Operating Room in Queen's Hospital at Rock Bay, Vancouver Island. The room was brightened by many windows and a skylight above the operating table. Note the bare light bulb over the operating table. The Victorian Order of Nurses is the subject of articles by Helen Shore and Lynda Maeve Orr.

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W. Kaye Lamb, 1937

The editor
Molly Moilliet of Aveley Ranch

by Muriel Poulton Dunford

Besides raising a family of five (all now scattered across Canada) and then completing her BA, Muriel Dunford's working years in "North Valley" have been involved with education and library service. With her retirement, the combination of delight in the English language and her lifelong love affair with the North Thompson have culminated in extensive writing of that region's past.

By the 1890s, when the popularity of rubber-tired "safety-bicycles" among women was a definite step towards their increasing freedom, Mary relished the independent exercise of riding a bike to the next village for tea. She played a vigorous game of tennis despite long skirts. She was strong on hiking ("rambling," to the British). During infrequent visits to May's opulent home, she tried riding sidesaddle, when at least ladies were allowed divided skirts. Like the music lessons, her physical stamina would equip her for later years in the Canadian wilderness.

At the age of eighteen needing to earn her own living, Mary found a situation comparable to her background. Her response to an advertisement for "a companion help, who had clear legible handwriting and could play the piano," brought about acquaintance with the Moilliets. She must have suited her first and only employer, Louisa Moilliet, for she stayed with her the next eighteen years. Part of Mary's secretarial work was writing at Aunt Lou's dictation to a nephew who had left England when he was sixteen, "poor dear Tam, in the wilds of Canada;" the note, "Got another lovely letter from Miss Stephens," appears in an old diary of Tam Moilliet's. When his father died in 1907 Tam recrossed the Atlantic to see his mother. While there he seized the opportunity to visit his relatives and so meet the young lady behind the charming letters.

Although Mary was ten years older than Tam, they were drawn to each other at once. She had a youthful, energetic attitude, ready for any adventure. Tam had matured quickly: on his own since arriving in Ontario in 1899, he had worked his way across the continent at various jobs like farming, metallurgy, and timber-cruising. He had weathered ventures like swimming three miles across a bay of Lake Simco and nearly drowning as he fought to return against a headwind; he had skated seventy miles on the lake, using his coat as a sail, often having to jump cracks. After serious lung trouble from his stint at Trail, BC, he had moved on to Kamloops, refuge then for respiratory ills. By the time he met Mary, he had chosen a location ninety-five miles up the North Thompson valley where he intended to establish

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1 Mrs. Madeline ("Mada") Moilliet Rendell, who kindly lent notes on memories of her mother.
2 Today Aveley Ranch is still owned and run by his descendants, it is the largest high-range sheep-ranch in the province. In April 2000, it had 1,350 ewes, 1,150 lambs, 40 rams.
his ranch, "Aveley." Just as decisive about his life's partner, Tam was engaged to Mary before he went back to British Columbia. The next year, for her future home in the remote bush, he started a 60-by 20-foot log house with cedar-shake roof and a puncheon floor—logs split in half, flat side up. Meanwhile, his fiancée prepared for her new role by taking a first-aid course called "homeopathy." She set herself to learn some basic cooking, and lodged a while on a farm to see how butter and Devonshire clotted cream were made. One farming skill eluded her, however; she never did master milking a cow.

As in all good once-upon-a-time romances, our heroine faithfully cared for Aunt Lou through feeble old age until the latter's death in early 1909. That March, as soon as she could, Mary set off alone on the transatlantic, trans—Canada pilgrimage to join her sweetheart. Habitually deterred, Tam, with an injured leg, managed a heavy cottonwood dugout canoe all the way downriver. At Kamloops, where the North and South Thomsons join, he met and married Mary. No one is sure exactly when she became "Molly," but that probably accompanied the title of "Mrs. Moilliet" as her bridegroom's pet name for her.

The newlyweds' slow trip up "North Valley" was an adventure in itself. The dugout could not possibly transport up Molly's hope chest and wedding gifts, one of which was the finest make of lady's sidesaddle from her well-to-do uncle. Since the ranch needed a team and wagon anyway, she insisted on buying them at once with her own money—perhaps a little bequest from her employer. To find a good outfit they travelled even farther from home, some twelve miles south of Kamloops (in the canoe?—we are not told) to Cherry Creek and the Cornwalls—a happy coincidence for Molly. When they had loaded all her belongings into the wagon, as well as camp supplies, hay for the horses, and undoubtedly extra purchases from town, they turned north for the week's drive to Aveley Ranch. Early spring up the valley was chilly for camping. In an era that required ladies to look ladylike, the bride's ankle-length ruffled gowns and wide, plumed hats were hardly convenient for backwoods travel. She said later that on the first big hill she wore out new white gloves picking stones off the road. When after several days they had plodded about two-thirds of the journey, the very long, very steep climb by Dunn Lake proved too much for their handsome team; the wagon had to be partly unloaded. After they had hauled the partial load to the top, it was set down beside the trail while they returned to the bottom for the rest of it. The farther they went, the worse the route deteriorated, until after about eighty miles its two frozen mud ruts ended at the banks of the tributary Raft River. The Moilliets had to leave the wagon, storing Molly's lovely presents in a barn. They traversed a crude bridge and continued the remaining fifteen miles on foot, their luggage on the horses. When they finally arrived at Peavine (now Vavenby) where Tam's partly finished house was just on the other side of the North Thompson, they crossed in a boat that was kept moored on

At one point her husband walked a considerable distance hunting for a second stirrup that he thought was missing from the sidesaddle, which actually has only one.

In a later letter Molly thanks her sister for "the Dictionary... a great joy."

The letter is used by the late Jack Moilliet's generous permission.

Clearwater Times, August 1, 1995.

Tam's uncle and brother Jack were with them. Because of chest trouble, the first Jack Moilliet had moved to the ranch from school-teaching in Vancouver. At the start of the First World War he left on one of the first trains through the valley, enlisted, and was killed overseas.

Below: Molly Moillet in 1910 with her first baby and farm dogs.

Courtesy Muriel Dunford.
the bank, while the horses swam over.

