nurse at the Saanich Health Centre, circa 1925, is shown with the department's car.

Courtesy of Canadian Public Health Association

Early Public Health Nursing in B.C.

A look at the early careers of some of the graduates of the first certificate class reflects how these young women spread out through the province taking health care to the people of B.C.

Louise Buckley graduated from the course with first-class honors and joined the School Health Department in Saanich. The small community of Saanich, later a part of the Greater Victoria area, was a model for the rest of the province. In an interview in the early 1980s, Louise Buckley recalled that she had introduced hot lunches in Saanich schools, a "first" in ensuring that students received at least one hot, healthful meal a day. She recalled the necessity of learning to change tires on the department's Model-T Ford, which was rather a high technology item for the nursing staff as horses-and-buggies were still much more common on the roads than cars.

Margaret Griffin also went as a public health nurse to Saanich and recalled that she received \$43 a month and her board; the wage came partly through money from the municipality and partly through donations and fees. Saanich public health nurses lived in a comfortable home built by the municipality as a war memorial health centre, with a married couple hired to cook and maintain the grounds. With such amenities, the Saanich Health Unit soon became a highly desirable area for field work for UBC's nursing students.

Muriel Harman won the \$100 Red Cross Prize given for the highest marks in the first course and after graduation went to work for the VON in Burnaby. She established the first well-baby clinic in that municipality. Like public health nurses in other districts, she frequently offered nursing care in the home, including a 24-hour service for maternity care following home deliveries. A few years later, she became a nurse-missionary in the Belgian Congo (later Zaire) where, after 37 years as a nurse and teacher, she was captured by forces opposed to independence and machine-gunned to death in 1964.²⁴

Winnifred Ehlers, whose grandmother had been a Red Cross nurse during the American Revolution, went to Eagle Bay in the Shuswap area northeast of Kamloops, one of eight nursing stations set up by the Red Cross in B.C.'s isolated districts.²⁵ Although the Red Cross provided cars for nurses in some districts, Nurse Ehlers used horse and buggy in the summer and horse and cutter in winter, even crossing the lake on the ice when it was frozen over. One woman later recalled:

As a small child in Blind Bay, I remember Nurse Winnie Ehlers making her regular visits to the school. Knowing that some of the children were unable to buy toothbrushes and paste, she told us how to clean our teeth with a clean cloth and salt. She lectured the pupils on personal hygiene — how to wash our hands and keep our fingernails clean. She also showed, using a doll, the correct way to care for and hold a baby. This was useful information for older children with newborn siblings. She showed parents how to deal with headlice (sic) and how to control ringworm with a solution made by soaking coppers (pennies) in vinegar. It left a nasty brown stain, I recall. I remember when goitres were a common problem, and for nine days each month for a period of three months, we were given a glass of water and an iodine capsule first thing in the school day.²⁶

This same author notes that the nurse made a monthly visit to the school, checking for head lice, goitres, bad teeth, infectious rashes, ringworm, and enlarged tonsils. One month Nurse Ehlers examined this young girl's throat and made a note to ask the doctor, on his annual visit, to check the tonsils, which the doctor then said must be removed. The youngster, whose mother had died, was accompanied on "the biggest adventure of my life" by Nurse Ehlers; the two had to travel to the rail line on the mail truck when the mail carrier made his weekly visit,

then by train (of which the youngster had seen only pictures) to Kamloops where she was fascinated by sidewalks, street lamps, and a "box on the wall" into which the nurse talked. Following the operation and return journey, the youngster was a celebrity as "the first in the family to see the wonders of 'outside'." ²⁷

Another member of the first public health certificate class, Christina West Thom, was hired following graduation by the Red Cross in Kamloops. The Kamloops Junior Red Cross Auxiliary had been formed during the War and, after a short hiatus, re-formed to assist in health education; it welcomed the idea of a Red Cross nurse and paid half the initial annual salary of \$166.72, while the city agreed to pay the other half. ²⁹ By May of 1921, Christina Thom had opened a weekly well-baby clinic, a new idea for which the mothers at first had to be convinced of the concept of a clinic for well babies, not sick ones. She also began classes in home nursing and hygiene, offered in the high school to teenage girls and through evening classes to adults. Christina Thom also visited the schools giving classes and weighing and measuring more than 6,800 students in 1922; underweight children received home visits and had their diets supplemented with cod-liver oil at school.

Josephine (Jo) Peters was another of the graduates of the first certificate class to join the provincial public health service. After receiving her certificate, she worked for the Rotary Clinic in Vancouver, a position sponsored by the Rotary Clubs to help provide care for tuberculosis patients. Tuberculosis was a leading cause of death, with one in 10 deaths attributed to consumption or "the white plague," as it was frequently called. By the late 1920s, however, its spread was coming under control through good public health nursing measures. The Provincial Board of Health held clinics throughout the province to identify patients and their contacts, and a central province-wide registry was established. Seriously ill patients were admitted to special TB wards or to the Tranquille Sanatorium, near Kamloops, which had become a provincial institution in 1921. The local public health nurses followed up patient care for those at home and for all contacts, teaching them about infection control, rest, nutrition, and personal care. In 1924, thanks to funding assistance from the Anti-Tuberculosis Societies, Jo Peters was appointed first as Travelling Nurse then as Tuberculosis Nursing Supervisor for the Provincial Health



Photograph showing the public health home visiting uniform worn during the 1920s.

Courtesy of UBC School of Nursing Archives

Services, a position she held with distinction until retirement in 1948. ²⁹ During her career, she saw many changes as tuberculosis care improved.

Tuberculosis was an everyday menace in the 1920s, and overworked nurses frequently contracted it. A generally accepted maxim in schools of nursing in the early part of the century was that one nurse from every class likely would die from TB. Marion Fisher, one of the first nurses in the degree program, went to the TB San at Tranquille as a patient immediately following graduation in 1923. She had been diagnosed early and was not an advanced case; after about a year she went to Gabriola Island to complete her recovery. Esther Naden, also one of the first degree nurses, recalled that she had five close friends — two nurses and three non-nurses — die of TB in the early 1920s: "It was very prevalent at the time. Bone and joint TB was common because of the unpasteurized milk. ... Tremendous numbers of children had scars on their necks from tuberculous glands." ³⁰

Margaret Allan Thatcher, a certificate graduate in 1922, had a more rewarding personal experience with the family tragedies that could result from TB contacts. In 1924, a young mother had to be admitted to Tranquille, leaving two small twin babies behind. A child welfare worker asked Meg Thatcher, who was at home caring for her ill father at the time, to take in the twin boys as foster children because they were TB contacts, malnourished, and needing special care.

The boys remained throughout their young childhood with Meg Thatcher and, although this was unusual for a single woman to do in this era, she eventually adopted them about six years later and raised them as her own. ³¹

The other degree students also practiced primarily in public health after graduation. Esther Naden, who had entered the program in 1919, had taken a leave because of a serious illness of her mother and did not graduate until 1924. Bea Johnson took a job with the Victorian Order of Nurses in Montreal, where she was primarily involved with maternity care, helped with home deliveries, and gave new mothers advice about baby care. At the community centre, she lectured on nutrition and care of babies, using a doll to demonstrate bathing and handling. During her stay in Montreal, she made several trips to New York to see stage productions and renewed her friendship with Freddy Wood, a young professor she had met while a member of the Players Club at UBC. At his urging, she returned to Vancouver, where she became the nurse in charge of the emergency department until their marriage. Then, as was typical of the time, she gave up her nursing career, returning only for brief stints as a volunteer.

Marion Fisher joined the public health nursing unit in Kamloops after she recovered from her bout with tuberculosis. She was there for 10 months and did school nursing. There she met a young man and was soon married and they went to China as missionaries for several years.

By the end of the 1923-1924 academic year, the Department had taken root. The first degree students had graduated, the diploma programs had proven strong enough to continue despite the end of the Red Cross funding, and the graduates were being welcomed throughout the province. The UBC Senate and Board of Governors sanctioned the Department of Nursing and undertook its funding.

Summary

The nursing degree program offered through the University of British Columbia, which began in 1919, was the first in Canada, and marked a recognition of a need for better educational preparation for nurses. As Ethel Johns, the director of the program, said of this movement into university settings: "We are building here for the future [... and] we earnestly hope that the foundation will be well and truly laid." ³²

The foundations were "well and truly laid,"



Marg McPhee, public health nurse, is shown weighing an infant at a well-baby clinic.

Courtesy of Canadian Public Health Association

public health care once again a priority. And nurses are once again being seen as the main providers for primary health care.

* * * * *

This article is adapted from the early chapters of **Legacy: History of Nursing Education at the University of British Columbia 1919-1994**, by Glennis Zilm and Ethel Warbinek. (Vancouver: UBC School of Nursing I UBC Press, 1994.) Copies of the

book may be obtained for \$35 (includes shipping and GST) through UBC Press, 6344 Memorial Road, Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1Z2.

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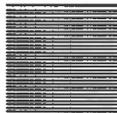
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but the future has been a long time coming. When the UBC program began, far-sighted leaders saw this as a first step to get nursing education out of hospitals, where student nurses were exploited for service needs at the expense of educational goals. It was not until 1989 that all hospital schools of nursing in B.C. closed their doors and nurses received their education either in colleges or universities. The baccalaureate degree as the educational foundation for nursing is still the goal of most nurses' associations, but remains elusive.

The founding principles of the UBC course continue to be appropriate, given 1990s changes proposed by the provincial government to bring health care "closer to home." Health care is once again being seen as an individual responsibility, and the need for health promotion and health education in the community has never been greater. Such changes as the growing population of seniors, the rise of new diseases such as AIDS, and the development of treatment-resistant strains of bacteria and viruses are making



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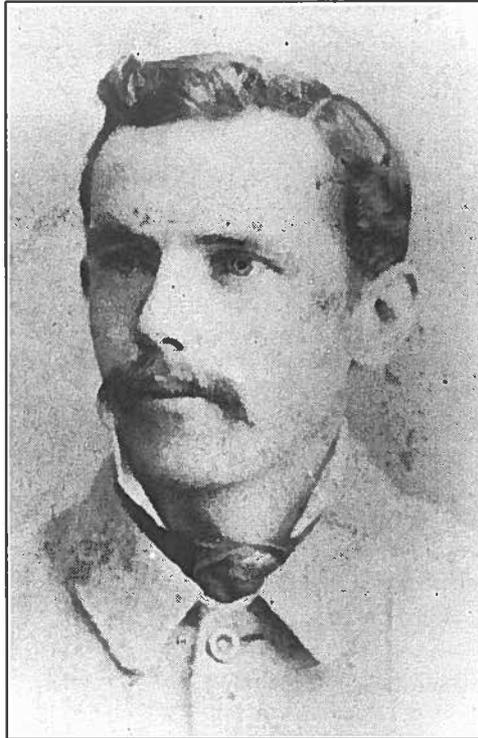
L.A. Hamilton: Surveyor: Alderman, Land Commissioner

by Leonard W. Meyers

In 1887 the newly constructed transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway reached its western terminus, Vancouver, formerly Granville and Gastown. The first train arrived May 23rd of the same year.

With the building of William Van Horne's railway, Lauchlan Alexander Hamilton also arrived in the newly incorporated and newly named city of Vancouver. A surveyor by profession, Mr. Hamilton was also appointed the C.P.R.'s land commissioner for the area, as the railway was deeded large tracts of land grants comprising almost half of the peninsula on which the present city of Vancouver stands as part of the railway construction deal extending the line to Coal Harbour instead of Port Moody, the earlier proposed terminus.

Possibly the first historical incident that helped L.A. Hamilton achieve a measure of recognition toward posterity was when Van Horne earlier visited the proposed Vancouver - as yet unnamed - terminus, and as a bronze plaque mounted in Pioneer Square recorded the historic meeting between the two men in these words: "Here, in the silence of the forest covering the C.P.R. townsite stood Van Horne, Vice President of Canadian Pacific Railway and L.A. Hamil-



Lauchlan Alexander Hamilton, Dominion land surveyor and C.P.R. land commissioner.

Vancouver City Archives Port. N. 1065, Port. P. 147

ton, land commissioner. Van Horne exclaimed "Hamilton! Hamilton! This is destined to be a great city. Perhaps the greatest in Canada, and we must see to it that it has a name commensurate with its destiny and importance. And Vancouver it shall be if I have the ultimate decision."

To further enshrine this noteworthy event, years later a bronze plaque was erected to commemorate L.A. Hamilton, surveyor for the C.P.R. The inscription reads: "1885 - IN THE SILENT SOLITUDE OF THE PRIMEVAL FOREST, HE DROVE A WOODEN STAKE IN THE EARTH

AND COMMENCED TO MEASURE THE STREETS OF VANCOUVER." The plaque is firmly mounted on a building on the southwest corner of Hastings and Hamilton Streets at Victory Square in downtown Vancouver. The plaque was designed and dedicated under the auspices of J.S. Matthews, City Archivist, and unveiled on April 20, 1953.

Lauchlan Alexander Hamilton was born in eastern Canada in 1852. He graduated as a civil engineer. As such, he carried out important duties for the C.P.R. surveying the towns of Regina, Moose Jaw, Swift Current, Calgary and Vancouver. His Vancouver surveys commenced in 1885, a year before the great fire.

As a sidelight to that disastrous conflagration which also destroyed Vancouver's first makeshift city hall, Hamilton described the aftermath in these words: "In all history, no City Hall had been built more rapidly than the one I erected in five minutes the morning after "The Fire." We got a tent. I was senior Alderman. I got a can of paint, a brush and a piece of board, and labelled it CITY HALL. We held council meetings in it, a magistrate's court sat there, at the foot of Carrall Street at Water Street."

As L.A. Hamilton began his 1885 survey he drove a nail into a sturdy wooden stake at the corner of Hastings and Hamilton Streets. As a result of the great fire, he was compelled to again retrace his original survey. A difficult task, as many of his first markings were obliterated by the fire.

L.A. Hamilton was a man of many parts and talents: civil engineer, Dominion land surveyor, an Alderman in Vancouver's first city council, visionary, and an amateur artist of no mean talent. One of his water-color paintings of a lush Vancouver forest scene hangs in the third floor foyer of Vancouver's city hall.

Hamilton surveyed Stanley Park's first roads. And the perimeter road around the park is virtually identical with his original survey.

Lauchlan Hamilton was a man endowed



From a 1936 painting by John Innes. Vancouver's first council meeting in 1886, and the city's first mayor, Malcolm A. MacLean standing at head of table. Alderman L.A. Hamilton seated in front row fifth from left.

Vancouver City Archives P. 34, N.22

with considerable foresight and he was firmly convinced that Vancouver was destined to become a great city, a vision shared by William Cornelius Van Horne, builder of the spectacular Canadian Pacific Railway. It was this vision that motivated senior Alderman Hamilton to seek the support of the rest of the Aldermen to procure what was then a federal military reserve (today's Stanley Park) and to see it turned over to the young city of Vancouver on a long-term lease basis for park purposes.

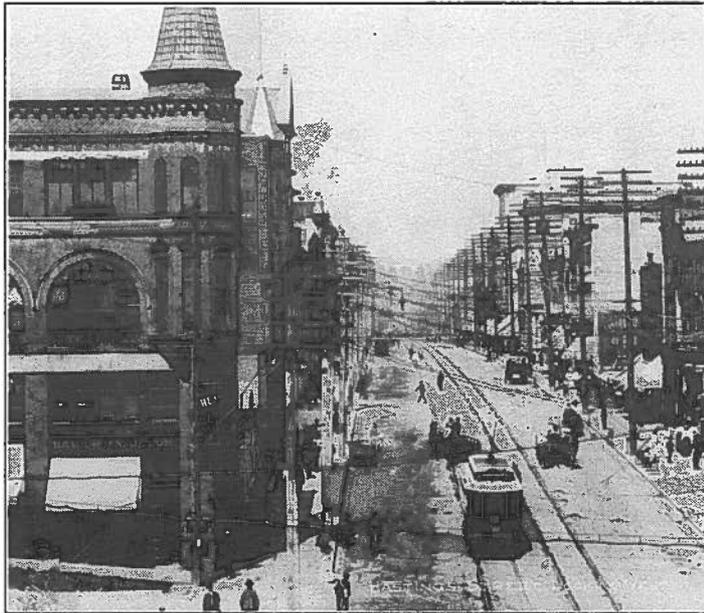
The idea of procuring the old military reserve for city parkland grew out of a letter Hamilton, the C.P.R. land commissioner, received from Van Horne on January 12, 1885 informing him that the railway company had asked the Dominion government for that portion of the military reserve south of a line drawn from Second Beach to Lumberman's Arch.

In the mind of Hamilton, however, was the intention of acquiring the entire reserve for city parkland. As a result, city council, led by Alderman Hamilton, on June 23, 1886, petitioned the Secretary of State for transfer of the reserve to the City as a park.

The Dominion government, after some procrastination and reserving the right to the use of the park for military purposes, should an emergency arise, turned the former military reserve over to the City of Vancouver for park purposes on the basis of a perpetual 99-year lease for the princely sum of \$1.00 a year.

As senior alderman in the young city of Vancouver, he impressed on City Council his views as follows: "I took the ground in the council that we must lay our plans on a generous scale, and so I laid out and established streets far beyond what seemed necessary for our wants..." The mayor and council obviously concurred.

The layout and names of streets which exist to this day truly reflect L.A. Hamilton's foresight and provide historical insight into an important part of Vancouver's early history.



Bank of Hamilton building, left foreground, where surveyor L.A. Hamilton drove the first stake on the corner of Hastings and Hamilton Streets commencing the survey of the city of Vancouver in 1885. Photo circa 1905. Note the forest of telephone poles.

Vancouver City Archives STR P.308, N. 259

The original city of Vancouver was much smaller than the area of the present city. It comprised an area from the south shore of Burrard Inlet to roughly 16th Avenue; on the east it was bounded by Nanaimo Street and its western boundary was Trafalgar Street. When Hamilton first surveyed the south shore of False Creek, he was so impressed by the view, that he named the area Fairview.

Hamilton was also given the prerogative of naming the streets he surveyed and laid out in the new Vancouver. He subsequently adopted the modern system of naming the avenues running east and west in numerical order and the streets running north and south with suitable names, some after trees, such as Oak, Laurel, Willow, Ash, Spruce, Alder, Hemlock, Fir, Pine, Cypress, Maple, Yew, Balsam, Vine, Larch, etc. But because of some clerical mix-up they did not appear in alphabetical order. To other streets he gave the names of famous battles, hence Balaclava, Blenheim, Waterloo, etc. A number of others were named after C.P.R. officials, others still, after British naval heroes such as Hastings, Howe, Hornby, Pender, Richards, Jervis, Broughton, etc.

Around the turn of the century a great real estate boom began to thrive in the young city of Vancouver, and often unscrupulous real estate agents were turning up everywhere to such an extent that

Van Horne cautioned Hamilton, the C.P.R. land commissioner "to keep his eyes open when doing business with the people of Vancouver."

L.A. Hamilton also distinguished himself by designing the new city of Vancouver's first coat of arms bearing the motto "By Sea and Land We Prosper." As well, he also helped to define the 49th parallel between the Rockies and the Lake of the Woods.

Not too much is known about the private life of Lauchlan Alexander Hamilton, his family, where he lived in Vancouver, special interests, etc. We do know that Hamilton Street in downtown Vancouver commemorates his name in perpetuity. The imprint his talents left on Vancouver, many plans carried out on a rather grand scale for that early era, indicate his forward looking vision. These are as evident today as when he drove his survey stakes delineating the streets and blocks in a burgeoning young city, one with a dynamic future, as Hamilton so clearly foresaw.