Fresh from predictable England, Molly eagerly took on new challenges. Her second name, like that of her birthplace, was pure Cornish. Her spirit was that of the tough Celts who, backed onto their peninsula, had never been conquered by Romans or Saxons; who sturdily hung on to their own native tongue until the eighteenth century; who rebelled against the power of Henry VIII when he ordered their prayer books changed from Latin to English. In her own time Molly had watched from the Penzance shores while men risked their lives launching little boats in unforgiving storms to rescue shipwreck victims; some never came back. By the time Molly next saw Kamloops, she would have endured a second North Thompson excursion that made her first seem a holiday.

Penned in a time of copious letter writing, the exchanges among the three sisters, thoughtful, articulate women, could have been a treasure trove now. Regrettably, only one survived. By great good fortune, in the 1980s a niece in England discovered, packed away in an old trunk, a letter that Molly had sent after nine months in British Columbia. Molly's Canadian son, Jack Moilliet, received it for his personal archives and has kindly shared it—a beautifully understated picture of her composure in meeting discomforts, even hazards, "back of beyond."

In November 1909, the Moilliets, expecting their first baby in six weeks, decided that Molly should go to Kamloops for the birth. Although it was a season of low water, the North Thompson, which was to be their highway, is a major river and far from docile. Upstream of Peavine savage rapids roar into Little Hell's Gate. Since the earliest travellers, the Overlanders of 1862, tried it and lost a man there, it has swallowed other victims. A present-day Search and Rescue man warns,

This river is omnivorous. It'll eat anything, kayaks, canoes... anything. North of Little Hell's Gate, the whole North Thompson goes through a spot only 18 feet wide. Logs come out of there peeled. There's a ten or eleven foot standing wave at the end of one chute. It's like hitting a brick wall.

Fortunately for settlement, the river was navigable between Kamloops and Peavine (Vavenby). Molly's letter describes the journey. She wrote, "Having threem men to do for made me very busy before setting out." Molly's cooking lessons came into their own, for she had done Trojan duty in the kitchen:

You can imagine how busy I was—made a huge chicken pie & a brawn (we had just killed a young pig) & bread & packed up tea & a tin of your lovely coffee brought by Jack...many, many thanks. That coffee was the saving of us during some of our experiences.... The road was impracticable for sleighing as only the biggest trees seemed to be moved from the track! So we arranged a plan to canoe down while the river was open.

The season was far gone for river travel: an early cold spell had formed ice that delayed them, but after one day of rain it seemed safe to start out. Friday, 19 November, they loaded "tent, blankets, camp stove, hold-all, trunk," into a big dugout with Molly sitting wrapped up in the middle, her feet on a heating bottle. Jack rode in the bow, Tam in the stern, poling or paddling as the water's depths varied.

At first the ride delighted Molly even through small rapids, but pleasure changed to dismay as they began weaving among ice with very little room to manoeuvre.

[ Twelve] miles from home alas the river was quite blocked... Tam just managed to turn the canoe in time or we should have been capsized. And as it was she was too long & sort of hung on the ice at each end with the running ice bang
    ing against her every moment. Every step with a jerk. It seemed like 15 miles.

Not long before this Tam happened to have had grub-staked Cross $100 for his winter's logging; returning to the cabin, Cross was pleased to keep them overnight. Their third morning away from home, the two brothers and he went back to wrestle the dug-out onto the island "which took hours as it
The fourth morning Molly got busy at more cooking and bread-making while Tam went some distance to negotiate with another neighbour about a team and sleigh. It transpired that "old Marty" wanted to get his horses out for the winter, too—"his ancient horses are his gods"; "Well," says Tam, "what are your horses worth anyway? $300? I think a woman is worth more than that." Eventually they came to an agreement, and before it was properly light in the chill November morning (their fifth from home), they started out with hay, blankets, and all, bundled on a logging sleigh. In spite of deep snow the road was painfully rough down to the ferry on the North Thompson. There, the previous day, men had laboured chopping a channel through the ice for the crossing,

...yet it took six men three hours to get the thing to work properly. Then they had to cut down trees and brush to get the horses and sleigh on. I sat like a queen in the sleigh—it was so funny, only we were a little anxious. Then began the long weary road of Mosquito Flat—all snowy and desolate and no stopping place for about 25 miles. We crawled along.

Mail destined for the upper valley went to Chu Chua Post Office, fifty miles north of Kamloops, and was haphazardly delivered farther on by any settler who chanced by. The Moilliets had travelled only an hour or so along the east side of the river when they met a couple bringing "four long lovely letters" from Molly's sister. This brightened the trip, as did a halt for cocoa and a hot-water-bottle refill at a logging camp, where the men "were such dears."

On again—getting dark, where, though the moon wasn't up, the reflections of the hills in the water [of Dunn Lake] were too wonderful to describe & weird to a degree. Finally just before eleven, beginning to pour with rain, we reached the MacTaggarts' stopping place & store.

Those good people, roused from sleep, provided a warm welcome, food, and beds, with all the soaking-wet wraps hung up to dry.

The sixth morning of the journey Molly enjoyed "a delicious breakfast in bed," while listening to worried debate in the next room about the safest way to take her to town. The lower part of the valley evidently had little or no snow; for Tam hired a wagon and team whose owner promised to drive slowly and carefully. Sacks of hay surrounded the seat in the middle. "Tam kept all the jar off me when the road was too awful & got his arm & elbow quite rubbed raw poor man. First I thought I couldn't bear the roughness, but gradually got used to it."

That day saw the Moilliets eighteen miles nearer Kamloops when they stopped at the "Lewis" (Louis) Creek roadhouse. The seventh morning they got away early and arrived at "the 14-mile house," now Heffley Creek, by noon. November elections were underway; the hustle and bustle of voters gathering at the roadhouse were of great interest to Molly, as was she to the visitors. "No one would believe that I had come from 100 miles up—they seemed to think it impossible for a lady to live up there, but it isn't until you try to get out that you realize how far off it is."

That night, Thursday, 26 November, they at last drove up to the house where she was to await her delivery. The earlier happy coincidence was repeated: it belonged to a Mrs. Cornwall. After Molly had been settled a few days, the first Dr. Burris, a staunch trail-blazer himself, whose son and grandson have carried on medical practice in Kamloops, examined her. Past her mid-thirties, she was at a rather risky age for her first birthing, but he pronounced her "quite all right—very muscular—and none the worse for all the knocking about...."

As soon as Tam was satisfied on that score, he and Jack turned northwards to hike the ninety-five wintry miles back to Avey ranch. Within not many years, trains would cover in several hours the trip that had taken them a full week. Just a month before they had left home, Premier McBride had signed the contract that would bring Canadian Northern rails from Yellowhead Pass down the North Thompson valley to Kamloops.