And at the end of the day, L.A. Hamilton chose to leave the thriving young city he helped to spawn for future generations, and moved to sunny Florida, outliving his hectic Vancouver pioneering days and many of his compatriots in city building and planning, and died in 1941, aged 89.



Sir William Cornelius Van Horne, builder, general manager, later president (1888 to 1889) and chairman (1899 to 1910) of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

C.P.R. photo

The Fairbridge Farm School

by Helen Borrell

"They are fine children, as mischievous as little imps, but it's all because everything is so new to them," the four cottage "mothers" said affectionately. "They are wonderfully bright and healthy, so it's difficult to curb them, but they are catching on much more quickly than we expected."¹

A great relief for their guardians! This young, city-bred group of British emigrants were excitedly exploring the woods and fields, the nearby Koksilah River, and all the other country delights of their new home, "the Prince of Wales Fairbridge School Farm, formerly the 1,000-acre estate of F. B. Pemberton."² Its site was near Cowichan Station, Vancouver Island, British Columbia. The year was 1935. Wards of the Child Emigration Society and drawn from the Tyneside, Birmingham and London sections of England by the London committee of that organization, they had arrived at their destination in the last week of September - twenty-seven boys and fourteen girls, ranging in age from five to thirteen and one-half years.³

Beside the carefully selected teachers and cottage mothers, in spirit, was the founder of this and similar farm education schools in other British Dominions. Sadly, Kingsley Fairbridge did not live to see the Canadian Farm School, one of those he had envisioned. For the story of his envisioned rural schools, we must go back fifty years, and halfway round the world to Southern Rhodesia, where Kingsley Ogilvie Fairbridge was born in 1885.

A fourth-generation Rhodesian, he grew up as a farm boy on the spacious, thinly settled veldt. When, in his teens, he first visited England, he was shocked and depressed by her huge, densely packed, smoke-clouded



1936. Boys who arrived at Fairbridge Farm School, Duncan, in 1936. Displaying their cows at an Agricultural Fair in Victoria, B.C.

BCARS #A 06317

cities, and the caged lives of many working-class families. In those years, low wages and Britain's rigid castes locked most children of unskilled workers into subsistence factory jobs and ugly, crowded tenements. Nearly all orphanages for destitute children were ruled like army barracks.

Returning to his own veldt, Fairbridge saw it poetically as: "The unending immensity ... The smokeless, gardenless wealth of the desert, The rivers unfished and the valleys unhunted, An empire people" (in Britain's industrial cities) "with nothing . . . A country abandoned to emptiness, yearning for people." The emptiness of his own land, he knew, was shared by the other Dominions: Australia, New Zealand and Canada.⁴ But adults who had never been beyond brick walls wouldn't know how to pioneer on farm lands. Who could be best trained? Children, for whom he would create homes on community farms. He wrote how this plan appeared to him:

"It was one of those fiercely hot summer days, when one closes one's eyes against the glare that beats off the road and the iron houses, and as I walked, I ruminated. One sees things that have remained half hidden at the back of one's brain..

"I saw great Colleges of Agriculture (not

workhouses) springing up in every man-hungry corner of the Empire. I saw little children who'd had no opportunities stretching their legs and minds amid the thousand interests of the farm.

"I saw unneeded humanity converted to the husbandry of unpeopled areas."⁵

But the building of such farm schools required large investments of capital by wealthy, influential patrons. So Fairbridge's hope burned in his brain

until, in 1909, he won an elite prize, a Cecil Rhodes scholarship at Oxford. There he gained interested friends at the Colonial Club; and what he called "an Imperial Parliament of fifty independent members from all parts of the Empire"⁶ founded the Child Emigration Society.

They raised £2,000 and, in 1913, Fairbridge and his young bride established the first Farm School on 160 acres at Pinjarra, near Perth, Australia. Of the thirty-four children trained there, the boys all became successful farmers in Australia; the girls became skilled homemakers.

When the Great War was declared in 1914, Fairbridge hastened to volunteer for the Army, but was not accepted because he had a medical history of malaria. Which exemption was fortunate for his boys; together they made their farmland produce bountifully. And Fairbridge wrote to his Oxford friend, Harry Logan, who had become a Professor of Classics at the fledgling University of British Columbia:

"I have long thought that the Child Emigration Society should establish our second farm school in British Columbia. From what I saw there, you have room for towns of thousands of budding farmers. As thanksgiving for our far-flung Empire, I think a good farm

school in B.C. would be far more reverent, beautiful and lastingly recognized than some artistic creation that only tends to congest traffic in a main thoroughfare." A practical man, Kingsley Fairbridge. "Training otherwise homeless youngsters to be fine, upstanding and honorable men and women can in its way be quite as fine as the Parliament House in Victoria."⁷

In 1919, Kingsley Fairbridge took a promotional trip to England and his Society raised enough funds to rebuild the Pinjarra school. But his years of hard work and his problem with malaria broke down Fairbridge's health; and in July 1924, he died at the untimely age of 39.

But his service continued in the happy and productive lives of his adopted family.

During the Great Depression, the plight of Britain's unemployed always had the concerned sympathy of Edward, Prince of Wales (the future Duke of Windsor). In 1934, he and Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin campaigned for funds to establish a Farm Education school in British Columbia. They received \$500,000 of which the Prince of Wales donated \$5,000. The next objective was to find and purchase a farming estate suitable for the school, and to recruit qualified teachers and substitute parents for the child emigrants chosen by their Emigration Society, soon renamed the Fairbridge Farm Schools Society.

Between seven and twelve years was the most adaptable age range, the children's guardians thought. Some of the Society's wards were orphans. Others came from large families whose fathers had few job prospects when their cities' chief industries became Depression casualties. England had no vacant farmland. To live and be educated in a children's community farm in Canada! - a prized opportunity for their children, many unemployed parents knew. Thus the Fairbridge Schools Society had many applications.

To be accepted, of course, the children had to be in excellent health and able to live cooperatively on a large mixed farm, truly a New World for them! The most promising young emigrants were finally chosen for the

other skilled trades; some might even venture to invest their savings in a small business. Young people with such aptitudes would be free to seek the jobs they hoped for, if these were available in the work-scarce 1930's.



Fairbridge boys were hosted to a party in Canada House, London, England just prior to sailing for Canada in 1938. Former Prime Minister R.B. Bennett, right, was High Commissioner for Canada at that time. The other adults were Mr. Green and ? who travelled with this cheerful group of youngsters. The lad behind Green's right shoulder is Ken Bennett, current president of the Old Fairbridgians Association.

BCARS #H 02740

Vancouver Island farm school.

These future farmers and farm homemakers would be given the same home care and training that had proved successful in the Australian Fairbridge School. Each group of fourteen would live as a family in a cottage under an experienced house mother. They would share all the activities of farmlife, and have the academic schooling required by B.C.'s Ministry of Education until they were sixteen years of age. Then for two years the boys would learn all types of agriculture, and the girls would learn domestic science and the chores of a farmer's wife. When fully trained, the young people would be placed in approved jobs; the boys on farms, girls in households. The Fairbridge staff members would look after their welfare and bank half the earnings of their boys and girls, wards of Fairbridge Society until they came of age at 21 years. Each graduate would then have a nest egg with which to start living independently.

Most of the Fairbridge graduates would settle on the land; food production, upon which everyone depends, needs skilled farmers. But, Fairbridge School's officers realized, some of their wards would prefer, and be suited for

In March, 1935, the Fairbridge Farm Schools Society purchased the Pemberlea estate on Vancouver Island. About one-quarter of it was already cultivated; and John J. Brown, the farm manager, was employed permanently by the Victoria committee in charge of the Farm School. Woods bordered the fields; and the fertile soil of the Koksilah River bank was ideal for intensive crop planting.⁸

First, the School's managers built four homes for their children, separate ones for boys and girls.

Each cottage was ac-

tually a half-timbered, spacious two-storey house as attractive as the landscape - roomy kitchen, dining-room and "mothers" sitting-room downstairs; her bedroom and a large, airy dormitory upstairs. The children had their main meal in the central dining-hall; other meals were served to each family unit in its home.

The School's first Principal was 43-year-old Major Maurice Trew, who had graduated from Cambridge University with an Honors degree and served in the Coldstream Guards from 1916 to 1934. Appointed as Principal of the Vancouver Island school in 1934, he visited the first Fairbridge School in Australia for five weeks and learned all the details of its organization. Then, working with the committee appointed for the new Fairbridge School in British Columbia, he was fully occupied from April, 1935, in preparing the Vancouver Island farming estate for the first group of thrilled English lads and lasses, the September arrivals.⁹

Two young men teachers, experienced in country schools, divided their dialect-chattering pupils into one class for those of six to ten years, and another class for those of ten to thirteen and one-half years. School sub-

jects for each year's grade were those of the British Columbia education curriculum.

When the children streamed joyously into the central dining room and to meals in their cottages, the valued services of the two cooks and the farm assistants were noisily rewarded. The farm manager's wife, Mrs. Brown, was famed for her delicious cake. Outdoor sports were new delights for the youngsters, who feasted heartily. Fortunate that "potatoes, vegetables, milk, butter, eggs, mutton and pork were produced on the estate."¹⁰

The orchard already had 200 fruit trees, and more were planted later.

The children were happy to settle into a secure, well organized routine. After making their own beds, they took turns at doing complete jobs assigned by the cottage mothers on a rotating basis. Two children waxed and polished the dormitory floor, while others did household chores. After school came another hour of chores. As the cottages had wood stoves, the boys were busy chopping and stacking wood. But the children were work equals - girls did their share of milking, and often came home to meals cooked by the boys. There were always sports activities in the evenings.¹¹

Kingsley Fairbridge's plan had been to people the far-flung British possessions with hard-working young Britishers. In 1935, Canada and the other Dominions were independent nations in the British Commonwealth; but England's rulers liked to think of them as adult members of the family. The poet and story-teller of the British Empire, Rudyard Kipling, died in April, 1936. Having provided for his wife and daughter, he had bequeathed the remainder of his estate, valued at \$775,000, to be divided among the three Fairbridge Schools. The third had been opened in Australia, that year. This generous gift enabled the Directors to build four more cottages at the Canadian Farm School for the two parties of children who arrived in 1936; also, a new dining hall and a four-room school building.¹² The long-time farm manager, John Brown, was provided with his own house.

On August 1, 1936, Colonel Harry Logan, Professor at the University of British Columbia, succeeded Major Trew as Principal of the

Vancouver Island Farm School. A Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, England, he had been a friend and supporter of Kingsley Fairbridge. "A genius with children - firm, kindly, understanding and inspiring,"¹³ he led the Farm School until June, 1945. Then he was trans-



This is a postcard showing some of the school buildings in the 1940's.

Courtesy Cowichan Valley Museum #987-02-1-27

ferred to the Fairbridge School Society's London head office, to supervise the farm home in England where boys and girls were prepared for life in the Farm Schools.

In October, 1936, the Municipal Chapter of the I.O.D.E. (Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire) arranged the start of a library at Fairbridge School. Each primary chapter was asked to donate one new book, more if possible. And in February, 1937, Mrs. Maud Douglas-Pennant, a wealthy Englishwoman, bequeathed \$5,000 to build another cottage at Fairbridge. She also left \$150,000 to be divided among the three schools.¹⁴

Such was the success of the Farm Schools in training skilled farmers and their future helpmates that in May, 1937, Sir John Siddeley, Chairman of Great Britain's Armstrong Siddeley Motors Ltd. and several other prominent industrial companies, endowed the Fairbridge Schools with a Coronation gift of \$493,000. (King George VI was crowned in that year.) Col. Harry Logan, Principal of the Prince of Wales School, gave a brief summary of its growth and its mandate to a meeting of the Vancouver Lions Club, in September, 1937. Jobs would be available for all Fairbridge graduates for the next five years at least, he assured his interested listeners. At that time there were 57 boys and 41 girls in his school, and more were expected from Britain.¹⁵

The Fairbridge School near Cowichan was managed like a British residential school.

There was an active program of sports - basketball, cricket, soccer, rugby and boxing. (As a Rhodes Scholar, Kingsley Fairbridge had won the Oxford Blue for boxing.) The girls went for hikes and treasure hunts. In June, 1938, Mr. William Garnett, Assistant Principal, with his colleagues' help, directed the boys' cottages - the Maroons, Blacks, Blues and Greens. Each cottage had a House Master, and under him two Prefects, a senior and a junior sports captain, and a sports adviser. The girls' cottages also had Prefects. The Prefects formed the Boys' and Girls' Councils. They kept score of the marks earned each week for house duties, and rewarded those who had won the highest number of marks.¹⁶

In 1938 the Fairbridge Junior Girls' Basketball team won the Vancouver Island Basketball Championship. And on May 23, 1939, there was a Lower Island Rural Schools Sports Meet. Fairbridge School won second place, and its Horace Skelton, with four Firsts and one Second, won the cup for the Fairbridge pupil who had the highest number of points.¹⁷

Fairbridge School, over the years, attracted many generous patrons. Long remembered was Captain J.C. Dun-Waters, the "Laird of Fintry", with his 2,500 acre cattle ranch on the west side of B.C.'s Okanagan Lake. In July, 1938, he donated this self-contained estate to the Cowichan Fairbridge School. "Only one example of the generosity which had marked his life."¹⁸ The Scottish stock breeder and fruit grower, then in his 70's, and known for his community services, had come to Canada and purchased the ranch in 1909. His herd of Ayrshire purebred dairy cattle had won many high milk production records. Fintry Ranch had, besides range land and orchards, a sanctuary for mountain goats and deer. It had its own water system and an electric power plant which harnessed the power from Fintry's waterfall. Off went a group of senior Fairbridge boys at once to Fintry Ranch, where they would learn all-round farming.

The four Fairbridge Schools could accommodate 1,200 children and accept 250 each year. So Gordon Green, Executive Secretary, told the Society's Annual General Meeting in London, in July, 1938.¹⁹ Trainees for staff



Fairbridge Farm School and dormitories.

BCARS #H 02745

would, as far as possible, be Rhodes Scholars, and would go to all the schools and be on call to fill in for regular faculty during their illnesses or holidays.

In September, 1938, the Cowichan Fairbridge School opened with an enrolment of 180 pupils, of whom 11 were Trainees, receiving their practical training - boys on the farms, girls in home economics. Proud of being first class homemakers, the Fairbridge girls learned everything involved in home management - cleaning rugs and carpets, polishing silver, and cleaning upholstered furniture. And they shared in the baking and cooking at the school, and waited on the staff tables. Wildflowers and daffodils were on the dining-room tables, which were "polished and shining like the battleship linoleum on the floors."²⁰ The girls also served teas to the school's distinguished visitors.

The September, 1938, term opened at Fairbridge with three new teachers, and new courses - farm mechanics and manual courses for the boys, and a detailed home economics program for the girls. The necessary new buildings nearly doubled the size of the farm school.²¹ The Trainee Club was started in October.

At first, church services at Fairbridge had been held in a screened-off section of the dining hall. In October, 1938, an English visitor, who wished to be anonymous, donated \$20,000 for the building of a chapel on the school site. Plans were drawn up for a one-storey frame building, 85 by 45 feet, with central heating, a seating capacity of 400, and an outdoor pulpit.²² Later, a magnificent organ from the English Halsway Manor House was donated for this church. The late husband of the donor, Mrs. Mitchell, had given funds for the school's Assembly Hall.

Yes, 1938 was the year that wealthy patrons endowed the fine training being given

at Fairbridge School to future Canadians. In November, Hon. G.M. Weir, B.C. Minister of Education, announced that the Provincial Government had

paid grants amounting to \$27.44 per pupil for 1937-38, and also given \$500 for the purchase of new equipment for Fairbridge's home economics class.²³

In February, 1939, the first issue of a monthly newsletter, the **Fairbridge Gazette**, was typed and mimeographed. It was thus prepared until, in June, 1943, a local newspaper, **The Cowichan Leader**, took over the type-setting and printing of this school newspaper. It featured sports and farm news, reports of the Boys' and Girls' Councils, and of visitors, and editorials. There were also letters from Old Fairbridgians, who needed no encouragement to keep in touch with their home school.²⁴ The first editor, Jim Lally, remained in that job until he joined the Navy in August, 1940. For twenty-two months during World War II, Jim was a prisoner-of-war in Germany. All their lives, the secretary of the Fairbridge Alumni Association wrote later, the graduates affectionately remembered and were delighted to meet their "cottage Mums."

We must return to the sequence of school history. The design for the paper's title was a Canadian beaver on a wreath of British oak leaves, and the motto, "Industria et Veritate" - With Industry and Truth. 1939 was an eventful year. In February, the first Fairbridge baby was born. Her Dad was Mr. A.H. Plows, Day School Principal and basketball coach. Two Day School staff members composed, and the March **Gazette** published this poem:

The First Fairbridge Baby

1. Folks at Fairbridge are all in a whirl,
For the Plows family have a baby girl,
It's their first big event
and they proudly present
Miss Sharon Elizabeth Plows.
2. The Old Man is swelling with pride,
To reveal what he's feeling inside
He passed round fat cigars,
Thanking his lucky stars

For Sharon Elizabeth Plows.

3. Cottage mothers at Fairbridge agree
To prepare for the homecoming soon to be,
Hanging sheets on the line
For that sweet Valentine,
Miss Sharon Elizabeth Plows."

In March, 1939, staff and pupils of Fairbridge Farm School welcomed as visitors Canada's Governor-General, Lord Tweedsmuir, and his wife. Lady Tweedsmuir had been a member of the Farm School Society in London. At the Duncan school, she awarded the Girl Guide Badge of Fortitude to 15-year-old Isabel Blatchford for her courage during a long illness.²⁵ The B.C. Government had given Lady Tweedsmuir Sphinx Island in the Strait of Georgia. She donated it to Fairbridge School, whose staff could build a summer camp there for the Fairbridge boys.²⁶

In May, 1939, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, during their Canadian tour, visited Victoria. The lucky Fairbridge boy who saw them wrote a prize winning essay of his trip. To commemorate the Royal tour an anonymous English M.P., later identified as Captain Richard Porritt, founded a \$23,400 trust fund to aid the four Fairbridge schools.²⁷

In September, 1939, B.C.'s Lieutenant-Governor, Eric Hamber, laid the cornerstone for the Fairbridge chapel, which was completed in April, 1940. A historic clock had been donated for the new church. Andy Anderson, a fifteen-year-old pupil, won second prize in the school's Christmas Card Competition for his drawing of the Fairbridge chapel.²⁸

For the staff and pupils of the Farm School, the only sorrow in 1939 was the death that autumn of their great-hearted benefactor, Captain Dun-Waters. Fintry, his donated ranch, was an invaluable training school for the Fairbridge farmers-to-be. Three boys who had "apprenticed" there had gone to selected jobs; three girls were working in households.²⁹ The ladies of Victoria, "a small second England", knew that the Fairbridge girls would have British pride in giving skilled homemaking service. The School's After-Care Officer kept in touch with the graduates and banked half of their earnings, until they came of age at 21 years.