The Moilliets' first baby was born 30 December 1909. Although Molly appreciated the security for her baby out in what she called "civilization," she was desperately lonesome, not for England, but for the ranch. "Can't tell you how homesick I am feeling & long to be at home to look after Tam." Throughout her letter, which she had written shortly after arriving at Mrs. Cornwall's, one is struck by her gift for making much of small felicities, and light of drawbacks—the epitome of pioneer character. With no time for recriminations she found reasons for gratitude to the various helpers along the way: to the doctor "who was most kind & considerate," to Jack, "who fitted in so well, & was so jolly & kind," and most of all to the husband for whom she was pledged to the demands of a new country. "I can never tell how resourceful & wonderful Tam was to me."

In May, 1911, their second baby, a nine-pound daughter, was born after her parents had successfully canoed all the way down to Kamloops in a dugout so narrow that it needed outriggers for balance.

On that comparatively easy and uneventful trip Molly's only "portages" had been by the Heffley riffles, as she picked her way past the stench of rotting carcasses where cattle had fallen through the spring ice. Afterwards, her paramount concern was simply that she "looked a fright." Sunburnt from the bright reflections off the water, and carrying a big burden on her small frame, she had been mortified to step ashore in full view of a leisurely Sunday crowd in Riverside Park.

The Moilliets also make an appearance in North River, Muriel Dunford's new book on the history of the North Thompson valley from pre-contact to the Second World War, published by Sonotek Publishing Ltd. of Merritt, BC.
The Hammond Brothers and Port Hammond

By H. B. Cotton, B.C.L.S. (Retired)

H. B. (Barry) Cotton lives on Salt Spring Island. His interests in BC history are in particular the early explorers and pioneer surveyors.

Hammond, or the Hammond area as it is described today, is a well-subdivided residential part of the District of Maple Ridge. Around the turn of the last century, Port Hammond Junction as it was called then, was a thriving, busy, industrial community; a river port and stopping point on the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was founded on land settled by two brothers Hammond born in Penstanton, Huntingdonshire, England. John and William were the sons of William Hammond of Penstanton, a village known for being the home of Capability Brown, the famous landscape gardener.

John Hammond was born in 1836. His brother William was born in 1843 and he trained as a civil engineer. The brothers emigrated to British Columbia, William arriving in New Westminster in April 1863.

It is assumed that both brothers travelled together on their way out, although a letter written by William on the day after arrival does not mention John. However, it does well describe the impressions made upon this obviously level-headed twenty-year-old by the varied crowd of travellers: Australians, mining men, and Americans—some of the latter being complete with six-shooters and bowie knives. William writes that his "...intention in coming out was to make an honest livelihood..." and he mentions the prospect of employment for surveyors on railroad projects. He admits that if he "should find in the course of a year that British Columbia offers no inducement for me to remain," he would consider trying the United States.

As events turned out, there was no need of this option. Both brothers would fare quite nicely in British Columbia, although their first few years could hardly be described as easy. Soon after arrival, the two brothers settled in Pitt Meadows and started farming on a tract of land later known as Codd Island. This was about three-and-a-half miles east of the confluence of the north and south branches of the Lillooet (now called Alouette) River. While strictly speaking this was not an island, it was hemmed in on the west and south sides by the Lillooet River, and the northeast side by Sturgeon Slough (then fed by Blaney Creek), and accessible practically only by water.

When George Turner ran his first survey lines there for the Dominion government in 1875, the 160-acre property was designated as the SE ¼, Section 1, Township 40. In later years Blaney Creek was diverted by ditch and dyke along its northerly boundary directly into the Lillooet River, and a dyke built along its southerly boundary, making it even more of an island.

However, all this was in the future. When the Hammonds settled on the property in the 1860s it was fairly remote, vacant, un-surveyed crown land. They are said to have worked the land for eight years into a viable farm, fighting flood waters with hand-built dykes. John Hammond, after receiving his Homestead Grant (No. 668) had to hold on to the property until June 1889 before receiving his patent from the Dominion government. He sold the land in September 1903 to Robert Lionel Codd. It is still being farmed.

Meanwhile in October 1864, William had pre-
empted district lot 278, a 147-acres parcel of land fronting on the Fraser River. Sixteen months later he pre-empted the adjacent property (district lot 279) of 164 acres in company with John Edward Bell. William must have worked his own two pre-emptions concurrently with John's, as he acquired Certificates of Improvements in a few years, although both brothers are said to have lived on Codd Island at first. Access from William's to John's holdings would be by boat via the tidal Katzie Slough, which led at the time to the South Lillooet River, thence by river to the farm. But whatever arrangements the two brothers made, there is no doubt that the Hammond brothers were an exceptionally industrious pair and knew good land when they saw it. They were not in the least daunted by the rigours of hacking out a living in the bush.

They were also well informed. It seems that from the time of Confederation they were aware of the benefits that a transcontinental railway would bring. William Hammond would certainly be able to make an educated guess as to its possible location. He began to visit Victoria in 1872, taking on surveying for a living. William worked mostly under Joseph Hunter, a well-known civil engineer, at the time mainly engaged with work for the Canadian Pacific survey on the future railway. For the years 1878–1879 William was listed in the Victoria City Directory as "Surveyor." In 1879 William went to Britain where, on 23 October, he married Francis Gertrude Reade. He returned with her to live in Victoria.

John Hammond must have felt the need to move his home base, as on 28 February 1872 he acquired district lot 243, a tract of 179 acres, lying on higher ground about half a mile north and quarter of a mile east of William's holdings, receiving the crown grant in June 1879. William's property was by now becoming the centre of a small growing community. The adjoining properties to the west (district lots 280 and 281) had been acquired by Emmeline Jane (Emma) Newton, the daughter of retired Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader John Tod, and district lot 277, to the east, by John McIver, an ex-Hudson's Bay Company employee and early pioneer in the District of Maple Ridge. The Hammond brothers built their house on district lot 279, William's Hammond's property. It is now a heritage building, still standing at Westfield Street and Maple Crescent in Hammond.

Whether intentional or not, the adoption of the Burrard Inlet route for the railway in 1879 makes the land holdings of the Hammond brothers quite interesting. If the line along the north side of the Fraser were to be close to the bank, it would pass through William's property, and if further back it might well go through John's. When Onderdonk's massive projects started to take shape in 1880, the CPR's main line went right through William's district lots 278 and 279. In 1882 the railway company not only began construction, but also arranged for the use of part of William's property to build wharves to land supplies and materials for construction.

With their holdings the centre of industrial activity, the Hammond brothers were not slow to act; on 3 August 1883, a town plan of Port Hammond Junction was deposited at the Registrar-General's office in Victoria; a subdivision of parts of district lots 278, 279, 280, and 281. The owners of the properties were now William and John Hammond, and Emmeline Jane Mohun. John Edward Bell's name no longer appears as co-owner of district lot 279. Emma Tod, remarried to Edward Mohun in November 1878, gives her name as Emmeline Jane Mohun, labelling the remainder of her large property "Hazelwood Farm." Her husband, Edward Mohun, was a civil engineer and a Dominion Land Surveyor, so it is not too surprising that he was retained to make the survey of the new townsite, but there is little doubt that the Hammonds planned the layout.

It was a shrewd move. Over the next few years the townsite came into its own, becoming an important supply port where steamers connected the railroad to Victoria. According to reports there was "a large wharf and long freight sheds, a turn-table for turning locomotives, a spur-line from
the wharf to the main land to transfer freight, express, mail and passengers, a water tank, and office for the construction company's telegrapher. In town, three hotels, several boarding houses and doubtless several bars took care of new residents."

In the railroad era, fourteen trains a day passed through Hammond, all but the Transcontinental stopping. In the townsitie the names of the suburbs of London, England were well represented. Streets were called Ealing, Dartford, Wanstead, Kingston, Chigwell, Bromley, and more, while the street fronting on the mill site remembers the English county of Kent. Provisions were made for a children's playground, to be kept unfenced, and even a bandstand. The first CPR station is shown in the original plan, halfway round the big curve—on the outside, a somewhat dangerous situation. The station was moved in 1910, after being completely inundated with wheat when two boxcars derailed.

John Hammond continued living on the townsite. Tired of being single, he eventually married a mail-order bride from Boston, Mass., and they lived in a house at the corner of Lorne Avenue and Waresley Street in Hammond. It is said that he played the violin, liked gardening and duck hunting, and, when he became a member of council for Maple Ridge, that he was wont to fall asleep at meetings. After he died in 1909, his wife sold his property and moved back to the United States.

William Hammond and his wife continued to live in Victoria, and they had two sons. These Hammonds seem to have had little connection with the townsite in later years. He was not listed again in the Victoria City Directory as a surveyor, but is known to have worked as assistant engineer for the E & N Railway in 1884, and latterly as a draftsman in their office in 1887. He died of cancer on 9 February 1891, aged only 48 years. In his obituary the Colonist noted that he was a highly esteemed citizen, a man of good business habits and ability, respected by all who knew him. He was buried in Ross Bay cemetery, and in the same plot lies his second son, Wilhelm Martin C. Hammond, who died aged 11 months.

As the automobile age progressed, Hammond's residents became less dependent on the railway. After the Second World War the occasional sound of the telegraph key tapping might still be heard in the inner office of the station building, but fewer and fewer trains stopped at Hammond, and finally none at all. The post office, opened in 1885, was the last to drop the word "Port" in the town's address; "Junction" had been dropped long before. The steamer landing only lasted a few years, but a sawmill took its place, and industrial activity has continued throughout the years. The mill, now run by International Forest Products Ltd., was once noted as the largest cedar operation in the world.

Right: This photograph, taken about 1884, shows John Hammond in the centre, visiting the cottage of a Mr. Clapcott, perhaps the person standing to his right side. The Coquitlam Star, 8 May 1912.

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I have watched with pride—and sometimes despair—the evolution of planning and land-use regulation in this province over the last half century. The following is (only slightly abbreviated) the text of a talk I presented on 19 June 1997 to the Municipal Law Subsection of the BC branch of the Canadian Bar Association. At the time I tried to dispel the notion that fifty years of municipal planning law and practice (both public and private) might be a bit dull by noting: “I will ginger up the talk with anecdotes taken from the mouths of dead politicians and the memos of pensionable bureaucrats.”

To put order into this varied material I will touch briefly on the start of modern planning in Britain and North America, the growth of the planning process in BC, and the widening scope of provincial planning legislation.

The Start of Modern Planning in Britain and North America

The squalid housing that had grown up during the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain pricked the conscience of people like Ebenezer Howard. In 1903 he launched the Garden City Movement which advocated channeling urban growth into new communities that combined the advantages of town and country. Letchworth, near London was planned (as an altruistic private endeavour) for 30,000 persons with a central urban area of 1,200 acres and a surrounding agricultural belt twice the core size. Howard’s ideals must have influenced both the CPR in its pre-First World War development of Old Shaughnessy and Dr. Frank Buck’s efforts to get Point Grey Municipality to adopt plans that produced both efficient and pleasing communities.

The most courageous—and naïve—attempt to overcome the habitual criticism of conventional zoning, viz. that some owners were winners while others were losers, was the adoption by the British Parliament in 1947 of the Town and Country Planning Act, commonly known as “The ’47 Act.” It attempted to apply the concept of “compensation and betterment” whereby the person whose land was zoned for a more valuable use would pay cash into a pot to compensate less fortunate neighbours. A friend of mine, who was present at the passing of the statute, noted later, “It should not have been unexpected that the Act would have to be abandoned when claims for ‘compensation’ far outstripped the value of the ‘betterment.’”

Surprisingly, in North America the first steps in anticipation of modern city planning can be traced to King Philip II of Spain’s 1573 decree, the Law of the Indies. He outlined procedures for establishing communities in the New World, including colonial California. Slaughterhouses were to be located on the outskirts of town and the streets were to be oriented so as not to be windswept. Later, in the United States, hit-and-miss complaints led to the prohibition of specific uses, such as the storage of gunpowder in Boston and the building of dangerously flammable tenements in New York City. In Los Angeles—an unlikely place for the triumph of limits on private initiative—the law of nuisance, triggered by a constant flow of steam from an immigrant’s laundry, was used to justify land use controls. A similar concern in Toronto led to “districting,” a both-sides-of-given-streets type zoning.

In New York, where the rapidly growing city, wedged between large bodies of water, faced the same geographic constraints as downtown Vancouver, authorities were forced to adopt what was likely the first overall zoning law in North America. Interestingly, it was a lawyer who spearheaded the action. The idea was not sold as a device to enhance community amenities but rather to protect individual property values. To this day the height of skyscrapers is limited only by the strength of the underlying bedrock—the cluster of towers in mid-town and at the tip of Manhattan is the result. When next in that city one should visit the Museum of the City of New York at 1220 Fifth Ave. at 103rd St. for graphic portrayals of what New Yorkers faced before town planning.