Although this was the legal age of majority, young people could join the Armed Forces at 18. During the routine, well-ordered lives of the Fairbridge Schools, the wholly evil Nazi regime had driven Europe to a second Great War. In May, 1940, thirty

children who at first had been sent to English country homes, to be away from bombed districts, arrived at the Duncan Fairbridge School. Like all who came from England, they were awed to find "Canada's such a whacking big country." "We saw Indians, we saw Mounted Police," said an eleven-year-old lad from Tyneside, "but where's the roving buffalo?"³⁰ In June, 1940, the Secretary of Fairbridge Farm Society, L.A. Grogan, offered to the Governments of B.C. and Australia all the overseas schools' facilities, if needed, to provide for Britain's possible child evacuees.³¹ Great Britain was now a lone outpost of the war zone.

But in the secure haven of the Duncan Fairbridge School, the first wedding was held in the new chapel. George Warnock, a house master, married Catherine Murray, also a staff person. The proud school choir wore blue cassocks and white surplices; then came the joyful reception in the dining hall.³²

In August, 1940, the Directors and administrators of Seaboard Lumber Sales Co. - 32 men - donated \$12,500 for the construction of a hospital for the Duncan Fairbridge Farm School complex. Each officer also gave \$150 annually for the support of one Fairbridge pupil, to whom he would be a godparent.³³ This first practical expression of Canadian interest in Fairbridge School was doubly welcome because the children's English godparents were having problems in sending help to the young Canadians-to-be. Great Britain needed every resource at home for the now total war. Later tactful appeals by Principal Logan brought more godparents for his students.

On April 1st, 1941, the completed hospital was officially opened by Canada's Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone. Much like the nations of the British Commonwealth, the independent Canadian immigrants at Fairbridge maintained friendly contacts with their country of birth. At the hospital ceremonies, Hon. John Hart, B.C.'s Minister

of Finance, announced that the Provincial Government would contribute \$12,000 annually to Fairbridge School; and R.W. Mayhew, Liberal M.P. and Chairman of the B.C. Fairbridge Committee, considered a similar donation. The hard-pressed Government of Great Britain would contribute what it could. Problems of war exchange of ster-



Junior Girls' Basketball Team, B.C. Championships 1945, Fairbridge Farm School

BCARS #H 03354

ling currency had curtailed donations from British sponsors.³⁴

Trainee girls who hoped to be nurses now had the chance of helping in the school's own hospital. Molly White wrote an account of this in the *Fairbridge Gazette*:³⁵ "A Day with the Nurse. Every Trainee girl spends some time working in the hospital. At 6:15 we light the fire and prepare the breakfasts trays. Besides cleaning and some cooking, we learn how to take temperatures and make poultices. We also learn something about diets for certain patients; and how to make dressings and sterilize them. After Nurse has seen the children in the clinic, I clean it up and may help to disinfect the laundry or fill cod liver oil bottles for the cottages. At 4 p.m. I start taking the afternoon temperatures and help Nurse give extra nourishment to some children who come especially for this. Then I start preparing supper, served about 5 p.m. We're likely to have someone come in with a cut foot, a splinter in the hand or a pain, while supper is being prepared; and these children must then be attended to. After supper I wash the dishes and clean up while Nurse does treatments in the clinic. We fix

up the patients for the night, and I usually get back to my cottage about 6:30 p.m."

In September, 1940, the Fairbridge boys entered samples of their vegetable and garden produce at the annual British Columbia Fall Fair, and won several prizes.³⁶ In June, 1941, Fairbridge School was "both host and victor in the yearly Lower Island rural schools' Sports Meet."³⁷

"Philip Tipler, Fairbridge athlete, came first in the class "B" 100 yards race, the high jump and the broad jump. He also starred first in the winning relay team. Fairbridge won five out of six relay events, pushing their record up to the winning 63 1/2 points."

But some Old Fairbridge boys had left sports for serious service in war. Principal Logan told a tour party of B.C. Ayrshire

Breeders' Association that one boy graduate was in England with the Canadian Army, one was in the navy, one was with the Canadian Armoured Division in Eastern Canada, and another had applied for the RCAF. More than fifty boys and girls, graduates of Fairbridge, had farm and domestic jobs on the home front.³⁸

"The earnings of the 95 graduates of Fairbridge School this year" (1942) "will equal the entire cost of the school's operation in 1942," Principal Logan told the Victoria Gyro Club in December, 1942.³⁹ "31 of the boys who have graduated are in the Armed Forces." "Our boys have a trans-Atlantic viewpoint," he later told the Lions Club, in May, 1943.⁴⁰ "We encourage them to remember their ancestry, the sacrifices their families have made, but also to take on their job in Canada of helping to build this country." As British children, they were glad to join the Services and help defend England. But, as one boy wrote from there: "When the war is over I want to return to Canada. I find that I am now Canadianized."

In July, 1942, an Old Fairbridgians' Association was planned; the first meeting was in

August.⁴¹ Officers were elected, including a reporter and an overseas reporter; for this club hoped to edit an Old Fairbridgians' *Gazette*. "United We Stand" was the chosen motto; and in the December meeting the 20-plus Old Boys and Girls discussed finding space for visiting Old Fairbridgians, and their hope for one day building a hostel for them.

Because of wartime dangers on the Atlantic, by 1944 no more children were

sent from England to Canada's Fairbridge School. By January, 1945, it had only 100 residents, although there was room for twice that number. In May, 1949, George Pearson, B.C. Provincial Secretary, told the visiting Chairman and General Secretary of the parent Fairbridge Schools Society that, while he had no criticism of their management, the Duncan school should be transferred to a British Columbia Board of Governors, and its courses should be directly under the B.C. Department of Education.⁴² The London officials agreed. The yearly Provincial grant of \$12,500 would be resumed. Complete control of the Duncan Fairbridge School was transferred to a committee of prominent B.C. business men, chaired by R.W. Mayhew, Victoria M.P.

In June, 1945, Harry Logan was transferred to the parent Fairbridge Schools Society, and given a post on its farm school near London, on which prospective pupils were prepared for farm work training.⁴³ William Garnett, Assistant Principal, succeeded him as Principal of the Duncan Fairbridge School. English born, he had come to Vancouver Island when young, worked on farms and earned his way through Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph. He graduated in 1933, and was Ontario's Rhodes Scholar. He joined the Duncan Fairbridge School faculty in 1938, and served there until he joined the R.C.N.V.R. in 1942. As a veteran, he re-

turned to Fairbridge School. Twenty-seven pupils arrived at Fairbridge from Britain in August, 1945.

In September, 1946, the school's faculty were: William Garnett, Principal; G.C. Warnock, his assistant; Winona Armitage, Superintendent of Child Care; A.H. Plows, senior After-Care Officer; F.E. Lamder, bursar; T.J. Hipp chaplain; and John J. Brown, farm manager for over 20 years on the estate.⁴⁵ The school was now administered by a B.C. Board of Governors.

"Well known for her work for Fairbridge School,"⁴⁶ Mrs. W.N. Mitchell, who had given the chapel its fine organ, gave the school "Dogwood Cottage" in October, 1947. This was the new library; she had come daily to catalogue its 3,000 books. The boys happily cleaned and tidied these comfortable quarters; they would read by the fireplace in the spacious lounge. At the opening ceremony, the girls gave Mrs. Mitchell sachet bags of farm-grown lavender; the boys' present was a leather bookmark with tooled replica, "Dogwood Cottage".

In September, 1947, a United Kingdom Timber Delegation, touring B.C., visited Fairbridge, and gave the school 100 guineas (about \$422.)⁴⁷ It was to be paid in sterling when they returned to England, because of severe exchange restrictions on the amount of funds allowed out of the United Kingdom.

British contributions to the Duncan Fairbridge School had been larger than ever during the past two years, Principal Garnett stated in January, 1948.⁴⁸ But they could not be sent to Canada because of these exchange restrictions, so he feared that his school might have to be closed, at least temporarily. No more children could be sent from Great Britain, Sir Charles Hambro, Chairman of the parent Fairbridge Society announced in August, 1949.⁴⁹ The Society would retain the

Fairbridge property on Vancouver Island until the current class graduated, and as homes for the children not otherwise provided for, Mr. Plows, who had climbed the faculty ranks to become Principal, would stay to look after them, assisted by Miss Armitage.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company came to the rescue. Its administrators proposed, and the London Fairbridge Society's Executive Secretary agreed, that the C.P.R. lease the Vancouver Island estate and bring selected British farm families there, under its Department of Immigration and Colonization.⁵⁰ These settlers would have to have the minimum transferable funds, and would agree to farm the Fairbridge property for three years.

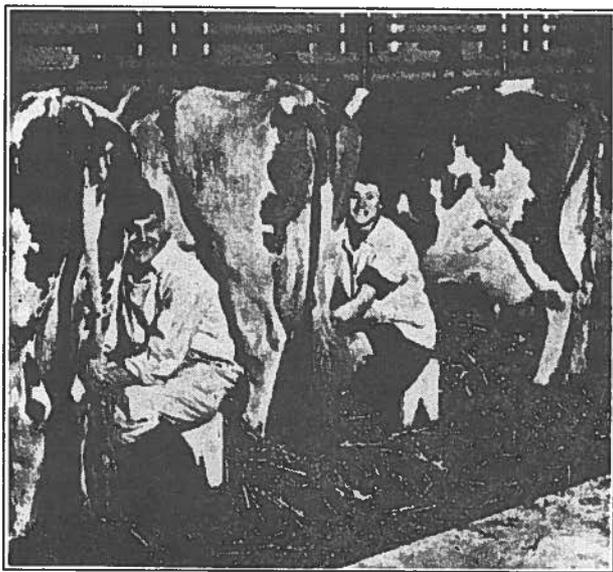
But the continuing financial problems in Britain prevented the parent Fairbridge Society from sending their wards to Canada, and from re-opening a Farm School on the Vancouver Island estate. In March, 1950, it was rented by the B.C. dairy firm, Stevenson and McBryde,⁵¹ from the C.P.R. The dairy inherited from the capable administrators of the Fairbridge School: 70 head of purebred Ayrshire cattle (65 had brought top prices at an auction), a team of Clydesdale horses, several tons of grain, plus farm machinery and household equipment.⁵²

As citizens of Canada, the Fairbridge graduates repaid their godparents many times over. Some became successful contributors to food production, basic and indispensable. Girls were proud to be homemakers and beloved wives and mothers. Other Old Fairbridgians rose into business and the professions; the school's well-rounded program and training in an efficient life-style was their foundation. They had affectionate memories of it; and are glad to attend reunions. The Fairbridge Alumni Association keeps them in touch with each other and their dear "Cottage Mums" it meets regularly, and edits a *Gazette*. To any Fairbridge School graduates: your Association would be pleased to hear from you!

Bio Note: *Helen Borrell is a Vancouver lady who enjoys researching B.C. history and sharing her findings with the reading public.*

Footnotes:

1. "Friendly Fairbridge Farm," magazine feature, *Victoria Colonist*, October 20, 1935.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. "The Story of Kingsley Fairbridge, a Boy with an Idea", *The Recorder*, a British newspaper, - September 18, 1948.
5. *Ibid.*



Students had to milk the cows morning and evening.
Courtesy Cowichan Valley Museum

6. "Fairbridge Farm School and its Principal," **Vancouver Province**, August, 1936.
7. "Fairbridge Farm School and its Principal," **Vancouver Province**, August, 1936.
8. "Friendly Fairbridge Farm," **Victoria Colonist**, October 20, 1935.
9. **Vancouver Province**, Page 3 - September 25, 1935.
10. "Friendly Fairbridge Farm," **Victoria Colonist** - October 20, 1935.
11. Letter from K.W. Bennett, Fairbridge Alumni President - March, 1995.
12. "Some Fairbridge Milestones," **Fairbridge Gazette**, 1946.
13. "Fairbridge School and its Principal," **Vancouver Province**, August, 1936.
14. **Victoria Daily Colonist** Page 9, February 25, 1937.
15. "School Builds Fine Citizens," **Vancouver Sun**, Page 22, September 15, 1937.
16. **Fairbridge Gazette**, April, 1940.
17. **Fairbridge Gazette**, July, 1939.
18. "Laird of Fintry", **Vancouver Sun**, Page 4, July, 1938.
19. **Vancouver Province**, July 16, 1938.
20. "The Girls of Fairbridge," **Victoria Daily Colonist**, magazine section, April 14, 1940.
21. **Vancouver Sun**, September 13, 1938.
22. **Vancouver Sun**, October 24, 1938, p.2.
Vancouver Sun, Page 6, Oct. 22, 1938.
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23. **Vancouver Sun**, Page 12, November 21, 1938.
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25. **Victoria Daily Colonist**, Page 7. March 30, 1939.
26. **Vancouver Sun**, Page 1. April 13, 1939.
27. **Vancouver Province**, Page 13, May 31, 1939.
28. **Fairbridge Gazette**, December, 1939.
29. **Fairbridge Gazette**, December, 1939.
30. **Vancouver Province**, Page 9, May 8, 1940.
31. **Victoria Colonist**, June 28, 1940.
32. **Victoria Colonist**, Page 7, July 28, 1940.
33. **Victoria Colonist**, Page 1, August 7, 1940.
Vancouver Province, Page 1, August 6, 1940.
34. **Vancouver Sun**, Page 6, April 2, 1941.
35. **Fairbridge Gazette**, January, 1942.
36. **Victoria Colonist**, Page 11, September 12, 1940.
37. **Vancouver Sun**, Page 4, June 6, 1941.
38. **Vancouver Province**, Page 14, June 23, 1941.
Vancouver Sun, Page 6, June 26, 1941.
39. **Victoria Colonist**, Page 18, December 8, 1942.
40. **Victoria Colonist**, Page 16, May 28, 1942.
41. **Fairbridge Gazette**, January, 1942.
42. **Vancouver Province**, Page 3, May 28, 1945, and
Vancouver Province, Page 3, January 8, 1945.
43. **Vancouver Sun**, Page 3, May 26, 1945.
45. **Victoria Colonist**, Page 18, September 18, 1946.
46. **Victoria Colonist**, Page 8, October 12, 1947.
47. **Vancouver Sun**, Page 17, September 6, 1947.
48. **Vancouver Sun**, Page 5, January 24, 1948; and
Page 4, January 31, 1948.
49. **Victoria Colonist**, Page 6, August 19, 1949.
50. **Victoria Colonist**, October 25, 1949; and
Vancouver Sun, Page 10, November 10, 1949.
51. **Victoria Colonist**, Page 24, March 3, 1950.
52. **Vancouver Sun**, Page 33, March 27, 1950.



The Children Arrive

GIRLS OUTFIT

- 1 pair thick pyjamas
- 2 pairs thin pyjamas
- 2 vests
- 2 pairs brown knickers
- 1 gym slip
- 1 thick skirt
- 1 woolen jumper
- 2 handkerchiefs
- 2 pairs socks
- 2 towels
- 1 kitbag
- 1 brush and comb bag, and brush
- Sponge bag with face flannel, toothpaste, toothbrush and soap
- 1 pair sandals
- 2 cotton frocks and knickers
- 1 Bible
- 1 pair shorts and sports vest
- Plus the clothing she is wearing

BOYS OUTFIT

- 1 coat (or raincoat)
- 2 vests
- 3 pairs pyjamas
- 2 underpants
- 1 belt
- 1 pair khaki shorts
- 1 pair ordinary shorts
- 2 khaki shirts
- 1 jersey
- 2 pairs socks
- 2 handkerchiefs
- 2 towels
- 1 brush and comb bag, and brush
- Sponge bag with face flannel, toothpaste, toothbrush and soap
- Kitbag
- 1 pair sandals
- 1 Fairbridge tie
- 1 Bible
- Plus the clothing he is wearing

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My warm thanks to the B.C. Archivist in the Victoria office for courteous service and help in locating the reference material, and for mailing photocopies of sections of the Fairbridge School Gazette.

Also, I wish to thank the clerk at the Government Publications section, Main Library, University of B.C. She was always obliging in locating the newspaper boxes of microfilm spools, and in showing me how to operate the reading machines. The same thanks are due to the staff of the Newspaper Room of the Vancouver Main Library.

Highway 16: Prince Rupert-Terrace

1944-1994

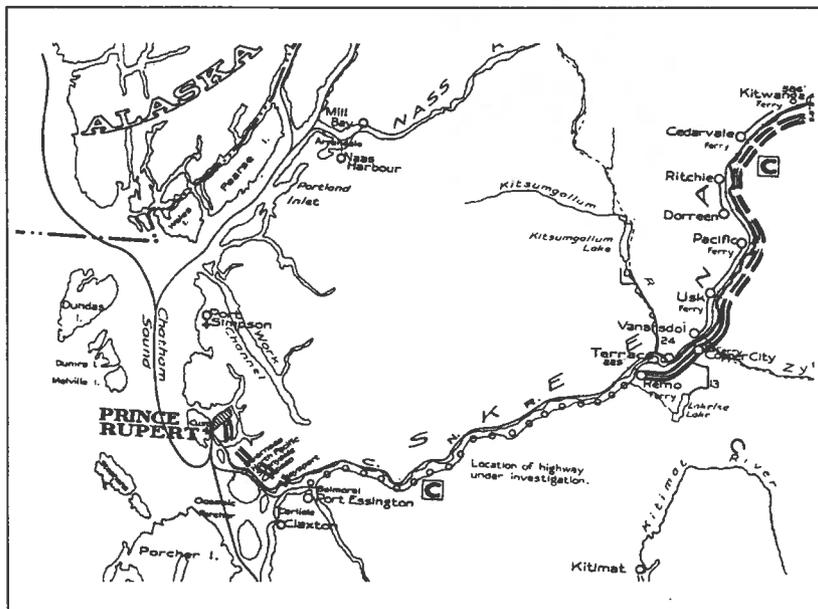
by Dirk Septer

No event, apart from the completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific (later Canadian National) Railway linking Prince Rupert with the rest of Canada overland, has had such an impact as the construction of the highway between Prince Rupert and Terrace.

In the late summer of 1944, more than 30 years after the railroad had been put through to Prince Rupert, a road link was established between Terrace and Prince Rupert. Both the provincial and federal governments had long contemplated building a road to link the port city of Prince Rupert with the interior of British Columbia.

It was only because of the perceived threat of a Japanese invasion during World War II that the Skeena River Highway was finally built. The U.S. government pressed for a back-up land route to move their troops in case of an invasion by the Japanese. Under guidance of the United States Engineering Department, construction began almost immediately. Being a war-time emergency road, it was built as quickly as possible. Large stretches of the road were constructed on the Canadian National Railway (CNR) right-of-way, right along the railroad tracks. In many places it was more a narrow winding trail rather than a road. The road was paved in 1951 and extensively rerouted and repaved in 1970.

In the early 1920's, a small Public Works crew started searching out a possible route for the highway. In September 1927, the Department of Public Works conducted its first aerial reconnaissance flights in order find a route. The reconnaissance was not successful, but during the flight several aerial photographs were taken, the first ever in this region.



Map late 1930's. Note road location under investigation on south shore of Skeena River.

During 1928, 5 mi. (8 km) of right-of-way was cleared, reaching from Phelan station to past Port Edward. An alternate route was considered to go inland from the mouth of the Skeena to Work Channel. Then, after skirting that long body of water, over a mountain pass to the Exstew River and down to the Skeena River again.