The Growth of the Planning Process in BC

In 1909, in reaction to wasteful practices in the resource industries, the federal government appointed Clifford Sifton to chair a newly created “Commission of Conservation.” Sir Wilfred Laurier, an avid conservationist, saw to it that three...
federal cabinet ministers, nine provincial ministers, and twenty members at large, including one professor from every province that had a university, were to serve on it. With foresight that today seems remarkable, the objectives of the commission included a mandate to provide the national and provincial governments with the most up-to-date scientific advice on human as well as natural resources.

In due course, the efforts of the Vancouver Branch of the Town Planning Institute of Canada crystallized local political sentiment into persuading the province to pass the Town Planning Act, SBC 1925, c.55. It authorized, but not mandated, municipalities including the City of Vancouver to adopt zoning bylaws regulating land use and the location of various types of buildings.

Perhaps the first comprehensive bylaw in Canada was adopted by the old Municipality of Point Grey in 1926 and replaced by a more effective one in 1928. The impressive and detailed Bartholomew Plan was completed in December 1928. It had been commissioned by the Vancouver Town Planning Commission as a “comprehensive Town Plan for the City of Vancouver and a Regional Plan of the contiguous or adjacent territory.” As a result, a detailed plan was made for Vancouver and Point Grey. Shortly afterwards, on 1 January 1929, Vancouver, Point Grey and South Vancouver were amalgamated. This simplified planning the city.

By 1914 the CPR’s first Shaughnessy Heights subdivision had proved attractive to Vancouver’s affluent. Many had moved out of the downtown’s West End to the spacious, carefully designed subdivision of curving streets between 16th Avenue and King Edward Boulevard. The area, however, was part of the old municipality of Point Grey where, generally, a grid pattern of streets and smaller lots prevailed. Some of Shaughnessy’s new residents feared that large lots as yet to be sold by the Royal Trust Company on behalf of the railway in Shaughnessy Heights could be further subdivided. Apartment houses and rental suites might flourish, as they had in the West End.

In reaction, a group of newly-established residents petitioned the province to turn Shaughnessy into a separate municipality. The government wisely refused but, by way of compromise, adopted a private statute, the Shaughnessy Settlement Act, SBC 1914, c.96. It enshrined the “single-family structure and no further subdivision” concept. However, lobbying for more comprehensive protection grew again as some of the short-term restrictive covenants granted to the Royal Trust began to expire. As a result, the province adopted the Shaughnessy Heights Building Restriction Act, SBC 1922, c.87. The area was still to be subject to Point Grey zoning if the provisions were more onerous than those in the statute. It must have been one of the few hands-on provincial or state zoning enactments in North America.

The role of the legislature in the 1922 statute, although initially to cease in 1925, was extended from time to time up until, I believe, 1978. Thus, it wasn’t until decades had gone by that owners in the area could obtain a change in zoning without getting a statutory amendment. Sometime after 1978, the CPR sent me the approved design plan of my own house—albeit a mirror image of what was built in 1927. In any event, the “enshrinement” in the hands of the legislature of what would have normally been delegated to local government may have raised the prestige of the whole process. However, with the coming of the Great Depression (1929–1939), followed by the Second World War, interest in landuse planning evaporated. Wartime federal Orders-in-Council even displaced the sacrosanct provincial legislation preventing rooming houses in Shaughnessy!

After the lengthy struggle against Nazi Germany had ended, the Canadian government instructed its Central Mortgage & Housing Corporation to invest heavily in new home mortgages as part of the country’s post-war recovery plan. However, the Corporation soon became worried that its investment might be prejudiced by hasty or ill-considered neighbourhood growth. In what seemed like a replay of the enthusiasm generated by the 1909 federal Commission on Conservation, the CMHC organized and partly financed a citizens’ group called the Community Planning Association of Canada. To further the association’s efforts CMHC financed one paid CPAC employee in BC, the redoubtable Tom McDonald.

At the time CPAC was established in BC, there were, I believe, only two professional public planners in the province: Sandy Walker in Vancouver—employed by the Vancouver Planning Commission—and Mr. Doughty-Davies with the province in Victoria. Most municipalities had no zoning bylaws hence volunteers from the CPAC were asked to “explain” zoning to town councils.
as far away as Prince George. Peter Oberlander (first head of UBC’s School of Community and Regional Planning), Lew Robinson (later head of UBC’s Department of Geography), as well as Tom McDonald, were ready to jump into my car on short notice and head for the scene of the most recent call for gratuitous advice. One anxious mayor even asked our opinion about the actions of a municipal worker who, upon being asked to dump a bucket of chlorine each day in the town reservoir, decided that seven buckets, once a week, would do as well.

BC’s Town Planning Act of 1925 was our first comprehensive statute to let communities regulate land use by district or zone. While this could have amounted at law to legal “discrimination” it was authorized by the legislature (presently s.927 of the Municipal Act) no doubt on the grounds that it was for the greater good of the whole community. As noted, both Point Grey and Vancouver City were quick to use zoning. But in my early days as an advocate of urban planning I found a distinct reluctance on the part of municipal clerks of smaller communities to dabble in any statute other than the Municipal Act—“their bible since birth.” Eventually, the problem was solved by incorporating the Town Planning Act into the Municipal Act.

For years the Municipal Act had provided that a council could by bylaw require that highways within a subdivision be cleared, drained and gravelled. After protests to government that gravel roads were no longer appropriate in some communities, the statute was changed to read “and surfaced” which, as Richmond’s solicitor, I took to include asphalt paving, curbs and gutters, as well as sidewalks. Later, the right to require these was specifically added to the Act. A former Reeve of Delta told me that his council was reluctant to adopt the new standards “because, considering the extra costs involved, it might prevent the home owner from buying a television set.”

Also, Richmond pioneered comprehensive subdivision contracts (underground wiring etc.), land use contracts (possibly the first); a sign bylaw that dealt with appearance—not merely safety—banished billboards. The municipality went on to buy and develop the 600-acre Brighouse Estate that generated sites for a new city hall, cultural and athletic centres, Minoru Park, the Brighouse Shopping Centre, an industrial estate and a fully serviced residential neighbourhood. After a Vancouver official enquired about these unprecedented subdivision standards, his council referred the matter to their Town Planning Commission. The considered opinion, I believe, was “It wouldn’t be fair—we’ve never asked any developer to do that in the past.” This explains the total lack of sidewalks in the CPR’s subdivision on the old Quilchena Golf Course site.

More than fifty years ago at UBC I heard Dr. Harry Warren expound the theory that if the Nechako River could be diverted westward to the coast at Kemano, a huge hydro-electric power generator could be built to capture the down spill. In 1953 the Aluminum Company of Canada, having taken advantage of this geographic fact, established a town at nearby Kitimat as a site for Alcan’s aluminum smelter. The company engaged me to draw the first zoning bylaw for this planned-from-the-start community. The challenge lay in the fact that construction of the town was planned to go ahead before the land survey was completed. This resulted in the need to use weird formulae to establish the required separation between buildings. I learned later that other, established towns—presumably without the advice of a solicitor—had “borrowed” the text of my bylaw without alteration, no doubt to the endless confusion of builders. With the compliance of the Alcan planning consultants Meyer & Whittlesey of New York, and recognizing that a zoning bylaw was used extensively by non-legally trained people, we endeavoured to clarify
meaning by indenting and listing vertically subordinate clauses of equal value. Some wag said it looked like modern poetry. 

Community planning in BC started with a few knowledgeable activists, such as Dr. Frank Buck; progressed into the Town Planning Commission stage, with official groups of volunteers advising their councils; and finally became largely the responsibility of professionally trained planners. UBC's School of Community and Regional Planning made a very timely contribution to the training of people with a variety of academic backgrounds, to be staff planners and consultants for our towns and regional districts. I had the pleasure of being a course lecturer in planning law and practice at the School for 23 years. The growth of the profession led to the founding of the Planning Institute of BC. As an honorary member, I keep in touch and can testify to the fact that its publications, seminars, and conferences have encouraged both excellence and innovation in the profession.

With the emergence of professionals, it became appropriate that planning departments be set up within town and city halls. A bellwether decision to do that was made by the City of Vancouver. I was at the city council meeting at which the decision was made. The only additional matter to be settled was whether it should be a separate body or placed under the engineering department. After some debate, a separate entity was created. The planning department took its place as an effective voice in the city's decision making.

THE WIDENING SCOPE OF THE PROVINCIAL PLANNING LEGISLATION

Tom McDonald persuaded an old political friend and BC cabinet member, Herbert Anscomb, to have the government enable groups of adjacent municipalities to create regional planning areas. Sections 720 to 723 of the Municipal Act, RSBC 1960 c.255, set out the conservatively balanced power structure that ultimately enabled the adoption of a regional plan, including "unorganized territory." The approval of two-thirds of the regional board members, two-thirds of the member councils involved, as well as the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council was needed. As a result, the Lower Mainland Regional Planning District—the forerunner of regional districts in that part of the valley—came into being. It operated under a professional geographer, Jim Wilson. His work created a precedent for cooperative multi-municipal planning in the province.

Prior to 1965 there was a mixture of provincial parks administered directly by the province, and a few other parks, established by the province, but administered by independent boards (see: Garibaldi Park Act SBC 1926-27 c.25). In addition, of course, there was a well-established system of municipal parks. I was asked to work on an intergovernmental technical committee to see if a regionally administered park system could be established. The result, guided by Reeve Clarence Taylor, was the Regional Parks Act, SBC 1965, c.43 (now the Park (Regional) Act, RSBC 1996, c.345). One of the first such parks boards was established in the Lower Fraser Valley. The members were representatives of the local governments involved. Land purchases were funded partly by the province. After the creation of regional districts, the Municipal Act was amended to read, "subject to the Parks (Regional) Act, [current title], a regional district—may, by bylaw, establish and operate—regional parks. [Section 789(1)(g) of the current Act]."

A notable example is the vast and varied regional park system of the Greater Vancouver Regional District. Planners Vic Parker and Norm Pearson prepared the initial plan that today, in enlarged form (9,400 ha.), is managed by Rick Hankin. In my opinion it was the most ambitious and successful regional parks plan implemented in Canada—and perhaps anywhere in North America.

By 1965 it had become apparent to Municipal Affairs Minister Dan Campbell that more than a quarter of a million people were living in "unorganized territory," as they called land outside of the municipalities, and which was thus under his direct jurisdiction. He added "Division (2) — Regional Districts" to Part XXIV of the Municipal Act (SBC 1965 c.28), which brought Regional Districts into being. As he once told me, "I got tired of pushing a button in Victoria and hoping that all would go well 500 miles away!" In my opinion it was a vastly better solution to the problem of bringing local government—including land use planning—to non-metropolitan areas of the province than the alternative county device.

Much later, I served as Commissioner of Regional Development for the Greater Vancouver Regional District, with overall responsibility for regional planning, some hospital planning, social housing, regional parks, and public information. In this capacity I had the duty of explaining to the public the Board's Livable Region Plan—Harry Lash's epic work—and the Light Rapid Rail Transit plan prepared for the Board. Some of the other duties led to unexpected results. I served on a tri-level committee to find a way to coordinate federal, provincial, and local government concerns about development along and in the Fraser River Estuary. The final result, perfected long after my participation, was creation of the Fraser River Estuary Management Program (FREMP), which spawned a twin for Burrard Inlet (BIEAP). The former involves 36 government agencies, of which six provide funds. In 1994 an Estuary Management plan was adopted. An objective of importance to the public was "one-stop shopping" for a variety of permits. The astounding thing is that it was all achieved by agency and bureaucratic cooperation without a single statutory amendment! This contrasts with an early effort of mine to have a small municipal tot lot in Richmond placed on the corner of a large school ground. Because of liability and union problems it took two statutory amendments (Public Schools Act and Municipal Act) plus an operating agreement between the School Board and the Municipality to get the teeter-totters teetering.
At the local level, the Municipal Act s.945(4)(a) now authorizes a council to “designate areas for the protection of the environment” in its official community plan. Some time ago, reflecting growing public concern about the impact of industry on the environment in Crown land, the provincial arm of CPAC asked me to approach the minister responsible for the old BC Power Commission to question the wisdom of damming the river that was to become Buttle Lake without first removing the forest cover from the area to be flooded. The matter was important because the lake would extend well into Strathcona Park. The government agreed, despite the fact that this conservation measure had not been required upon the creation of Lake Williston behind the then recently completed Kenney Dam built to bring power to the Kitimat smelter.