During July and August 1929, more aerial photo reconnaissance flights were undertaken to determine feasibility of a route from Prince Rupert East other than following the Skeena River. A series of photographs taken conclusively proved that the reports of a "hidden pass" were a fallacy.¹

It took several years before a narrow, winding gravel road had been cut through the bush from the Prince Rupert city limits along the east shore of Kaien Island to Galloway Rapids. Here in 1930, a bridge was built across to the mainland. On the other side a few more miles of road were built towards Prudhomme Lake. There construction stopped, halted by large walls of rock and a lack of funds. A decision had to be made which direction to take next: Skirt the coastline to Port Edward and then follow the rail-

road tracks, or strike off to the left into the bush to seek a new route towards the Skeena River? The second option was finally chosen.

In the 1930's, during the Depression Years, the Public Works relief program provided work for many men, working on a rotating basis, earning a minimum wage of \$ 3.20 for an eight-hour day.

By July 1935, a road to Cloyah (Kloiya) Bay was completed, and crews were pushing on to Taylor and Prudhomme lakes. Eventually a narrow, rough and bumpy gravel road was pushed through the bush to the two lakes.

Around 1935, there were three potential routes for the highway location between Galloway Rapids and Skeena City: via Prudhomme Lake, via Port Edward and Tyee, or from Kloiya Bay to Work Channel via Denise Arm. The Prudhomme Lake-Work Canal-Skeena City route seemed to be the preferred one. Another option was a possible route from the lower Skeena River across to the Kitimat Valley. But aerial photographs taken by the Forests Branch of the Department of Lands during 1937-1938 confirmed that this route was not viable. Assistant Forester G.S. Andrews reconfirmed his previous opinion to District Engineer J.C. Brady:

"Indian hunters may have traversed that country, when the seasons were propitious, on foot, travelling light, but they would have had to climb over passes at least 5,000 ft. high. I am certain that Napoleon, who crossed the Alps, would not attempt a traverse of the mountains between the Kitimat Valley, and the lower Skeena".²

At the outbreak of World War II, progress on the Skeena River Highway was stalled at Prudhomme Lake, some 15 mi. (24 km) east of Prince Rupert. With the exception of a few families coming out for some fishing or



Highway 16, 1937. Corduroy road west of Prudhomme Lake.

All photographs courtesy:
Ministry of Transportation & Highways - Terrace.

a swim on a warm day, the trail basically served no other purpose.

The actual construction of the Prince Rupert to Hazelton highway was undertaken at the request of the high military authorities in the United States and Canada, at a time when a Japanese attack upon the Pacific Coast was a definite possibility. When early in 1942, the Americans started constructing military fortifications in the Prince Rupert area, completion of the road to Terrace became top priority.

According to the instructions the road was to be completed as quickly as possible, the whole project to be completed in one year. Never had there been a project of that size completed in one year any place in Canada, even in normal times. The terrain between Prince Rupert and Terrace was one of the most rugged in the province. The climate was unpredictable and devastating floods could occur during spring run-off or following heavy rains in fall. One estimate was to build the 68 mi. (108.8 km) of highway in 15 months. It would require about 18 fully equipped crews totalling about 2,300 men.³

In March 1942, survey crews started laying out the location for the new road. The exceptionally late and wet spring severely hampered their progress. Early June 1942, the Department of Mines and Resources in Ottawa awarded the contracts for the construction of some 75 mi. (120 km) of highway between Prince Rupert and Terrace and Cedarvale. Five sections of the highway were awarded in division between McNamara Construction Co., Ltd., Rayner Construction, Ltd., and Standard Paving, Ltd., all of Toronto. The remaining three sections were

divided between E.J. Ryan Construction Co., Ltd. and Associated Engineering Co. of Vancouver.

One of the toughest stretches of highway to be built was the 7 mi. (11.2 km) between Prudhomme Lake and Tyee. For 3 mi. (4.8 km) there was a 600 ft. (180 m) high corrugated rock summit, with cracks

filled with muskeg, to 25 ft. (7.5 m) deep in places. In some places the muskeg had to be shovelled out to bedrock and then filled in with rock.

Construction of a road on the north side of the Skeena River faced many problems. On long sections the road would have to be built parallel to and right up against the railway grade. A total of eight railway crossings were necessary between Tyee and Terrace. In order to have these approved by the Board of Transport, temporary and dangerous crossings had to be avoided. Railway officials had to agree to certain changes of their alignment where improvements would have to be made. Tentative permission was granted to appropriate CNR right-of-way wherever necessary.

It was a "tight squeeze" to build the road from Tyee to Terrace, along a narrow shelf of land also occupied by the rail line. Rocks had to be poured in holes along the Skeena River, some of these 40 ft. (12 m) deep. When a section near Kwinitza was being filled to make a roadbed around a sheer rock bluff, a dump truck toppled with its load into the river. Fortunately the driver jumped free. Eventually, with the aid of a diver, the truck was recovered from a rocky pinnacle on which it had hung up some 50 ft. (15 m) below the surface. The river here was said to be between 80-100 ft. (24-30 m) deep.⁴

The 45 bridges required for the project were pre-fabricated in Vancouver. Ten of these were major spans of the wooden Howe Truss type. It was estimated that 78 trucks were used in the construction, along with 25 bulldozers, 21 powershovels, 32 dump trucks,

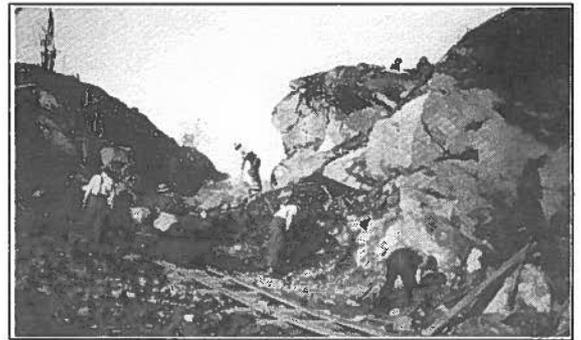
28 dumpsters and nine graders.

Construction was severely hampered by a large turnover of crews during the cold and wet weather of the summer of 1943, with the average workman staying about 60 days on the job before quitting.

A Vancouver paper described the construction:

"Twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week at sometimes in excess of \$60,000 per mile, eight contracting firms worked to put in a highway through one of the world's toughest terrain of granite mountains..."

On August 4, 1944, a month before the official opening, Private Buddy Bodzash had been the first person to drive a car over the new road from Prince Rupert to Terrace. Her passengers were Commanding Officer of



Yellowhead 16, 1937 - P.R. Rock work west of Prudhomme Lake

Prince Rupert Defences Colonel D.B. Martyn and his wife, and Prince Rupert mayor H.M. Daggett.

On September 4, 1944 the "Skeena Highway" was officially opened. On that hot late summer day a cavalcade of more than 100 military and civilian cars travelled the road to Terrace.

The official ceremonies to mark the opening of the road were held at Terrace. Skeena MP Olof Hanson was on hand to cut the traditional blue ribbon. In her book "Road, Rail and River", Prince Rupert author and historian Phylis Bowman quoted Hanson having said:

"I came to Skeena Country 37 years ago with a packsack on my back and have worked all those years to get a highway. Now Pearl Harbour has brought it about".⁵

As soon as the highway officially opened, the Department of Mines and Resources refused any responsibility for winter maintenance of the road. This maintenance, including snow-ploughing, was not deemed justified on military grounds. Early in 1945, it was considered that the road had no longer

any military value since the threat of an invasion had been removed. The amount of local traffic did not justify the cost of keeping the road open. The Province was informed it would be free to incorporate the road into its provincial highway system.

However, Provincial Public Works Minister Herbert Anscamb announced that the Prince Rupert highway would not be considered a provincial responsibility. Since the highway had been a war project, it should be handled like the Alaska Highway and remain under the jurisdiction of the federal government. The word "highway" was an overstatement. The road was still only a rough and narrow winding gravel trail, barely passable in places, with many pull-outs for vehicles to pass. Also, the jurisdiction affecting the portion of the highway running along the CNR right-of-way would have to be straightened out.

During the first years after the opening, it was considered that there was not sufficient traffic to warrant the expenditure to keep this highway open during the winter months. It wasn't until the winter of 1951-52, that the highway was kept open during the winter months. Snow removal on the highway was a problem not easily solved. The highway runs through the Coast Mountain Range along the northern side of the Skeena River. Snowfall is very heavy and a good portion of the road has a rock cut on one side with the railroad on the other. The highway in the Terrace-Tyee area is traversed by 42 avalanche paths.⁶ For a distance of about 60 mi. (96 km) the highway parallels the railroad.

The heaviest snowfalls and longest road closures occurred in January-February 1972. Early February, "the Blizzard of the Decade" dumped 42 in. (1.07 m) more snow in two days. The highway had been closed 22 times during the winter. Some closures had lasted only a matter of hours, while others lasted for two weeks.

A total of 107 snow slides came down on Highway 16. The biggest one came down in February, measuring a width of 0.3 mi. (480 m). In places it covered the highway to a height up to 75 ft. (22.5 m). The total snowfall that fell on the road during the winter reached a total of 48 ft. (14.4 m)⁷

On January 22, 1974, a snow slide wiped



Highway 16, 1937, between Galloway Rapids & Skeena City.

out the service station and motel-restaurant complex "North Route" along Highway 16, 28 mi. (44.8 km) west of Terrace. The slide, which buried the complex and several vehicles, killed seven people.

Over the years many politicians promised improvements to the highway. In October, 1955, Highways Minister P.A. Gaglardi wrote to Bruce Brown, MLA that a "considerable portion" would be included in the next year's B.C. highway program to provide for paving of the road between Prince Rupert and Terrace.⁸ In April, 1965, Premier W.A.C. Bennett announced in Prince Rupert that during that year the reconstruction of the highway between Prince Rupert and Terrace would begin, with the first 25 mi. (40 km) between Prince Rupert and Tyee. Early September 1969, after returning to office in the provincial election, Skeena MLA Dudley Little stated that he would work for the completion of Highway 16 as uppermost on his list of priorities for the riding.⁹ On June 20, 1974, in a meeting of the Inter-Provincial Yellowhead Association, the Deputy Minister of Highways H. Sturroch, agreed that the Prince Rupert to Terrace section of Highway 16 should receive priority.¹⁰ On January 17, 1975, addressing more than 135 people attending the 67th Annual Meeting of the Prince Rupert Chamber of Commerce, Highways Minister Graham Lee promised to get Highway 16 in shape before too many years. He stated that to bring up to standard the particularly difficult 35 mile (56 km) section between Prince Rupert and Terrace would cost \$50 million now, \$75 million tomorrow, and who knows after that. Whereupon a voice from the opposite side of the hall called out: "Then fix it NOW!". This drew much applause and laughter.¹¹ In July

1976, Alex Fraser, Minister of Highways and Public Works, agreed that more work was needed on Highway 16 between Prince Rupert and Terrace.¹²

During the 1980's the Kasiks, Tyee and Esker railway overpasses were built as part of a long term effort to eliminate all level rail crossings. Now only two extremely hazardous stretches of highway, Car Wash Rock and the section between Tyee and Khyex, remained. The latter was finally, almost 50 years after its original construction, brought

up to standard. Besides widening the road and bringing it away from the railway tracks, the new highway would no longer go underneath the hydro tower just east of Tyee.

Car Wash, a rock bluff overhanging the highway about 30 mi. (48 km) west of Terrace gained new prominence when in March 1989 a motorist was killed there by a piece of falling ice. The Ministry of Transportation and Highways has plans to bypass Car Wash Rock within the next few years, but as usual, the time frame will depend on funding available.

Since its construction, the highway between Prince Rupert and Terrace has been upgraded, repaired, re-routed, paved, widened, straightened, improved with overpasses and curbing until it was practically rebuilt.

Today, 50 years after the official opening, the original highway has almost been totally rebuilt. It is almost impossible to recognize the narrow, winding roadway constructed during the war years. Some old-time residents still wonder whether this road would have been through had there not been World War II.

Bio: The author who resides near Telkwa, researches local history and Canadian aviation history.

1. Annual Report 1929-30 District Engineer Prince Rupert to Chief Engineer, November 14, 1930, p. 2;
2. Letter, July 2, 1938, G.S. Andrews to J.C. Brady;
3. Letter, March 14, 1942, District Engineer Prince Rupert to Chief Engineer;
4. *Omineca Herald*, June 9, 1950;
5. Bowman, Phyllis. 1981. *Road, Rail and River*;
6. Ministry of Transportation and Highways. 1980. Snow avalanche atlas Terrace-Tyee;
7. *The Herald*, March 9, 1972;
8. *Prince Rupert Daily News*, October 22, 1955;
9. *Terrace Omineca Herald*, September 3, 1969
10. *The Daily News*, June 21, 1974;
11. *The Daily News*, January 20, 1975;
12. *The Daily News*, July 12, 1976.

James Cronin: Mining Pioneer

by Dirk Septer

For many years, Cronin and Babine Bonanza have been well known names in the mining world. James Cronin, who made his home in Spokane, Wash., was well known for his pioneer mining work in both Canada and the U.S. Born in Bantry, Ireland, Cronin came to America at the age of 18. Soon after arriving in New York in 1870, he moved out west. In the Nevada silver mines he learned all there was to be learned in the mining trade. There was not much about a mine, underground or above, that Cronin did not know. He could build a shaft or timber a mine, and he was his own draftsman and mining engineer. His judgement on the value of ore bodies was uncanny.

In the 1890's, Cronin came up north to Alaska and British Columbia. During one of these exploration trips in the East Kootenay, he located the St. Eugene Mine near Moyie Lake, B.C. The discovery of this mine would establish Cronin's lasting fame in the mining world. The actual discovery was made by an Indian named Peter, who brought some samples to Father Coccola at the St. Eugene Mission. Cronin happened to stop in at that mission and was shown the samples. Subsequently he was taken out to the showing, and the St. Eugene, St. James, and St. Paul claims were staked.

This property would turn into one of the biggest lead and silver mines in British Columbia. Around \$25 million (1925 prices) worth of ore was taken out of the St. Eugene mine.

Soon after that, Cronin rediscovered the War Eagle and Centre Star mines near Rossland, B.C. These properties had been abandoned, but thanks to Cronin, 18 years of production were added to the life of the War Eagle and many million dollars worth of ore was taken out.

Just after the turn of the century, Cronin began exploring northern British Columbia. He explored the Stewart River and the lakes in that area to their source, and also the Nechako.

With his partner Charles Theis, Cronin bought the Babine-Bonanza group of min-



Mr. and Mrs. James Cronin at the main portal of the St. Eugene Mine.

Courtesy Cominco Magazine, May 1961

eral claims in 1907. This property is situated in the Babine mountains, some 45 km north-east of Smithers, B.C. It was located in 1906 by M.J. Brewer and Jas. Dibble. For the next 15 years, Cronin would spend considerable effort in the development and promotion of this property. In 1909, the claims of the Babine Bonanza Mining and Milling Co., of which Cronin was general manager and major shareholder, were Crown Granted.

For many years access to the mine was via the Moricetown Trail. This trail started from the Telkwa High Road south of Moricetown and ran almost straight west, just north of the 55th parallel.

The arrival of the Grand Trunk Pacific brought many changes to the Bulkley Valley. Until the summer of 1914, Hazelton had been the supply town for the Babine mine. On completion of the railway, Smithers became the nearest town carrying mine supplies. Consequently this town was picked as the supply centre for the mine.

In order to cut the distance to the mine by

about 30 km, the Moricetown Trail was abandoned in favour of the Driftwood Trail. On the request of a number of other prospectors owning mining claims in the area, the provincial government upgraded the old Indian trail into a good trail up to the head of Driftwood Creek in 1910. To get to the Babine Bonanza property, an old Indian trail had to be followed to the Babine Range Divide. Here within a distance of about 1200 m the elevation increases about 500 m. From this point, still quite a bit of road work was required to get a passable trail to the property. Though the mountain side is very steep, the soft material allowed easy building of a number of switchbacks whose grades had to assure safe foothold for the horses. Following the east slope of the mountain for the distance of about 3 km, the trail towards the mine required some patching-up work. This would bring it to a point from which several other trails diverged to different properties.

There is only one known low pass which cuts the Babine Range, about 8 km southeast of the Driftwood Creek Pass and cuts the mountain some 650 m lower.

The Driftwood Trail as described above, was only a packtrail. Due to deep snow conditions during most of the year, it could only be used for horse travel about three or four months a year.

It would take Cronin much lobbying before the provincial government put up some money to build a sleigh- and later wagon road to the mine.

In 1917, Cronin proposed a novel method of transporting from the mountain to the railroad. It was towards the end of World War I and the price of metals was very high. In a letter to Sir Richard McBride, one of Cronin's investors and at one time premier of British Columbia, Cronin expressed interest in obtaining one of the German Zeppelins captured in England. "Transportation of ore was the only thing these machines were good for" and then no roads would be required.

The battle to raise money for development work was never ending. Cronin sank much

of his own money into the mine. In 1920, he was even forced to lose some 3,000 acres of land he owned elsewhere in British Columbia due to his inability to pay the taxes.

However, he was a strong believer in the potential of the property, and he never gave up. In a letter to Sir Richard McBride he wrote in 1915:

The opening of this mine has proved to be the most tedious undertaking of my life, and having staked everything on the finding of a paying mine, the undertaking is also the most serious. I feel quite determined to stay with it until the full value of the property is fairly determined.

Four years later he states:

To win in mining, the game must be played to a finish and this we are now trying to do.

Despite all the setbacks, Cronin never lost his sense of humour. When in 1923 a local newspaper inadvertently reported on the sale of the Babine Bonanza property, he wrote to the editor:

The reported sale was an interesting surprise to me. If you should have occasion to sell the property again, I wish you should let me in on the deal.

At the end of September 1923, Cronin was plagued by the usual financial problems and lack of encouraging results. He finally decided one morning to close everything down. After laying off two of his men, he went to examine the results of the blasting done the evening before. To his delight he discovered some good ore. There were some broken chunks and more on the hanging wall. At last he had a chance to quit and leave ore in sight in the face of the drift!

He picked up the broken pieces of ore and put these back around the ore in place. A few hours later he got a surprise visit from the government district engineer. After looking over some other locations, they came to the spot described above. The district engineer started picking at the ore with his light pick.

The ledge, being cracked during the blasting, did not stand up to this very long. Soon every piece that had an attractive appearance came down!

In a letter to his partner Charles Theis a few days later, Cronin writes:

I could see \$50,000 disappear with his pick work and I shall always remember that it was the greatest effort of my life to hold myself using the pick on this man's head. In a few minutes all my prospects were spoiled and new plans were formed just as quick.

Cronin had two men and the cook left. He decided to drive the face at least another 10 feet. He reasoned that if they should happen to be at the near end of an ore chute, it would take 10 feet or more to reach the average. If it proved to be nothing but a punch, it would be better that they would find that out themselves than to have a stranger discover that.

He finishes his letter stating:

With me it is a question of now or never. I am not coming back to do more development work. There is plenty of ore developed here now to justify the building of a 100 ton mill. A time will come when there will be a better market.

Cronin felt that the work completed during the summer of 1923 had proven the existence of enough ore to justify a mill. Though already in his 70's, he had hoped to install the equipment and operate the mine himself, but his plans were never realized. Cronin never did return to the mine. In August 1918, on the way out from the mine he was thrown off his horse. The injury, though painful, did not seem serious and was forgotten. The next couple of years he was often in pain and underwent a successful operation in November, 1921. In January 1924, he underwent another operation, and from then on his health was steadily on the decline. He died on March 3, 1925.

After the death of Cronin, it was decided by the estate to sell the property. During the years 1925-28, many mining companies, agents and brokers were approached. However, it was not until the end of 1928 that there was a taker. The deal struck with Anglo London Mining Company was not an out-

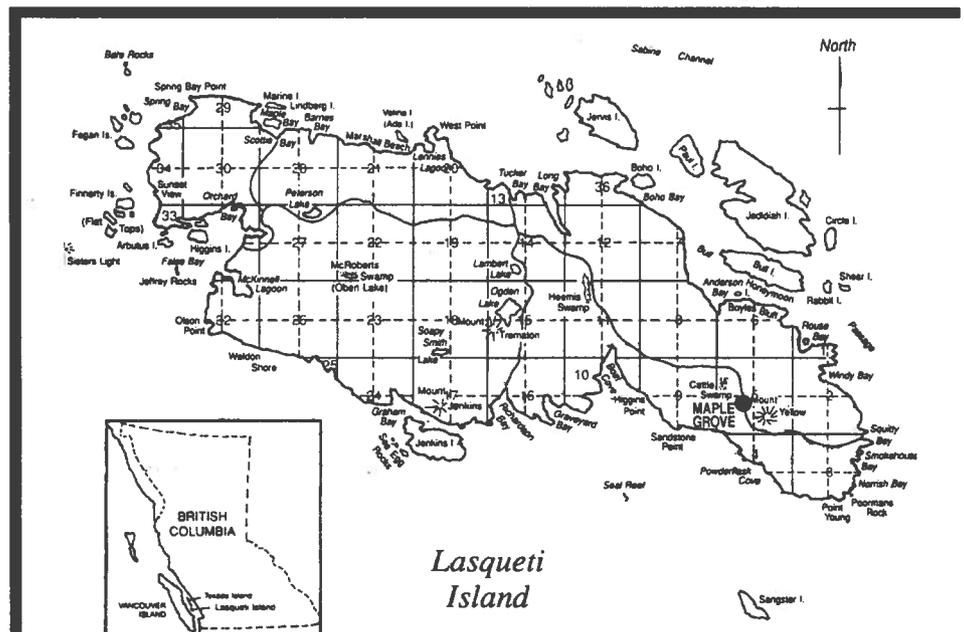
right sale. Through an option this company gained a 51 percent control in the Babine Bonanza Company. But again the constant lack of money plagued further development at the mine. Due to depressed metal prices and a continued lack of market improvement, Anglo London had extreme difficulties to come up with more money. Besides the problem of not honouring financial commitments, there were disagreements about how to run the mine. Consequently in November 1930, Babine Bonanza cancelled the Anglo London contract, something it had wanted to do for a long time.

With Cronin's death we lost the last of the great mining pioneers of the Pacific coast, and his long association with the mining world came to an end.

Cronin was deeply religious; a man with high values and a good sense of humour. He spent half his life in tents or cabins and was an expert cook and fisherman. Cronin was very well liked by those who worked for him or with him. He believed in what he did, especially in the potential of the Babine Bonanza mine. Unfortunately he never saw that mill working. His efforts finally paid off, but it would take many years before his dreams would be realized. In later years, a number of different outfits operated a small mine on the site. The property is still considered a viable small scale option but it never became a second St. Eugene.

Bio:

Dirk Septer, now living and working in the Bulkley Valley, was trained in engineering in the Netherland.



Schooling on Lasqueti

by Elda Mason

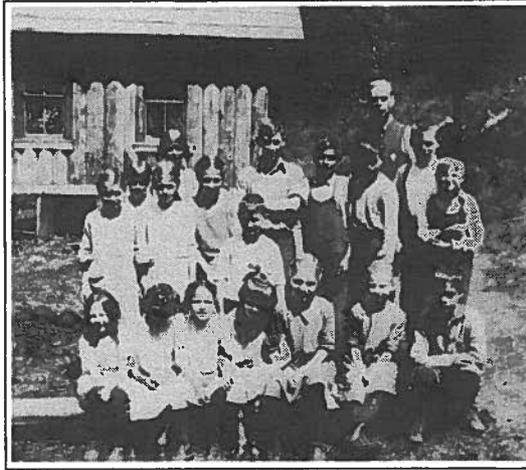
The article about rural school teachers in a recent B.C. Historical News Magazine, (Volume 28:1 - Robert Wright - p. 26) in its bare bones simplicity, fills me with the desire to recount the bright and tender memories of my personal acquaintance with the schooling of that era (the 1920's).

Picture an island - Lasqueti - twelve miles long; it is either timbered or recently logged; there are a few large meadows; the land is surveyed into conventional quarter sections. The settlers' homes with their small clearings are seldom visible to each other. A few people do have horses to ride, but most walk. Wooden sleighs are used for freight as many of the roads which often follow old logging roads are not yet suitable for wagons; these are usually very muddy in winter. Many people have boats which are very useful but completely subject to the weather.

At the time I was five years old, the only school was at the opposite end of the Island from my parents' home. My father tried to remedy this situation by teaching my sister and me to write and to know our letters. My mother helped us write letters to our grandmother. She also taught us to sing while she accompanied us on her guitar. We were encouraged to gather wild flowers and to call them by name, however local these names might be.

When I was eight years old, my parents and a neighbouring family were able to arrange with a retired teacher, Mrs. Katherine Grant, for their daughter and my sister and me, to go to her home for three hours each day. She provided us with instruction for several months. This wonderful lady introduced me to phonics. In a very short time I was reading the first Primer; soon I was into the magic of BOOKS. We began Arithmetic - the fundamentals of adding, subtracting and simple times tables. Mrs. Grant introduced us to art - the world around us, painting flowers and butterflies with water colors. She taught us the songs of her childhood, "Buttercups and Daisies," "The Sandman." I am eternally grateful to my wonderful first teacher.

In time we took a Government Correspondence Course. Except for the grade two Reader, I remember very little. I am afraid we did not study very assiduously.



Maple Grove School, 1924. Front: Ruth Boldthen, Violet Norrish, Bertha Cook, Edith Norrish, Lucretia Copley, Geneva Copley, Fred Cook. Middle: Beatrice Copley, Dorothy Pettingell, Doris Reitz, Elda Copley, Jack White, Maurice Reitz, George Curran, Art White, Alfred Copley, Frank White. Standing behind: Miss Florence Egel and Rev. George Pringle.

About that time the settlers began building a school for the end of the island where we lived. Upright logs and handsplit shakes kept the cost to a minimum. The Government supplied shiplap and fir flooring as well as three windows for the south wall. Of course these expenditures along with desks, chalk, new books etc. were applied to the settlers' taxes.

In 1923 when I was eleven, Lasqueti Island's Maple Grove School officially opened. Miss Madeline Elvira Nelems was the first teacher. She was young, and to us children, very beautiful. She boarded with my Aunt and Uncle, Birdie and Fred Copley in their comfortable home beside the ocean. She had a separate bedroom but of course there was no indoor plumbing. This was not expected in country homes. She walked the one mile to school with my cousins.

Our school had eighteen pupils ranging in age from barely six to fourteen years. Very few had ever attended a regular school. Miss Nelems sorted us into workable grades and organized janitorial duties. She read us fascinating stories and taught us to write short compositions, emphasizing oral reading. We moved into multiplication and division; she organized spelling bees; we began drawing still life (salal leaves). Many of us were in tears when she told us she would be leaving at

Christmas.

After Christmas, Miss Florence Theresa Egel came. She was also a very capable young woman and soon had the situation in hand. Our education progressed. Composition became more meaningful (the Life Story of the Pansy.) Math involved problem solving with formal statements. Miss Egel taught us music, the notes and the scales, the basis of the tonic sol-fa. For some of the children this was very boring but for me and my sister, it was the best part of the day.

Miss Egel paid us three generous dollars a month to do the janitorial work. We cleaned the blackboards and brushes and swept the floors each day. She also encouraged sports. The older boys felled the alders and with the help of parents we were able to make our playground large enough to play ball.

In the fall Miss Edith Kay came to Maple Grove. She brought her mandolin and continued our musical education. Then on top of all the other duties of reading, writing (MacLean Method) and arithmetic she organized a Christmas Concert and another concert in the spring. Thus drama, singing and recitation became part of our experience. We continued playing baseball and the revenue from our second concert was used to buy sports equipment.

These young teachers were respected members of the community. They were welcomed to all social events and were entertained in the homes. It is true that a few hearts beat faster with the prospect of dancing with the teacher or possibly taking her for a boat ride, but this was all part of the excitement of having another young person with new ideas to enlighten our lives.

Thus, though these young teachers did not have any letters after their names, though they were inexperienced and often had to make do in difficult circumstances, their sincerity and enthusiasm made up for it. They left a fine and priceless legacy for those of my generation who had the benefit of their instruction.

*Elda Mason now lives in Nanaimo. She recently published **Lasqueti Island, History and Memory**. If any descendants of Miss Egel read this, will they please contact Mrs. Mason.*

Making B.C. History: The Native Sons of British Columbia

by Robert Leece

When the Native Sons of British Columbia was first formed in 1899, British Columbia was still in its infancy as a province.¹ Victoria, the provincial capital, had been founded fifty-six years before, while Vancouver had been in existence for only thirteen years. As the senior city, Victoria was the province's leading force through its early history, it was here that the Native Sons was originally organised. In this initial formation, an identity for the province and its inhabitants was recorded that reflected the social dominance of Victoria.

Over the next generation, however, the Native Sons would develop a new vision of the province and in doing so they would record the development of Vancouver as British Columbia's social centre. An interesting feature of the Native Sons is the visual records they have left. Emblems, badges, paintings, and photographs provide useful additions to the written records of the organisation. As a result, this exercise will include visual material in association with written records in studying the Native Sons vision of themselves and the province.

While the Native Sons of British Columbia was a small, secret organisation,² its activities were often reported in local newspapers. As a result, it can be argued that its members' visions of a British Columbian identity extended beyond the confines of their closed meetings. Also, as members of the community at large, the opinions of the community would have had their own influences on the members of the organisation. With this in mind, it is reasonable to suggest that the development of the Native Sons of British Columbia can be viewed as a model of the developing identity of the Province itself. In considering evidence of this developing identity there will be a particular em-



The Native Sons of B.C. entered this float in the Victoria Day parade, May 1900.

BCARS H-2435

phasis on representations of the province's Aboriginal population. This emphasis reflects the view that a vision of Self is dependent on the defining contrast represented by an Other.³ In British Columbia, it was the Aboriginal population that would come to function as this Other.

The Native Sons of British Columbia was first formed following the model of the Native Sons of the Golden West, a California organisation.⁴ In announcing details of the formation of the Native Sons, the **Daily Colonist** reported that the objects of the organisation were "social and recreative and for mutual help."⁵ A short time later, when the election of the officers of the organisation was reported, the **Daily Colonist** applauded the use of Hudson's Bay Company titles for the officers as "a happy and appropriate idea."⁶ Another aspect of the Native Sons was revealed when the **Daily Colonist** reported that the organisation was intended to "unite the young men of all nationalities, religious convictions and political creeds under the banner of love of the home province."⁷ As for the Native Sons itself, its original constitution and by-laws listed the maintenance of an awareness of the accomplishments of the

pioneers and the mutual economic benefit of its members as being among its primary objects.⁸

Initially, the Victoria post of the Native Sons appears to have dominated the organisation, with the result that the Native Sons' vision of the province was Victoria's vision of the province.⁹ In respect to identity, Victoria presents an interesting case as some of the city's leading citizens were the children of fur traders, some of whom had Aboriginal or metis wives.¹⁰ Though it cannot be pursued here, it is possible that this aspect of Victoria's society influenced the course of self identifica-

tion. In many respects there is no effort towards a distinctively British Columbian self identification in the early years of the organisation. Outside of maintaining a memory of the pioneers and references to the Hudson's Bay Company, the overwhelming measure of identity for the Victoria Native Sons was the connection to the British Empire.

One particularly telling example of the Native Sons' early self image is their official seal. Initially, this seal was medallion shaped and had at its centre a crown surmounted by a lion, along with a wreath of oak and some other unidentified foliage. Circling the edge of the seal was the motto "Conjunctio Firmat" and the name "Native Sons of B.C.". Aside from the inclusion of the name of the organisation, there is nothing to associate the imagery of this seal with British Columbia, though there is much to associate it with the Empire. Similarly, the badge of Victoria's Post No. 1 fails to include much that would distinguish it as being British Columbian.¹¹ Arranged on a red, white, and blue ribbon is the seal described above, the words "Justice Mercy Humility", the Union Jack and the Canadian Red Ensign, and a shield bearing the pattern of the Union Jack. Both of these

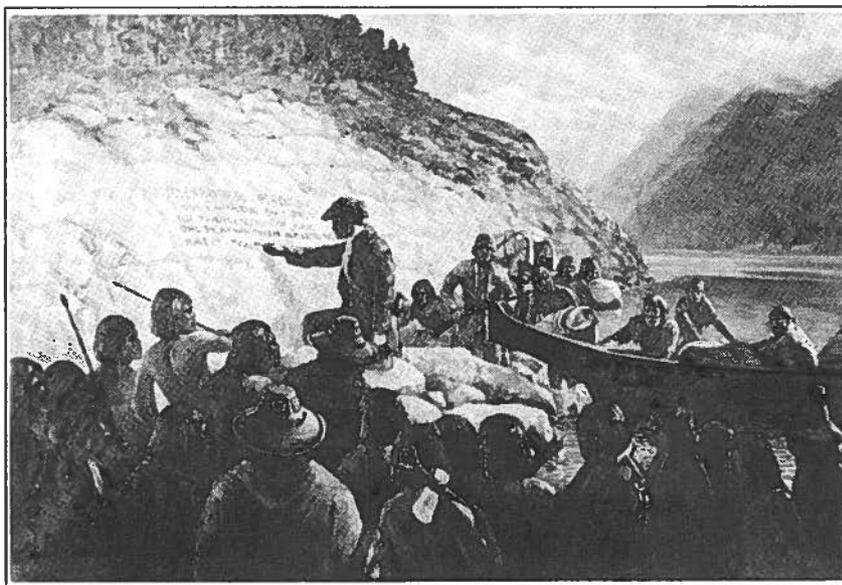
objects speak of Britain and the Empire. The name British Columbia is simply a label attached to one of its many parts.

Along with the absence of a British Columbian aspect to the identity of the Native Sons there are very few references to the province's Aboriginal population. One example is a **Daily Colonist** report on a 1902 Native Sons excursion to Mayne Island where the results of a "race for Indians" is included with the outcome of other sporting events.¹² Similarly, a series of photographs identified as showing the Native Sons in the 1900 May 24 parade also suggests some form of association between the Native Sons and these Aboriginal 'natives' (see end of document).¹³ One of these photographs shows the Native Sons' float,¹⁴ manned by young boys in sailor suits and young girls in white dresses while another is of two Aboriginal men.¹⁵

With no available written documentation of the Native Sons intentions in this association, the only option is to speculate.

Aside from the archives' catalogue there is little to connect these two photographs. There is no overlapping content, though judging by the camera angles the Aboriginal men likely marched ahead of the float. What is intended by their presence is more difficult to determine. One possibility is that they were intended to represent a defining contrast between the Aboriginal character of the province and the future of the province as represented by the children on the float. There is nothing, however, about these children that is particularly British Columbian. Though there may be an awareness of race indicated here, there is no other material contemporary with these photographs that would indicate the Native Sons were consciously attempting to define themselves as British Columbians in this manner in 1900.¹⁶ Instead, considering the organisation's emphasis on Empire, it might be more reasonable to view these two men, and similarly the Aboriginal participants in the Mayne Island excursion, not as aspects of identity but instead as indicators of locale. Aboriginal participants are, in association with the Native

Sons, presented as exotic subjects of the Empire and reflect the all-consuming dominance of the British Empire.



Alexander McKenzie was the first white man to cross North America north of Mexico. Travelling for the Northwest Company he crossed the Rockies and landed at sea water near Bella Coola.

While Victoria's Post No. 1 guided the early history of the Native Sons, a differing view of the province and its character can be found in slightly later activities of the mainland posts. In particular, it appears that New Westminster's Post No. 4 took the lead in contributing to the development of a distinctively British Columbian identity for the Native Sons. One indication of this is developments in the initiation ritual that probably originated with Post No. 4. Appearing in the minutes of the annual meeting of the Grand Post in 1911, is a comment by the Grand Factor concerning Post No. 4's purchase of "an initiation outfit both interesting and varied, eliminating however all rough and dangerous features."¹⁷ Though there is no actual description of the outfit in these minutes, it is probably the same as the initiation costume that became standard for the organisation in the 1914 revised ritual.

The original ritual of the Native Sons included an initiation that involved a "hoodwinked" initiate enduring an ordeal of entrance into the society.¹⁸ The initiate was guided through a series of obstacles indicating entrance to the post and afterwards was instructed as to the good conduct of a Native Son. Likely formulated at the time of the organisation's founding in Victoria, the ritual makes vague references to the fur trade but otherwise has little to associate it with British Columbia. The 1914 version of the

ritual differs considerably on this point. As in the original initiation ritual, the initiate was subjected to a "hoodwinked" ordeal.

Now, however, the initiate had his "trousers rolled up to the knees, [and] a pack of a blanket, pick, shovel, axe, and pans strapped to [his] back."¹⁹ It is most probable that this is the costume developed by Post No. 4. Wearing this costume, the initiate was led through his ordeal while the Chief Guide recited the following passage.

My Brother, you are now travelling over the Carriboo (sic) Trail. This Trail is rough and dangerous, and requires great nerve and endurance to overcome. But our Forefathers successfully passed through hardships, which proved themselves worthy as Pioneers, and it is to be hoped that you

*will prove equally worthy as a Native Son.*²⁰

Following his ordeal, the initiate was addressed by the Post Chief Factor who detailed the accomplishments of the pioneers. Included in these comments on the pioneers was a reference to the "wild and often hostile Natives," who represented one of the "difficulties" these pioneers "met and overcame."²¹

This appears to be the first reference to the Native Sons actually identifying with a specifically British Columbian experience. Unlike the fur trade, which through the Hudson's Bay Company was as much a connection to Britain as it was to any specific region of the company's domain, the Cariboo gold rush could only be associated with British Columbia. For the Native Sons it was a defining moment for the province as well as for themselves. Added to this is the reference to overcoming the "hostile Natives." The pioneers are thus portrayed as having won the right to claim this province as their own. In the minds of the Native Sons, the result of this was the founding of "this Glorious Province of which we [the Native Sons] are the Inheritors."²² It seems that Post No. 4 was the origin of another development of the Native sons ritual. In 1915, the Grand Factor applauded Post No. 4's use of the Chinook jargon in their initiation ceremony. It would, he thought, "help to perpetuate the days when our Forefathers had to do with the then Savage tribes of Early British Columbia."²³

As will be shown, this comment on the use of the Chinook jargon is important in understanding the Native Sons identity.

Though it received only brief mention in the 1914 ritual and the 1915 minutes of the Grand Post, the issue of making reference to the province's aboriginal population is important in considering the development of the Native Sons' view of themselves as being distinctively British Columbian. In a discussion of Australian nationalism, Andrew Lattas has written that in the development of a national consciousness "concepts of time (of the past and the future) are integral, and certain social groups are invoked as the embodiments of different times."²⁴ The past and the future, the overcome and

the inheritors, only in 1914 was a sense of provincial 'nationalism' beginning to develop in British Columbia. Originating on the mainland, the use of references to Aboriginal peoples and the identification of the Chinook jargon as an aspect of the pioneers' accomplishments in dealing with these peoples was becoming a significant part of the Native Sons' identity. As part of the Native Sons' ritual, however, these features remained secret. It was only later, following the development of a nationalistic mood in the province at large, that these aspects of ritual would become part of the public persona of the Native Sons.