Unknown to most British Columbians was the work done during the early seventies by federal and provincial soil scientists on the Canada Land Inventory. Their Land Capability maps were invaluable when the Land Commission was created in 1973—to which I was appointed as the first chair. The initiative, which was largely misunderstood at the outset, resulted in angry demonstrations in front of the Legislative Buildings. One elderly widow, with acreage in the Agricultural Land Reserve, telephoned me asking anxiously, “When do I have to start farming?” W.A.C. Bennett, then retired, warned all farmers not to sell their holdings to the Commission. Of course, no such mass purchase was contemplated, only the odd isolated parcel for which the owner claimed there was absolutely no market.

The purpose of the Agricultural Land Reserve was to ensure that regardless of what local zoning was or was not in place, quality farm and grazing land would not be lost. We must add that the quality of farmland is made up of a combination of soil and climatic factors. Up until the creation of the ALRs municipal councils had the habit of considering locally zoned farmland as a “site warehouse” for future urban development. The five percent of the province in the ALR is of surprising value to some food producers. One rancher complained to me that BC Hydro, without consulting him, had widened the tote road across his vast grazing lands by about a metre. As a result, the rancher had to reduce his herd because of the loss of grassland to the bulldozer.

Years ago, at the time “Habitat” was held in Vancouver, Republican Governor Dan Evans—who had tried to get legislation with the same objective passed in Washington State—told me that when he asked one of the Socred cabinet ministers what his party felt about the BC statute the reply was: “You can’t un-ring that bell!”

Perhaps no area of land use regulation has caused more soul-searching than the defining and protection of what various groups call “our heritage.” As a one-time chair of the Archaeological Society of BC as well as of the local branch of the American Institute of Archaeology I had some personal concern about this matter. Finally, as a past member of the Minister’s Advisory Committee on Heritage, I am able to report that after years of diligent work his staff has come up with a well crafted Heritage Conservation Act, RSBC 1996, c.187. A “Heritage object” may be “personal property” while a “Heritage site” may be “land, including land covered by water.” Tied in is s.945(4)(c) of the Municipal Act. If you wish to be disabused of the thought that our aboriginal heritage is confined to totemic art, enter St. Eugene’s Church at the St. Mary’s Reserve north of Cranbrook for the incredible sight of a lavishly furnished gothic church in the “high chaparral.”

The Islands Trust: In 1974, prior to the adoption of the Islands Trust Act (now RSBC 1996, c.239) an all-party committee of the legislature recommended a law to protect “the unique amenities and environment” of the Gulf Islands. There were no incorporated towns on the islands, hence policy making of the sort necessary to protect what one expert described as the very northern extremity of the California climate belt was split among several Electoral Areas forming parts of a number of Regional Districts.

The legislated solution was to place land use control in the hands of a unique body of elected trustees whose main concern was to set overall policy. Special responsibilities regarding zoning on a given island were given to “Local Trust Committees” which included the two “Island Trustees” from each island area. Recently, as places like Ganges grew into significant centres, the Ministry asked me to conduct public hearings on Salt Spring and report on how a suitable form of incorporation could be designed that would be compatible with Trust policy, yet satisfy local aspirations.

At the time I was appointed to the Land Commission, David Looy, a Globe and Mail photographer, asked me to stand for a picture on the old Quilchena Golf Course, which would serve as a make-believe “farm” background. I chose instead to be photographed on the huge topographic model of British Columbia at the PNE. My reason was to show the public how the province was in fact a relatively small “archipelago of habitable land” in which towns, roads and farms had to share the warm, narrow valley bottoms. It confirmed in my mind, as nothing else, how important land use planning was for British Columbia.

At the end of a half century of what I call the “land-use wars”—in which I am proud to have served as a foot soldier—I believe that the practitioners of municipal law, both public and private, and their colleagues the planners, as well as UBC’s School of Community and Regional Planning have achieved a notable victory. In fairness, I must add that outstanding politicians of every stripe deserve the Croix de Guerre—some with Oak Leaf Cluster! And I attribute the motivation largely to what I describe as the “civic patriotism” of our people, triggered as it is by the endless splendour of this province."
Cottage Hospitals in British Columbia
by Helen Shore

Helen Shore is a member of the Vancouver Historical Society in charge of the Historical Researcher Referral Service. As a retired public health nurse and teacher, she is interested in pioneer nurses and hospitals in BC.

At the turn of the century contagious diseases, illness, and accidents brought injury and sometimes death to the settler population throughout urban and frontier regions of British Columbia. The Native population suffered similarly, especially from contagious diseases. Protection of water, milk, and food supplies was either missing entirely or extremely primitive. Sanitation was lacking in the family homes in most settlements as well as in canneries and logging and mining camps. Resources for caring for the sick and injured were few. Small general hospitals were only available in some of the more built-up regions of British Columbia. None were available in the remote regions.

Stories of particular needs and hardships experienced by families and workers living in unpopulated and remote regions came by word of mouth to people in larger centres. Doctors, nurse matrons, and nurses in city hospitals often heard horror stories from patients who were brought in after suffering accidents in remote logging camps. Cottage hospitals were developed for these remote areas through the combined work of interested communities, social activists, and their respective organizations.

Women’s groups, such as the Local Council of Women, often took up the cause of improving the quality of life to families in local communities. In 1897 the Victorian Order of Nurses (VON) initiated a national district nursing program, providing hospital, medical, and nursing care to settlers in remote regions of Canada. In British Columbia cottage hospitals started after two members of the Vancouver chapter of the Council of Women placed a resolution from the Vancouver chapter before a national meeting of the Council of Women, chaired by President Lady Ishbel Aberdeen, the wife of the governor general at that time. Both Countess Aberdeen and later Countess Minto gave the district nursing and cottage hospital movement their unqualified personal and financial support enabling its growth and survival on a national level. While many doctors and medical associations initially fought the development of the Victorian Order of Nurses, some doctors gave support and encouragement to the Order. Also workers and employers in resource industries gave positive support. This support formed the basis for much of the growing community action.

The phenomenon of cottage hospitals in the hinterland of British Columbia lasted from 1898 until roughly 1919. The hospitals were small buildings, housing seven to ten patients, staffed by one or two nurses providing 24-hour nursing. A small operating room, a patient ward, and a kitchen were the usual features. An orderly and a cook may have been employed on a part-time basis. A doctor attended when needed or was called for surgeries or emergencies, reaching the hospital by boat, horse, or any other means.