As in British Columbia, a "natives" association was formed in New Zealand in the late nineteenth century.²⁵ Primarily a middle-class social organisation, the New Zealand Natives Association did not survive the transition to the twentieth century. In discussing this aspect of New Zealand's history, Keith Sinclair has suggested that the NZNA was ultimately swept aside by the events of the Anglo-Boer war which created a unifying sense of patriotism independent of the limited influence of a social club.²⁶ In British Columbia, it was the First World War that served as the catalyst of patriotism. Though the Native Sons was not swept aside by these events, it was very much changed by them. Following reorganisation in 1922, the Native Sons, now with Vancouver's Post No. 2

in the lead, would seek to play a public role in defining the meaning of being a British Columbian. Of particular interest is the fact



Crown Colony of British Columbia was proclaimed at Fort Langley and James Douglas took the oath of Lieutenant Governor by Matthew Baillie Begbie, Chief Justice appointed by British law in 1858.

that Victoria's Post No. 1 generally excludes itself from these developments, possibly uncomfortable with the idea of following in Vancouver's shadow.²⁷

With its reorganisation, the Native Sons adopted the new purpose of pointing "the way to a clearer and more definite appreciation of the values of citizenship."²⁸ Accompanying this new purpose was a new emblem for the organisation. Unlike the original seal, with its absence of references to British Columbia, the new emblem reflected an awareness of place that had been developing in the pre-war ritual of Post No. 4 in New Westminster. Showing the Nanaimo Bastion, built by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1853, the emblem included the name of the organisation and a banner bearing the word Tillicum.²⁹ The inclusion of this word from the Chinook jargon is interesting when it is considered in relation to the comments made about the use of Chinook in the ritual of Post No. 4. It is representative of the accomplishments of the pioneers in dealing with the Aboriginal peoples of the province; peoples who had been overcome by these pioneers. Increasingly, the Native Sons would choose to define the province's Aboriginal population as an aspect of the past. Although they would seek to collect evidence of this Aboriginal past, it was only for use as a scale against which the province's progress could be measured.

Between 1922 and 1928 the collection and preservation of the early history of the province was a primary occupation of the Native Sons.³⁰ Artifacts were collected and the organisation participated in the creation of a provincial Historic Objects Act. Central to this act were provisions for the protection of "rock carvings, totem poles, and other works of Indian art or historic interest."³¹ The Native Sons' participation in the passage of this act can be seen as being rooted in their desire to "preserve the relics of a passing age," much in keeping with the practice of viewing the Aboriginal identity of British Columbia as the past.³² Though frivolous and possibly even demeaning, the 1900 parade

and the 1902 excursion included living Aboriginal participants who were a continuing part of British Columbia's existence. In the 1920's, these people were replaced by objects that were used to define the past. It is also possible to see another element of exploitation at work here, as the Native Sons excluded the Aboriginal identity from the province's future while at the same time using it in attempts to create greater interest in the "romance" of British Columbia's history.³³

The Native Sons 1920's view of history is well represented in a series of paintings commissioned by the organisation and the Hudson's Bay Company. Accompanied by the title "Making B.C. History by recording B.C. History," these paintings were presented in **Progress of British Columbia**, a publication produced by Post No. 2.³⁴ Given as a gift to the University of British Columbia, the eight paintings were of: Simon Fraser Making His Way Through the Canyon of the Fraser; Overland Expedition of 1862 Coming Through Rockies; Alexander MacKenzie recording his arrival at the Rock of Elcho; Governor Douglas taking Oath of Office at Fort Langley, November 19, 1859; Discovery of Gold at Williams Creek; The Building of Fort Victoria; The Hudson's Bay Fur Brigade passing Lake Okanagan; and Capt. George Vancouver meeting the Spaniards Galiano and Valdez, off Point Grey. Though all of these paintings reflect the Na-

tive Sons view of British Columbia, the depiction of Alexander Mackenzie is most relevant to this discussion as it is in this painting that the Aboriginal presence is most noticeable.

While the Aboriginal presence might be obvious in this painting, it is also notably diminished. Mackenzie is the focus of this image, with the Aboriginal participants serving only as witnesses to his actions. They are shown below Mackenzie, looking up to him as he records his arrival and seems to gesture towards a new future for the territory. Similarly, all of the paintings speak of the transition to and the development of British control of the territory that would become British Columbia. The Aboriginal inclusion as witnesses to Mackenzie's 1793 arrival is all the more revealing when taken in association with their absence from the painting of the 1858 creation of the colony. In this view of history the Aboriginal presence, and its subsequent absence, is a measure of the development of the colony that would ultimately become the province of British Columbia.

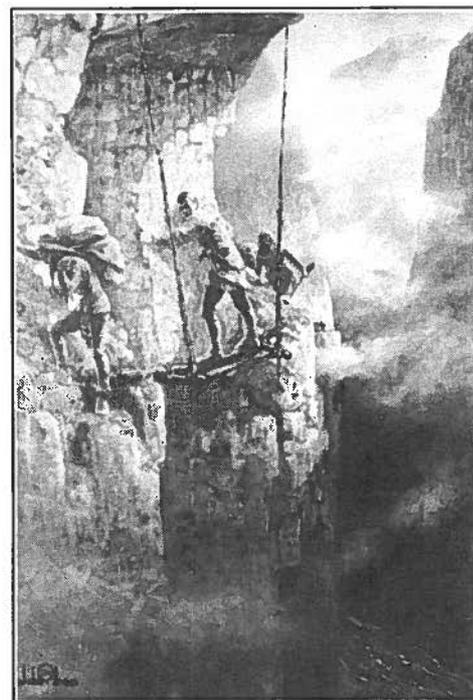
The Native Sons' struggles with defining themselves reveal a number of aspects of the development of British Columbia. Most obvious is the transition of influence from Victoria to the mainland and ultimately to Vancouver. Also revealed, and possibly relating to issues of security, is the growing vision of British Columbia as a distinctive entity. At the turn of the century the province looked to the Empire for its definition and probably for reassurance. British Columbia was still on the frontier of 'civilisation', only able to claim clear authority through the support of the Empire. Steadily, and most notably on the mainland, this dependence was replaced by a confidence that was openly displayed following the First World War. As the apparent focus of this confidence, Vancouver took over the role of defining the province and determining its future identity. Meanwhile, the image of the Aboriginal inhabitants of the province was increasingly marginalized. The Aboriginal identity became the past, surpassed and consumed by the identity of the new 'natives' of British Columbia.

Bio Note: The author was a student at the University of Victoria where he prepared this essay for instructor John Lutz.

FOOTNOTES

1. Victoria *Daily Colonist*, March 9, 1899, p. 2.
2. Victoria *Daily Colonist*, March 9, 1899, p. 2.
3. Bain Attwood and John Arnold, *Power, Knowledge and Aborigines: Special edition of Journal of Australian Studies*, (Bundoora: La Trobe University Press, 1992), p. iii.

4. Victoria *Daily Colonist*, March 9, 1899, p. 2.
5. Victoria *Daily Colonist*, March 9, 1899, p. 2.
6. Victoria *Daily Colonist*, March 23, 1899, p. 2.
7. Victoria *Daily Colonist*, August 6, 1899, p. 6.
8. Native Sons of British Columbia, *Constitution And By-Laws Of The Native Sons Of British Columbia* (Victoria: Greenwood, Smith & Randolph, 1899), p. 3, British Columbia Archives and Records Service (hereafter BCARS).
9. 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 B 6, Minutes of Grand Post and Executive Grand Post, 1907-1915, City of Victoria Archives and Records Division (hereafter VARD). According to membership numbers listed in these minutes, it was not until 1915 that the Vancouver and New Westminster posts had a combined membership that exceeded the size of Victoria Post No. 1.
10. Personal communication, Elizabeth Vibert. Some possible examples are: McNeill, Helmcken, Finlayson, McTavish, Tolmie, Ross, and Todd. Names from, Native Sons, *Post No. 1: List of Members, their Vocations and Business Addresses* (Victoria, 1900), BCARS.
11. 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 C 4, VARD, contains six examples of this badge as well as a box of seals from Post No. 1.
12. Victoria *Daily Colonist*, August 15, 1902, p. 2. The names of the three top finishers in this race are listed and suggest, on comparison with the 1900 membership list, that outside of the already mentioned metis individuals the Native sons did not have Aboriginal members.
13. Photographs courtesy of the BCARS.
14. Photograph H-2435, May 24, 1900, BCARS.
15. Photograph H-2431, May 24, 1900, BCARS.
16. There are some examples of race being used as a defining characteristic for the pioneers, but this is still not a clear reference to a distinctively British Columbian identity. One example of this can be found in: *Ritual of the Native Sons of British Columbia* (Revised 1914), p. 19, 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 C 4, VARD.
17. 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 B 6, Minutes of Grand Post and Executive Grand Post, July 25, 1911, VARD.
18. *Ritual of the Native Sons of British Columbia* (no date), p. 7, 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 C 4, VARD. Though undated, the content of this ritual can only suggest that it represents an early stage of its development.
19. *Ritual of the Native Sons of British Columbia* (Revised 1914), p. 12, 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 C 4, VARD.
20. *Ritual of the Native Sons of British Columbia* (Revised 1914), p. 13, 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 C 4, VARD.
21. *Ritual of the Native Sons of British Columbia* (Revised 1914), p. 20, 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 C 4, VARD.
22. *Ritual of the Native Sons of British Columbia* (Revised 1914), p. 20, 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 C 4, VARD.
23. 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 B 6, Minutes of Grand Post and Executive Grand Post, July 27, 1915, VARD.
24. Andrew Lattas, "Primitivism, Nationalism, and Individualism in Australian Popular Culture," *Power, Knowledge and Aborigines: Special edition of Journal of Australian Studies*, (Bundoora: La Trobe University Press, 1992), p. 45.
25. Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart New Zealand's Search For National Identity*, (London: Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1986), p. 45.
26. Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search For National Identity*, (London: Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1986), p. 45.
27. 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 B 6, Minutes of Grand Post and Executive Grand Post, May 7-8, 1926, VARD. By this date, B.A. Mckelvie of Post No. 2 was complaining that Post No. 1 would not even respond to Native Sons correspondence.
28. The Native Sons of British Columbia: Bruce A. Mckelvie's Comments on the History of the Native Sons, 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 B 7, Grand Post Historian's Reports and Notes, no date, VARD.
29. The Grand Post accepted the new emblem on May 12, 1922. Hand written notes, 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 B 7, Grand Post Historian's Reports and Notes, no date, VARD. Description of the emblem in *Ritual of the Native Sons of British Columbia* (Revised 1947), p. 6, 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 C 4, VARD.
30. It is not possible to go into every example, but the Grand Post Historian's Reports list a number of purchases of artifacts and donations to the Vancouver Museum.



In 1808 Simon Fraser followed this river to the sea, thus proving that this was not the Columbia. These three reproductions of the original paintings by John Innes which were commissioned by the Native Sons, Post No. 2, are available in postcard form sold by the Native Daughters of B.C.

Courtesy Native Daughters of B.C.

- 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 B 7, Grand Post Historian's Reports and Notes, VARD.
31. 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 B 6, Minutes of Grand Post and Executive Grand Post, May 7-8, 1926, VARD.
32. This quote is taken from a newspaper article in the BCARS vertical files. It is incorrectly labelled as being from the June 17, 1923 *Vancouver Province*. However, its content does place it in the general period of the mid 1920s.
33. 98811-03 Native Sons, 29 B 7, Grand Post Historian's Reports and Notes, May 7 and 8, 1926, VARD.
34. Native Sons of British Columbia, *Progress of British Columbia: Lumbering, Agriculture, Mining, Fishing, Shipping and Transportation*, (Vancouver: Post No. 2 Native Sons of British Columbia, 1928), p. 49.

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Native Sons of British Columbia. *Constitution And By-Laws Of The Native Sons Of British Columbia*. Victoria: Greenwood, Smith & Randolph, 1899. BCARS.
Vancouver. *Daily Province*. Various dates.
Victoria. *Daily Colonist*. Various dates.

Heritage Day 1996

Heritage Canada established in 1974 that the third Monday in February be set aside to celebrate the roots of each Canadian and our collective heritage. Heritage Canada is presently working closely with the Embassies of Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland, with Nordic-Canadian organizations and various corporate sponsors to ensure that celebrations on February 19, 1996 befit the contributions of Nordic-Canadians to our Canadian identity.

For further information about Heritage Day 1996 contact Helene Fortin (Youth Services) or Douglas Franklin (Government Relations), Heritage Canada, P.O. Box 1358, Station B, Ottawa, ON. K1P 5R4 or Phone (613) 237-1066.

CHIN

The Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN) is a federal agency whose mandate is to broker effective access to Canadian and international heritage information for public education and for the collective benefit of Canadian museums. On October 1st, 1995 CHIN has launched a "New Look" on the Internet. For those with access to the Internet contact Internet Home Page: <http://www.chin.gc/>

Anne Stevenson : 1903-1995

Anne and Douglas Stevenson hosted the BCHF conference held in Williams Lake in 1968. Mrs. Stevenson was the much loved Honorary President of the B.C. Historical Association/Federation from 1978 to 1983. This retired high school teacher served on many boards and committees including Chairing the Board of Directors of Cariboo College. In 1982 she was presented with an Honorary Doctor of Laws; George Pederson said, "Wherever you have served you have done so with distinction, devotion, perception, and charm. You have taught in, helped found, governed and served the education system of British Columbia from First Grade to Graduate School."

Anne Stevenson passed away on August 6, 1995. Memorial donations may be made to the University College of the Cariboo, P.O. Box 3283, Kamloops, B.C., V2C 6B8

Corrections

In "Balloon Bombs: Japan to North America" (Summer 1995 p.22) Alastair Reeves, a retired B.C. Forest Service officer now living in Montreal, notes that 9300 (not 93000) balloons were launched. On page 23 the author apologizes for placing Klamath Falls in Idaho rather than in Oregon.

And in the Fall 1995 "Bookshelf" page 38 - the author of **Roaring Days** is Jeremy Mouat.

Scholarship Winners

The 1995 winner of the Burnaby Historical Society Scholarship is Daryl Wong of Vancouver. This student at the University of British Columbia is studying to prepare himself as a teacher of History and Social Studies.

The winner of the 1995 BCHF Scholarship is a Penticton resident who is nearing completion of a degree in History at the Okanagan University College in Kelowna. Chris Bogan grew up in Nelson, B.C. and took his first year of post secondary studies at Selkirk College in Castlegar. He enthusiastically reported enjoying courses in Early B.C. history, studies of the Hudson's Bay Company, Ethno (First Nations) history and Mediaeval European history. He aspires to further studies leading to a Masters in Archival Management.

Ray Nohels- 1924-1995

The East Kootenay area lost a dedicated community worker on September 15, 1995. Ray Nohels of Jaffray had led a group writing and publishing the history of Sand Creek and Jaffray; this book came off the press in time for a reunion in August. He frequently spoke to groups or school children on the history of "South Country" and he had traced the original 1860s Kalispell Trail, marking this in two locations. He died suddenly when taking his prize winning vegetables to the Jaffray Fall Fair.

Recognizing Teaching Excellence

Canada's National History Society is launching an awards program to honor teachers of Canadian history. The teacher may be teaching any Grade from 1 to 12. Nominations for teaching excellence in Canadian history should be sent in January 1996 to: Laird Rankin, Canada's National History Society, 478 167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 0T6.

History 225-Open Learning Agency

This correspondence course featuring Jean Barman's textbook **The West Beyond the West** received enthusiastic endorsement from a Hedley resident who recently completed her course. She describes the assistance of a tutor on the telephone, carefully laid out learning units and reading lists, and a 1-800 number to request books from the SFU library. "University was never this easy! I recommend that BCHF Members take this course!" Phone 1-800-663-9711 to get your registration information.

CGIT and Girl Guides

Both these organizations are observing special anniversaries in 1995. Canadian Girls in

Training was launched in 1915 by the YWCA and continues to function as an organization for teen-aged girls in some Protestant churches across Canada today. Brownies, Guides, Pathfinders, Rangers, leaders and Sparks (the newest group which involves girls aged five to seven) are holding 85th Anniversary celebrations. British Columbia Guiding has 28000 girls and 6900 adults currently participating in the varied program. In July 1996 some of B.C.'s adult members will be part of the welcoming/working committees at the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts Conference being held in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Gerald B. Timleck

1920-1995

The president of the Vancouver Historical Society died suddenly on September 26, 1995. Gerry, a long time history buff, was a pharmacist who practiced for 50 years, owning Magee Pharmacy for twenty years prior to his retirement in 1985.

Joseph Arthur Lower

1907-1995

The Honorary President of the British Columbia Historical Federation died as a result of an accident on October 26, 1995. He is survived by his wife Thelma, two sons and four grandchildren. Arthur Lower is remembered as a teacher and as the author of several books on Canadian history that are widely recognized references. Canada; An Outline History, 1966, with its second, revised edition in 1991, is particularly noteworthy.

Donations in memory of Mr. Lower may be sent to: Vancouver Maritime Museum, 1905 Ogden Avenue, Vancouver, B.C. V6J 1A3

BOOKSHELF

Books for review and book reviews should be sent directly to the Book Review Editor:
Anne Yandle, 3450 West 20th Avenue, Vancouver, B.C. V6S 1E4

The Queen's Law is Better than Yours: International Homicide in Early British Columbia:

By Hamar Foster; in **Crime and Criminal Justice; Essays in the History of Canadian Law**; ed. Jim Phillips, Tina Loo and Susan Lewthwaite. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1994. \$70 cloth; \$45 paper.

The clash of native and European cultures is dramatically portrayed by Professor Foster in this brief exposition of homicides in the fur trading and colonial era. The essay examines a number of prosecutions from each era and notes the tribal law relative to murder and the justification for same. An interesting comparison is made between the fur trader's 'justice' in killing one or more members of the family of a suspected native murderer, and native law approving of similar actions. In the pre-colonial era, the author suggests that the fur traders may themselves have been influenced by tribal customs of retribution.

One key theme of the essay involves the tying of many acts of native violence to the European's encroachment upon native territory. The Bute Inlet Massacre of 1864 was viewed by the natives under Klatsassin as an act of war to prevent completion of a road over native lands and as retribution for other grievances. When the perpetrators of the massacre are captured and tried, Judge Begbie, with some regret, orders five natives hanged, stating that "...the blood of twenty-one whites calls for retribution."

The essay further chronicles the disadvantages which a native faced under the colonial court process - seldom represented by a lawyer, often unable to understand the testimony against him, and given virtually no time to prepare a defence in advance by arranging to call witnesses for his defence. Yet it is conceded that Judge Begbie, unlike his counterpart on Vancouver Island, did many times show compassion and fairness in dealing with native defendants.

The author quite rightly asserts that natives were, after 1858, far more concerned with their loss of hunting, fishing and territorial rights than the imposition of the Queen's Law. Native anger over injustice colouring murder trials of tribal members was linked moreover to the handicaps of the native defendant in the dock - not least of which was the frequent tendency of a native enemy falsely testifying against him. This sense of injustice is exacerbated against the backdrop of steadily encroaching European settlement.

In general though one may question the emphasis which the author places in his conclusion to a sense of betrayal by natives regarding the criminal justice system in terms of the natives loss of 'wealth and power'. Natives in some parts of the province indeed feel a sense of betrayal - but surely more in relation to the false

promises and bigotry of politicians, including Indian Affairs Commissioners. What is glossed over here is that pre-colonial native society was violent; brute force and survival of the fittest prevailed.

One has only to read of the murderous raids which the Yucultas made on the peaceful Stolo of the Fraser Valley to realize how unreal is the myth of homogeneous, peaceful co-habiting of native tribes in the pre-colonial era. Native women as well were physically abused in a manner often permitted by tribal custom.

The European invaders brought many evils to the natives and perpetrated many wrongs. But the advent of the rule of law, in the form of the Queen's Writ in British Columbia, with all of its early imperfections of administration was surely welcomed by most natives and not just some, as the author suggests.

Professor Hamar concedes in fact that natives were frequently eager to hunt down a fleeing murderer and bring him to justice. The new rule of law I suggest was widely accepted by natives, even by the crude, gun-happy American gold miners in 1858: murder and violence were not to be tolerated in the new colony and the specific offender would, subject to mitigating circumstances and a trial, invariably pay for his deed.

In summary, this is an important, well written essay in analysing both the application of the criminal law in pre and post colonial British Columbia and the effects of same on native and colonial social relationships. Fairness and balance in the essay could have been enhanced by a frank expose of the lack of uniformity between native tribal legal systems, the uncertainties which that created when natives of different tribes encountered one another, and the degree of violence permeating native culture in pre-colonial society.

John A. Cherrington

*John Cherrington, a Langley lawyer
is the author of*

The Fraser Valley; A History, 1992.

The Road from Bute Island: Crime and Colonial Identity in British Columbia

By Tina Loo; in **Crime and Criminal Justice: Essays in the History of Canadian Law...** 1994.

This essay examines the background to the most famous colonial era clash between Europeans and natives. The European settlers are portrayed as viewing natives as 'savages' lacking an appreciation of the individualistic ideals of Victorian liberalism and Darwinian theory, justifying colonialism and paternalism.

When twenty-one road builders penetrating Chilcotin 'wilderness' from Bute Inlet are massacred in 1864, howls of outrage for retribution emerged from Victoria and New Westminster newspapers, politicians, and the

public. Governor Seymour organized two parties of militia and volunteers who bungled their way into unknown territory and were fortunate enough to have eight Chilcotin natives turn themselves in to one of the parties under misapprehension of holding a conference with Governor Seymour and not being arrested. Certainly Judge Begbie was troubled by the circumstances of the natives' "surrender", so much so that he interviewed their leader Klatsassin in jail after the trial, and was much troubled.

The essay is most effective in revealing how European British Columbians viewed themselves not only in relation to native justice, but in comparison to American tactics and methods. The crassness and more blood-thirsty nature of American volunteers serving in one of Governor Seymour's militia parties made the British establishment determined to emphasize treatment of the accused according to the strict rule of law, and to avoid unnecessary bloodshed so characteristic of the American west. Ms. Loo writes, "Meting out justice according to the law was thus what separated British Columbians from Americans, and a failure to do so would surely mark the beginnings of 'Californization' and a descent into savagery."

The author concludes that with the hanging of five Chilcotin ringleaders, British Columbians felt smugly content that they had dispensed British justice as opposed to the 'savage' treatment Americans would have dealt the Chilcotin people. Thus the European establishment established its identity - rational, God-fearing, and fair, even when dealing with the lowly savage.

The one weakness of this essay is the pointed innuendo throughout that the hanging of the five Chilcotins was both unfair and reflective of typical "British justice toward natives". The author writes, "The Chilcotin's otherness, it seemed, prevailed; the need for terror outweighed the need for British justice". Yet she fails to delineate how justice here miscarried. It is true that one of the five accused was only found guilty of attempted murder and for such a capital offence, Judge Begbie in fact had a personal habit of recording the death sentence in his Assize Book, but not pronouncing death, thus allowing for life imprisonment. But other judges could and did pronounce the death sentence for attempted murder.

As for twinges of conscience, Begbie felt badly that Cox had entrapped Klatsassin and his men into giving themselves up and making confession. However, the law barring confessions induced by false promises from evidence was not well developed. As legal author David Williams commented on this point in **A Man for a New Country**, "...in the 19th century, in spite of the existence of the exclusionary rule, the courts did not so often apply it to the protection of accused persons; Begbie, in ruling that the evidence could be heard by the juries, perhaps

correctly as the law then stood, experienced nonetheless twinges of conscience."

What the author fails to disclose is the fact that Begbie only convicted and pronounced the death penalty after he was convinced by evidence other than the confessions as to the guilt of the accused. Ironically, the principal Crown witnesses were native - not whites.

Begbie in fact would have been enraged by Cox's conduct in entrapping Klat to surrender and confess because he had made a life-long career of instilling in natives a sense of British justice and fair play. Contrary to the author's innuendoes, Begbie was remarkably lenient towards accused - and particularly natives. In 1859, Begbie repeatedly dismissed charges against natives accused of murdering American miners, stating that only "hard evidence" would suffice. In 1860 at Hope a white miner savagely assaulted a native. Begbie convicted the miner on the evidence of native witnesses alone. The miners raised such an outcry they sent a delegation to Douglas in Victoria to complain about 'mere native' testimony. Douglas sent the miners packing.

Perhaps the most astounding example of Begbie's compassion towards natives involved the Metlakatla affair. In 1872, four natives from Metlakatla pleaded guilty to the attempted murder of four white men (who in fact died when their canoes were overturned). Begbie, instead of ordering death or life imprisonment, committed the natives to the charge of Rev. William Duncan at Metlakatla for five years. Another native, Qti-Noh, convicted that same day of murdering a fellow native whom he thought was an evil medicine man who had had sexual relations with his wife, was similarly committed to Duncan's care. Begbie's words to the convicted natives would be remarkably unique even in a late 20th century courtroom:

"There is a rock at Metlakatla and a rock at Victoria, upon which your canoe will split. You have been sailing in an old broken canoe. When a canoe is old and broken, men take a new canoe if it is offered to them freely. There is a new canoe at Metlakatla, and a new and much better way of life."

Bench Books, Volume VIII, July 6, 1872

At Bute Inlet, the facts were different. Whatever their legitimate grievances, Klatsassin and others had pre-meditated the murder of 21 civilians who had no history of hostile acts towards the Chilcotin. Every society has a right to protect itself, and deterrence continues to be an important factor in our law. I suggest that the native law prevalent among the Chilcotin and other First Nations of the colony would have supported the convicting and punishment of the ringleaders. The tarnishing feature which coloured the episode was Cox's false inducements - not the ultimate fairness of result.

John A. Cherrington

John A. Cherrington is a Langley lawyer.

The Place Between. Aldergrove & Communities. Alder Grove Heritage Society, 1993. 640 p., illus., maps. \$55.

The Place Between is a difficult book to read because, like many other local histories, it has no real focus. Even the title is vague, though the foreword suggests it means "the highlands placed between two large prairies, both prone to flooding (of the Fraser River) during the early years." But still no specific mention of one of the communities on this higher ground. A better title might have been "Aldergrove: The Place Between, 1860-1939". Or whichever community the reader deems most important. But why Aldergrove in some places and Alder Grove in others?

The overall organisation also creates problems. It presents details first and then generalities, a direction opposite to the one readers usually go. After an eight-page collection of politicians' letters and of pictures of the people who worked on the book, it jumps into a few pages on non-Europeans and then into 388 pages of "Family Stories" — A to Z with the exception of Q, X and Y — most written by descendants of the settlers, and then presents 360 pages of little essays on some aspects of the nineteen different communities in the district, many with maps, but unfortunately not all. These little essays are so short and diverse, so undeveloped and unrelated one to another that they give no sense of there being a "community" to encase in this one volume.

Because of this organisation, one reads about a family settling in Aberdeen or in Sperling but reads without really knowing where Aberdeen and Sperling are, and without knowing until the end of the book why the places came into being in the first place and why — but not always — they were so named. Readers also pick up details at random. They learn on page 87, in Family Stories, that Fenwick Fatkin planted a half acre of bulbs in 1914, but do not learn until page 497 that in 1928 he began the Bradner Flower Show which "put Bradner on the map". Evidence of a need for strong editing occurs elsewhere throughout the book: on page 3 we learn that "In 1885 another large number of Chinese came to B.C. for the construction of the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways" — interesting because the CN had not yet even been thought of — and that "Moving east along the Yale Road were two Japanese families. ...", a statement that gives no idea of where we or they are moving east from.

The book may, however, be seen as a mini-archives, as a gathering together of unrelated manuscripts of concern to families and communities in the area, but one leaving readers themselves to give the collection a unity. Accepted in this way, the book can give great pleasure to those interested in the variety of peoples who came and where they worked and how they lived, about education and about tragedy, and about how they escaped the same-

ness of their day to day living.

The collection begins with notes on a few non-Europeans. The local Indians, the Sto:lo of Matsqui, appear in a column or two, but soon disappear with hardly a trace, even though there must have been more intermarriages than those of Moses Graff, Henry West and William Veanen. The Chinese get little space; in comparison, the Japanese are handsomely treated both here and in the family stories later. The item on the East Indians mentions the **Komagata Maru** and, later, that Jiwan Singh Gill, a Punjab man, jumped from that ship in Hong Kong and made his way back to the Fraser Valley where he became a hero in the Sikh community.

The bulk of the book is taken up by the Family Stories of "European" settlers. They came from Canada's eastern provinces and from the northern United States, from England, Ireland and Wales, from Finland and Denmark, from Norway and Sweden, from France and Belgium and Switzerland, from Romania and Galicia, from Russia, the Ukraine, and Siberia, from Hungary and Italy and Yugoslavia. Mrs. Moses John Jackson came from India; Laura Jane Goldsmith had been born in Ceylon. An ancestor of John Jackman, the Book Committee Chairman, came around the Horn from England in 1859, a Sapper in the Royal Engineers. Around the Horn, too, came the first mules to the district, brought in 1868 by Matthew Archibald from Truro, Nova Scotia. Knight Johnson and Joe Valente came together and thinking they were in Canada settled side by side in the southern part of the district, but when governments drew the boundary line Valente lived in the U.S. and Johnson in a hollow tree in Canada.

They came mainly to grub their fortunes out of that new land. As often happened on the frontier, relatives from elsewhere, from "home", later joined a settled family; after World War I the Soldiers' Settlement Board encouraged veterans to move to the district. Butchers, bakers, candlestick makers; doctors, lawyers, Indian chiefs; rich men and poor men, but apparently not one thief. After all, family members writing the stories probably could not admit to anything untoward in their backgrounds. In **The Place Between** there were no villains; only heroes. Nor was there any racial conflict or religious nastiness. All was love and tolerance.

They came also to work on the river, in logging, in sawmills, to fish on the river, to construct telegraph lines, to open small stores, to act as peddlers of small goods and groceries, to supply services, to develop the transportation system on river, rail, and road, to pave those roads when built, naming some of them after the settlers themselves. They came to develop the hop industry and the flower beds, the bulb farms. Jesse Throssell "became famous, but not rich" by winning prizes with his turkeys, one prize a forty-year subscription to a magazine, another a year's supply of fig bars.

BOOKSHELF

Because of the dangers inherent in their work, these people seem to have become accustomed to dealing with constant tragedy of one kind or another. Even settlers on higher ground faced both fire and flood, floods from raging rivers and creeks, and fire because of the woodburning stoves in their tarpaper shacks or little log huts far from neighbours and stores, and because the spark-emitting smudges created fires that could not be fought with the limited water in the wells. These people witnessed others' tragedies too: criminals working on the chain gang; the unemployed in Relief Camp 207 at Patricia; one man being kicked in the head by a horse, another crushed by a rolling log. In 1931, when the heat-dried wooden-spoked wheel of a car collapsed and caused the car to roll, a woman's young son, also a passenger, saw the broken glass cut his mother's jugular vein; two weeks later the family house burned because of an air-tight heater. When the riverboat *Ramona* exploded two women drowned, one of them widowed earlier when a mine explosion killed her husband; she left a six-year old daughter to be taken in by generous neighbours. Some 342 pages later readers learn that the explosion occurred at West's Landing and that four, not two, had died.

Not all the collection is, however, about work and tragedy. A careful gleaning reveals much about the provincial educational system and reminds us of Pro-Rec, that early idea of public fitness. And about those school Christmas concerts which fostered both creativity and competition, but also pleasure and pride. After weeks of students' practice, just a few days before the big day, fire destroyed a school and forced the cancellation of the concert. Most of these students walked a fair distance to school every day, but went willingly because of their teachers, those dedicated enthusiasts who brought new ideas to the community every year. At a time when young women had few opportunities, those who could follow their models often did so and became teachers, or secretaries, or nurses in order to escape the frontier hardships of the place between hell and high water, the one between a rock and a hard place.

And there was music — for weddings and funerals and parades, and for any other celebration marking a special occasion. Local players grouped themselves into dance bands, some of them extremely good; one picture shows Helena Gutteridge playing a mandolin. One band in particular became popular throughout the valley and in Vancouver: Curley Chittenden and his Harmony Pals; he is also credited with having originated the idea of the Abbotsford Air Show. Every Saturday night somewhere there was a dance which allowed the young and old to meet and mix, and in an area where raising chickens was a major source of revenue, one great site for a dance would be a newly erected chicken house before it had been fouled. Dances also promoted the mix-

ing of second-generation young people from the many different backgrounds, meetings which could lead to marriage. Caesar Anderlini of Italian background met and married Louisa Swanson born in Manitoba of Swedish-English parents.

All such gleanings are interesting, but they require meticulous organising to create an overall historical view. Curious readers go to such books to find answers to their questions, but here too often readers cannot even find answers to the many questions which rise naturally from the text. Why was the name Glen Valley chosen over others? Why did the change come in the pattern of hereditary chiefs? Why did the Anderlinis give the backseat of their Hudson over to their goat when they went visiting friends?

A couple of articles illustrate some useful techniques when using this family-story format to write the history of an area. Frank Erickson came to Vancouver from Finland to farm in 1913 and in 1921, after working as a logger up the coast in order to make some money, he bought a stump ranch at Aldergrove and then married Bertha Sjöholm from Sweden whom he had met in Vancouver. They first raised chickens and, after removing the stumps, added dairy cattle. Of their three daughters, one became a secretary and two became schoolteachers. For this book one of the teachers, Ruth, wrote about the family, and about the early Scandinavians in the Aldergrove area. They were the largest minority group, and her article points out their stress on education, on community life and responsibility, and their building Vasa Hall to help promote their beliefs and their joyful Scandinavian traditions.

These passages are probably the best in the book, and are the best because they are organised: they have a beginning, a middle, and an end; they tell us immediately who and why and what and where and how and when. They leave no loose ends. And instead of forcing a reader to guess the answers to rapidly forming questions, they answer the questions before the reader has really had time to ask them.

Gordon Elliott, Professor Emeritus, Simon Fraser University is the author of Quesnel's Commercial Centre of the Cariboo Gold Rush, 1958.

Blackouts to Bright Lights; Canadian War Bride Stories:

Barbara Ladouceur and Phyllis Spence, eds, Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 1995. 299 p. illus. \$16.95.

This morning's newspaper cheers us with a fifty-year-old wedding photo of Arnold and Irene. Arnold wears a Canadian army uniform, not particularly well fitting but brightened with a large boutonniere. Irene wears white, with many flounces and an elaborate headdress, and carries roses enhanced with trails of maiden-hair fern. The faces of both wear what can

only be described as smirks. The time is August, 1945, the place, London, England. Today is Arnold and Irene's Golden Anniversary.

We have seen many delightful wedding photos in 1995. Sometimes the bride is in uniform. Few wear gowns as elaborate as Irene's, which probably was not bought off the rack, but could have been borrowed, inherited, made with love from whatever was at hand, or searched out through lucky contacts on the black market. The couples do not always smirk, but appear unanimously and understandably pleased with themselves.

More than 48,000 war brides came to Canada during and after World War II. They were "teachers, barmaids,... chorus girls, fresh-cheeked young women and plump matrons, a pot-pourri of Britain's daughters." During the war they became "ambulance drivers, balloon barrage workers, nurses, fire fighters, air-raid wardens, factory workers and members of the armed forces, including the ATS (Auxiliary Territorial Service), Land Army (farm work) and Air Force."

At the invitation of the Vancouver Island War Brides, the editors met thirty-six war brides, and tape-recorded their reminiscences. The resulting book gives us the coming-of-age stories of girls living through the basic wartime atrocity - the total disruption of the daily lives of ordinary people. Amidst the bombs, they got on with things, worked, danced and fell in love. After the weddings, they endured long separations, bureaucratic hassles, and interminable journeys by boat and train, to be met by husbands unrecognizable in civilian clothes. The pockets of the civilian suits were often sadly empty. Most, though not all, of these marriages survived.

Unfortunately, the editors have chosen to record, transcribe and print these oral histories with no framework other than the briefest of prologues and epilogues, no connecting links, and no attempt to weave the separate and unavoidably disjointed transcriptions into a narrative. Five brides presented their stories as written, rather than oral, histories. These more crafted sections, especially the last, by Rosemary Bauchman, give us a taste of the book this might have been.

Members of thirty-six families will buy this book and read the one chapter most meaningful to them. If the editors truly believe, as they claim, "in the importance of recording and publishing women's life stories", they will shape the wonderful material which they have collected into a coherent whole to be read by the rest of us. Our war brides deserve no less.

Phyllis Reeve.

Phyllis Reeve lives on Gabriola Island, where the beautiful new Gabriola Museum and Art Gallery opened on September 16th.

BOOKSHELF

Becoming Canadians: Pioneer Sikhs in Their Own Words:

Sarjeet Singh Jagpal, Harbour Publishing, Madeira Park & Vancouver, British Columbia, 1994, pp.167 Hard cover. \$29.95

Becoming Canadians, is a superbly illustrated book that succinctly describes the social history of the Sikh population in Canada, focusing on their struggles, hardships, and perseverance to live in British Columbia. The author, Sarjeet Singh Jagpal, outlines the history commencing with the first immigrants arriving in British Columbia in 1904 and ending with peoples' recollections and photographs of the late 1940s and early 1950s, but he leaves his last chapter, **The Challenge Continues**, with many unanswered questions that both Canadians and Sikhs must try to solve together. Sarjeet believes that the answers to these questions partially lie with the elders of our communities.

Jean Barman mentions in a foreword to the book that Sarjeet's determination was displayed in his "willingness to listen and his passion to understand that opened up the Sikh community to him" which allowed Sarjeet to successfully develop and write this splendid book. The author spent several years interviewing Sikh pioneers and gathering photographs and documents that delineated their experiences when travelling to Canada and their working, and living conditions in British Columbia.

From the time the first Sikh immigrants landed in British Columbia between 1904-08 the mores for their survival in this country and for them becoming Canadians were established upon hard work and the social cohesiveness of their population, the Khalsa or brotherhood. The key to this idealism lay in their commitment to their religion centering around the gurdwara, their temple. The new immigrants experienced many obstacles in this new land which included new cultures, laws, and language. The gurdwara assisted them in these times. Similar to the Chinese Benevolent societies in BC, the gurdwara provided spiritual salvation, housing, employment, health and welfare to the new immigrants and those who needed assistance.

There was little time for socializing. The men spent their time working, saving money, communicating with family members in India and sending money home to assist with social problems. It was not until the 1920s and 1930s that family reunification and community building occurred with the arrival of the wives and children. Prior to their joining of unions and affiliations with political parties, the men experienced racism and poor wages, and working conditions. From their commitment and dedication to their religion and life style they were able to establish a number of robust communities near lumber mills on Vancouver Island such as Paldi, and around Vancouver and New Westminster as well as the fruit orchards and vegetable farms of the interior. Despite the many obstacles and deep racial animosity that these immigrants en-

countered, many individuals were not deterred from becoming successful business men and community leaders, such as the lumber barons Mayo Singh and Kapoor Singh.

While racist attitudes towards all Asiatic peoples were prolific in BC during the first half of the twentieth century, there were a few philanthropists, such as Carlton Stone, owner of the Hill Crest Mill near Duncan, who assisted the Sikh work force at his mill. He allowed and assisted them in building a gurdwara that made their life in the new land more hospitable.

Regardless of the restrictions imposed upon them, with examples such as the educated Sikhs not being allowed to enter professional fields early on and then not being allowed to vote until 1947, the valiant Sikh communities of Canada have made major contributions to all sectors of society as a result of their strong belief in educating their young people, working hard, and assisting each other in times of need.

In 1947 the Sikhs, after many meetings and petitions with government officials, were granted the franchise, giving them a voice within Canadian society. They were no longer second class citizens. However, another obstacle for them to overcome was the strict immigration laws that had improved gradually from 1947 to 1962, when the quota system was completely dropped.

Some short comings of the book included a number of inconsistencies between pictures and text. For example on page 18, a caption to a picture described Sikh soldiers *visiting Vancouver in 1897 en route to London* and in the text on the same page Sarjeet says the soldiers were "*travelling through Canada after*" the *celebration in London*. Another concern that I had was the date and the turning point that gave the Sikhs the right to vote. On page 136 he uses quotes from one of his informants who recollected the time in 1947 when a number of Sikh business men and leaders attended a meeting in Harrison Hot Springs and were given the right to vote in municipal elections. Eight pages later, the author describes a brief that was presented to the federal Elections Act Committee in 1946 by Dr. Pandia that was seen as the impetus for the Sikhs receiving the municipal franchise in 1947. I assume that it was a combination of events and individual efforts that eventually led to the Sikhs receiving the right to vote in 1947, but which event was the turning point is not clear in the book. Sarjeet should have provided more reasons for the intrinsic and extrinsic factors leading to the immigration from the province of Punjab to Canada. When describing a social history of an ethnic group it would have been beneficial to have a map outlining the route that the pioneer people took and/or charts delineating the regions of Punjab and the number of immigrants that came from each area. Additional charts in an appendix could have provided some statistics of Sikh immigration, people born, and occupations in Canada. Another personal preference would

have been for the author to include a chronological chart describing all of the significant events affecting the Sikh people in British Columbia.

Becoming Canadians, despite the minor flaws, was well written using a great combination of quotes from the Sikh elders. Incredible photographs accompanied these oral accounts of events providing much colour, zeal and life to a history about a people. Sarjeet says that "There is no substitute for the living history that only our elders can offer us." This is a must read for interested people who are unfamiliar with the Sikh history in Canada. It was very enlightening. Sarjeet's book provides the voice of the history of the Sikh communities in Canada, one illustrious chapter in Canada's multicultural album.

Werner Kaschel

Werner Kaschel is a Vancouver School Teacher.

Shaping Spokane: Jay P. Graves and His Times:

John Fahey. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1995. 144 p. illus. \$25 (US)

North-South links between the Boundary-Kootenay regions of Southeastern British Columbia and the Inland Empire were particularly strong around the turn of the century. In fact, a great deal of the economic wealth of Spokane, Washington's entrepreneurs was generated north of the border.

Jay P. Graves (1860-1948) was one of these successful businessmen. He was a real estate broker, land developer, owner of the urban trolley system and builder of a suburban railway. These Spokane activities were made possible by his investments in Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting and Power Company Ltd. at Grand Forks (at one time the largest copper smelter in the British Empire) and the massive copper mines at Phoenix. Two chapters, "Boundary" (Chapter 1) and "Granby" (Chapter 5) detail Graves' skillful exploitation of Canadian patriotism to entice bankers and railwaymen to support his British Columbia ventures - the consummate American capitalist.

This short book includes 48 historic photographs. It is well documented with a comprehensive bibliography.

Ron Welwood

Ron Welwood is Vice-President of the B.C.H.F.

The Accidental Airline; Spilsbury's QCA: Howard White and Jim Spilsbury. Madeira Park, Harbour Pub. 1994. 246 p. illus. paper. \$16.95

Ostensibly a joint authorship, this autobiographical account of Jim Spilsbury was first published in 1988. Now this paperback edition is a welcome reminder of the part played

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by Queen Charlotte Airlines in opening up the BC Coast and interior in the immediate post second world war days, as well as of its place in the history of Canadian Air Transport.

What its customers affectionately called a Queer Collection of Aircraft was started, as the title implies, quite by accident by Spilsbury who, with his partner Hepburn, had in the '30's pioneered a radio business serving fish boats and plants, and logging camps, all up the Straits of Georgia and on Vancouver Island. It grew so much that their service, using an old boat, was inadequate and too slow. Eventually Spilsbury had the idea of supplementing it by aircraft.

It was 1943, the worst time of the war, and he knew nothing about the air. Somehow he managed to obtain an aircraft from the East, get it to Vancouver and persuade Ottawa his contracts for coastal defence radios merited a gas allocation. A pilot was hired and without breaking too many rules the new venture started.

It soon made sense to use the Waco from time to time also to carry people. At the end of the war this caused the first of his serious brushes with authority. Even then close regulation of air transport was recognised as essential for the general safety. Scheduled routes needed special permits - one only per route to prevent cutthroat and unsafe competition.

Meanwhile there were numerous enthusiastic undercapitalised enterprises started. Many were to fail, the rest to be either absorbed by or to take over others. It took perhaps forty years before it was all sorted out and today's more solid and ordered structure of the airline business achieved. At the same time, as Spilsbury found to his cost, the regional office of the Department of Transport was at that time particularly renowned for its nipping application of rules and lack of both business sense and humanity.

However, despite what seems to have been an especially unhappy relationship with the authorities, QCA was an airline that grew and eventually prospered, overcoming on the way all the problems associated with growing from a one man seat-of-the-pants operation to a properly organised air transport company of some size. At one time it was the fourth largest airline in Canada.

In the process, partly through ignorance, partly through lack of ready cash, it flew a remarkable variety of aeroplanes, many of them quite unsuitable. QCA will always be particularly remembered for the old Stranraer biplane flying-boats it used to start up the Queen Charlotte Islands and Prince Rupert service. It also flew Norsemen, Dominies, Cansos, Ansons and DC3's, DC4's, and C47's and had flirtations along the way with Cessna Cranes and a Stinson.

In those wheeler dealing days Spilsbury seems to have tried to run a gentlemanly company and not stoop to the worst cut-throat practices of some competitors. This did not deter

him from indulging in sharp practice when necessary or from bending, at least, the rules when it seemed sensible to do so.

Along with success and growth came the fair proportion of bad luck, and crashes. On at least one occasion deaths were caused by over zealousness in making a mercy flight in unsuitable conditions. Never much of a pilot himself, he had to rely on others and found this difficult.

Half way through the book Spilsbury's real bete-noire appears. Added to the problems of officialdom, his competition and suspect lobbying methods now made QCA's task much harder. However the narrative now protests rather too much about the unfair influence of these outside factors. In retrospect, for the book was written many years later when Spilsbury was over 80, the injustices may well have become exaggerated in his mind, if understandably so. In contrast, some other contemporary views, as for instance those recorded in *Pioneering Aviation In The West* (Hancock House/ Canadian Museum of Flight, BC), give a much less jaundiced view of Spilsbury's pet hates.

Whatever the correct balance, in 1955 QCA found itself stronger than ever but nonetheless with its best prospect being to sell out to the now weaker company run by the hated rival. There is no doubt the latter then behaved abominably to Spilsbury and the QCA staff he had taken over. Many people did not regret that he did not long survive, unlike Spilsbury who, with a reasonable capital sum from the proceeds, as well as later from his radio business, has continued to live a fruitful life, sailing, painting, writing (he has written two earlier books) and travelling.

This book is important history of the 1940-60 period. There is BC aviation itself and the way it opened up the Province, particularly the coast.

Then there is the no-holds barred business climate of those wheeler-dealing times. If neither aspect of history appeals, read the book as a simple story of the good clean country boy who grows and fights the big baddies and overcomes terrible odds to triumph in the end.

Jack Meadows

Jack Meadows is a 1937 vintage pilot, retired businessman, and aviation historian.

Canada's Forgotten Highway:

Ralph Hunter Brine. Galiano, B.C. Whaler Bay press, 1995. 260 p., maps. \$27.95

Whenever I travel across Canada I invariably find myself wondering how people crossed this vastness (especially the impenetrable barrier of the western mountains) before the advent of rail or road.

Yet it was done. In 1811 David Thompson succeeded in his canoe expedition across North America from Montreal to the Pacific. This journey established a 4300-mile water route that, for about half a century, became an almost rou-

tine way of transport across Canada. After the coming of the railroad, however, this wilderness "highway" was very quickly almost completely forgotten.

In *Canada's Forgotten Highway*, Ralph Brine describes the 1967 "Eastward Ho" Expedition, in which he and three companions in a big voyageur canoe retraced the entire length of the old waterway.

The gruelling details of this crossing of the continent are at times almost incredible. The expedition's first real test was the struggle upstream through the rapids of the Fraser Canyon. Even more daunting was hand towing of the heavy canoe over snow-choked passes in the Rockies, about which one expedition member groaned: "Now I know how the Egyptian slaves felt, pulling those two-ton blocks to the pyramids." After the ascent (and descent) of the Divide, the canoeists found themselves battling ice on the North Saskatchewan River,

We are reminded of a forgotten fact: such challenges were daily realities during "routine" crossings of Canada through much of the nineteenth century.

A bonus in *Canada's Forgotten Highway* is the author/expeditioneer's neat technique of including a 'fifth man' on the voyage. During each leg of the crossing the extra man is the historic explorer who originally surveyed that part of the route. Thus we have Fraser, Thompson, La Verendrye and Champlain giving their impressions, each of them speaking through his own logbook or diary. The observations of these passengers, very smoothly integrated into the present-day narrative, give us a lot of the history of exploration in a painless nutshell.

Philip Teece

Greater Victoria Public Library

Time & Tide: a History of Telegraph Cove:

Pat Wastell Norris. (Raincoast Chronicles 16) Madeira Park, Harbour Publishing, 1995 \$12.95

Community histories are often mere patchworks of unconnected anecdote. This one is different; it is the well planned, dramatically narrated history of a British Columbia place that is unique and yet also typical of many early coastal settlements.

The author is a daughter of the builder of the original Telegraph Cove sawmill and hamlet, and granddaughter of the man who in 1909 named the remote northern Vancouver Island cove.

Of the isolated place where she grew up, the author says: "We were fifty men women and children cut off from the rest of humanity by forest and ocean." It is because of the smallness of this community and its unique geographic self-containment that Pat Norris' story has its pleasing unity of plot and character.

When the economic crash of 1929 wiped out dozens of coastal jobs through the demise

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of the B.C. Fishing and Packing Company's plant at Alert Bay, the Wastell family built the mill and village at Telegraph Cove. The story of this tiny settlement's struggle to survive through the Depression is a tale of high adventure: the romance of early day lumbering and sawmilling, and the perilous endeavour of log-towing with underpowered tugs in the ferocious tidal streams of the inside passage.

Perhaps the greatest strength of this fine history is the author's great skill at drawing her cast of characters. The isolation of the place creates a stage on which the strong personalities of Fred and Emma Wastell and their neighbours develop, as in a well crafted play.

Some of Pat Norris' memories of these people and the tough era in which they lived are comical. Chong the camp cook emerges as a minor hero in his battle (hampered by a limited command of the English language) to obtain supplies that meet his high standards. Fred Wastell's own stoicism is illustrated best in a classic struggle against the elements—his conflict with a crate of escaped frogs during a gale in the Straits. People's desperation in hard times is poignantly illustrated in the tale of Blackie, whom the Telegraph Cove mill crew attempted to dissuade from suicide. (In the end he shot himself—but missed.)

The close of Telegraph Cove's great pioneer days typifies the end of a similar way of life in many isolated Vancouver Island settlements. It was the influx of people and marine traffic during the 1939-1945 war that changed the community from a kind of outer space colony to the busy stopover visited by yachtsmen in the 1990s.

Time & Tide is an excellent historical narrative. The challenge faced by the pioneers of Telegraph Cove are those that confronted all early settlers on British Columbia's remote coastal fringes.

Philip Teece
Greater Victoria Public Library

The Institutionalized Cabinet: Governing the Western Provinces

Christopher Dunn. The Institute of Public Administration of Canada, Kingston. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. 333 pages, \$44.95.

At first glance, this volume appears to be yet another written by an academic for fellow academics - or more accurately, written for tenure and promotion committees. On closer inspection, however, it has for students of British Columbia political history a perspective on the regimes of W.A.C. Bennett, David Barrett and W.R. Bennett not available elsewhere.

Dunn's argument is that, in common with other governments of Canada, the provincial cabinets of Western Canada underwent a transformation that began in Saskatchewan in the late 1940's but did not reach British Columbia until the accession of the younger Bennett in 1976. In Dunn's words this transition "witnessed the replacement of the unaided (or tra-

ditional) cabinet by the institutionalized (or structured) cabinet". The main effect of this shift, he argues, was in the role of the premier which moved "from that of mere personnel choice to that of organizational architect". Seeing the premier's role as crucial and each premier as different in style, he goes on to analyze for three western provinces (Alberta would not co-operate!) the tenures of various premiers from the 1940's to the 1980's.

Anyone who knows anything about W.A.C. Bennett's 20-year rule from 1952 can easily accept Dunn's conclusion that Bennett's was a traditional cabinet with the premier in full control. It was also an "unaided" cabinet. For most of the period, Bennett was assisted by only two senior staff - the deputy Minister of Finance and the deputy provincial Secretary - he had no executive assistant.

That David Barrett continued the Bennett system after 1972 is surprising, given the role models of CCF/NDP governments in both Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Dunn attributes this lack of change to Barrett's personality - he operated on consensus unlike his predecessor. But the absolute unreadiness to govern of the incoming NDP should also be noted - they had not prepared themselves to be the administration, and were in fact flabbergasted at their victory. This unreadiness is perhaps the reason that it took most of "1000 days" and the pushing of Marc Eliassen, fresh from his cabinet support role with the Manitoba NDP, to begin to change. Nevertheless when the Barrett government was defeated at the end of 1975, patterns were still essentially those of the previous Bennett era.

The creation of the current institutionalized cabinet in British Columbia was W.R. "Bill" Bennett who came to power without any previous experience in government and only a short service in the legislature. Thus unhampered by precedent, he proceeded as (to quote Dunn again) the "organizational architect [of] the structure and decision-making processes of cabinet" to bring the cabinet of British Columbia belatedly no line with those of the federal government and the other provinces.

So we are left with this paradox - in style of governance, it was Dave Barrett, not Bill Bennett, who was "son of W.A.C." All those years facing Bennett senior across the floor made Barrett into something of a mirror image of the older man. But, considering the relations between actual fathers and sons, it is maybe to be expected that it would be Bill Bennett, rather than Dave Barrett, who would break the traditional cabinet model in British Columbia.

Keith Ralston
Vancouver Historical Society

Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia.

Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland and J. Donald Wilson, eds. Calgary, Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995. 425 p., illus. \$28.95.

Initially, readers may well be drawn to this

book solely by the delightful front cover painting, Maple Bay, Vancouver Island, B.C., by the well-known British Columbia artist, E.J. Hughes. But this is not a book about life on the British Columbia coast. Rather, it is a potpourri of scholarly writings loosely connected to the general theme of the history of primary and secondary education in British Columbia.

This anthology is very much a product of the Social and Educational Studies Department in the Faculty of Education at the University of British Columbia. The three anthology editors and principal authors are all members of that department and several of the other authors are former graduate students. The anthology's contents reflect their research interests in the history of childhood, classroom life from the perspectives of pupils and teachers and the educational system which structured those experiences.

Children, Teachers and Schools is a useful mix of original and reprinted theoretical works and personal or anecdotal accounts. The anthology's contents are of interest to scholars and students of educational history, the history of childhood, social history, British Columbia history, the professionalization of teaching, women's history, etc. Tim Stanley's careful analysis "White supremacy and the rhetoric of educational indoctrination: a Canadian case study" is an excellent example of an academic investigation of the perpetuation of cultural norms. In a similarly rigorous academic approach, Jean Barman's article "Schooled for inequality: the education of British Columbia's aboriginal children" explores the issue of the residential school as an agent of social assimilation. While recognizing that the articles in this anthology have been written for an academic audience, much of the material is also of interest to general readers. Particularly appealing in this category are the accounts of the everyday lives of children and teachers. Neil Sutherland's compelling articles "Everyone seemed happy in those days" and "I can't recall when I didn't help" come immediately to mind, as does Thomas Fleming and Carolyn Smyly's engaging account of a teacher's life at Mud Flats, "The Diary of Mary Williams". There is much more here. If you are curious about the history of children, teachers and schools in British Columbia, there will be something for you.

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BC HISTORICAL FEDERATION WRITING COMPETITION

The British Columbia Historical Federation invites submissions of books for the thirteenth annual Competition for Writers of B.C. History.

Any book presenting any facet of B.C. history, published in 1995, is eligible. This may be a community history, biography, record of a project or an organization, or personal recollections giving a glimpse of the past. Names, dates and places, with relevant maps or pictures, turn a story into "history."

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

NOTE: Reprints or revisions of books are not eligible.

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

All entries receive considerable publicity. Winners will receive a Certificate of Merit, a monetary award and an invitation to the BCHF annual conference to be held in Williams Lake in April 1996.

SUBMISSION REQUIREMENTS: All books must have been published in 1995 and should be submitted as soon as possible after publication. **Two copies** of each book should be submitted. Books entered become property of the B.C. Historical Federation. Please state name, address and telephone number of sender, the selling price of all editions of the book, and the address from which it may be purchased, if the reader has to shop by mail. If by mail, please include shipping and handling costs if applicable.

SEND TO: B.C. Historical Writing Competition
c/o P. McGeachie
7953 Rosewood Street, Burnaby, B.C. V5E 2H4

DEADLINE: December 15, 1995.

LATE ENTRIES: Three copies of each book must be submitted and must arrive before January 15, 1996. Please phone (604) 522-2062 to clarify shipping arrangements for late entries.

There is also an award for the Best Article published each year in the *B.C. Historical News* magazine. This is directed to amateur historians or students. Articles should be no more than 3,000 words, typed double spaced, accompanied by photographs if available, and substantiated with footnotes where applicable. (Photographs should be accompanied with information re: the source, permission to publish, archival number if applicable, and a brief caption. Photos will be returned to the writer.) Word-processed manuscripts may also be submitted on 3.5" disk (DOS or Macintosh) but please include a hard copy as well.

Please send articles directly to: The Editor, B.C. Historical News, P.O. Box 105, Wasa, B.C. V0B 2K0