The first cottage hospital in BC was established in Vernon in 1898, with two nurses, Annie McKay and Bena Henderson. Other cottage hospitals soon followed. The cottage hospital in Vernon operated until 1908 when it was turned into a municipal hospital. As communities grew and municipalities were formed also the other hospitals became municipal hospitals or were operated by other groups. An excerpt from the Annual Report to the VON Board for 1904 written by Margaret Allen, the second superintendent of the VON in Ottawa, gives an overview of her impressions gained by her annual visit to the hospitals in the West.

The work of the hospitals in the West has increased tremendously in the past year: with one or two exceptions they are all over-taxed, costs being placed in the halls, and often the nurses being turned out of their rooms in order to accommodate patients. I do not think that the people in this part of Canada can realize the difficulties under which the nurses work in some of the small Western towns: no light but oil lamps, and often times the only supply of water being in the basement of the building and having to be carried to other parts of the Hospital. In fact, in one case the water was brought to the building in barrels and for two days last fall they were without drinking water.

A large number of the patients have come long distances to be treated, one man who had both hands badly crushed riding 70 miles on an engine over an unfinished road – double amputation was necessary when he reached the hospital. Another case
was a trapper, whose camp-fire burned his bed of boughs and himself severely, having to walk 16 miles to the nearest house, by the time he reached it he was badly frozen, in this condition driving 30 miles to the hospital. I think these two cases I have cited will give people a little idea of how necessary the Cottage Hospitals are to the people of the West.7

The cottage hospital at Rock Bay is selected here as an example because of its remote and isolated location, the variety of people and groups involved in its development, and also because of the surviving historical records. The construction of this cottage hospital illustrates community action at work.

Vancouver Island's abundant fir and cedar forests behind Rock Bay, Sayward, Campbell River, and Courtenay attracted logging entrepreneurs and a large work force. The Hastings Mill Company was one of the largest sawmill companies operating in the area. Rock Bay became the Hastings' main logging camp on the BC coast. The first camp ran under the direction of contractors or semi-autonomous foremen. Camps were set up near water and skid roads were pushed inland. Oxen hauled the logs out.6

Plans for the cottage hospital in Rock Bay started on Friday, 8 August 1903 in the Hotel Vancouver at a meeting of the Vancouver Branch of the Victorian Order of Nurses. The Vancouver branch, formed in July 1898, was experienced in planning new ventures. At this meeting Chief Superintendent Charlotte Macleod and the board planned for a cottage hospital in Rock Bay. The meeting was presided by Sarah McLagan, pioneer newspaperwoman, activist and VON board president. Others present were Mrs. Macaulay (past president VON Vancouver board), Archdeacon Pentreath (Anglican minister), Margaret Clendenning (superintendent, Vancouver City Hospital), Sister Frances (matron St. Luke's Hospital, Vancouver) and other VON board members. Miss Clendenning suggested that a cottage hospital be started up the coast at some central location near the logging camps. She told of several cases of men who had died before medical aid could reach them. The Board resolved to send a letter to the honorary president of the VON, Her Excellency Lady Minto, wife of the governor general. They also began to plan for publicity and fundraising. A letter was sent to all the lumber mills in the area to find out their opinions of location and to elicit their support.9 Positive responses were soon received. Support for the idea came from the Loggers Union, the Pacific Coast Lumber Mill Company, and Robertson and Hackett Lumber Mill. All the responses requested prompt action.

Possible sites suggested for the cottage hospital were Lund, Rock Bay, or Shoal Bay. Rock Bay was chosen as the best site. One hundred and thirty miles north of Vancouver on the east coast of Vancouver Island, Rock Bay had more loggers employed than any other location on the coast.10 Mr. R.H. Alexander of the BC Mills and Trading Company—formerly Hastings Mill—said that his company would put up a suitable building for an emergency hospital for the use of the VON.

The Queen's Hospital in Rock Bay was opened 3 July 1905 in the presence of VON board members travelling from Vancouver. The national branch of the VON had provided $500 for furnishing the hospital; the Vancouver branch was responsible for the nurse's salary; the Daughters of the Empire provided the necessary linen supplies. During the VON board's visit to various logging camps in the vicinity, the Secretary collected donations of $91.50 from the loggers for the purchase of a cow for the use of the hospital. On Sunday, 9 July Archdeacon Pentreath concluded...
ducted a morning service and a service of dedication for the opening of the ten-bed hospital. About 50 loggers attended the service, some from far away. After the service there was a tour of the hospital.

In 1905 Jean Sutherland was head nurse and Alice Franklin her assistant. Other staff included a housekeeper, an orderly and a cook (see table 1). The Queen’s Hospital was a small wooden frame building surrounded by logs cut in the clearing. The interior was plain: a ward of ten iron-frame beds, tightly made in the traditional style, one bare light bulb hanging from the ceiling, an oil lamp on a bracket at one side of the room. The operating room was brighter with more windows and again a bare light bulb hanging from the ceiling, instruments, and supplies in cases along the sides of the room.

Miss Allen, Chief Superintendent of the VON, paid visits of inspection to the branches and cottage hospitals. She remembered in particular the visits to Rock Bay and the trip on a small boat, the Cassiar, which carried straitjackets to the hospital as part of its equipment, since delirium tremens was a not infrequent form of illness, among the lumberjacks in that region. The conditions were very primitive. The strain on the nurses was terrific.11

Rock Bay had no resident doctor. By an arrangement worked out between the VON and the Anglican Church, a doctor on the mission boat Columbia included Queen’s Hospital in Rock Bay on his rounds. The Columbia was a hospital ship travelling from the Seymour Inlet to Rock Bay along the northern shores of Queen Charlotte Strait.12 The Reverend John Andle, captain of the mission boat, enlisted Dr. W.A.B. Hutton—a graduate of the University of Manitoba and former Medical Officer with the Canadian troops in the Riel Rebellion—as the first ship’s doctor of the Columbia Coast Mission. Dr. Hutton served as surgeon for both the Columbia and the hospital.13 After Dr. Hutton died in the 1906 sinking of the tug Chehalis opposite Brockton Point,14 Dr. Daril P. Hanington, a graduate of McGill University came to take Dr. Hutton’s place.

The monthly patient records for the Queen’s Hospital provide little information about diagnoses or treatment. From another source comes a story on the condition of one patient treated. A logger had jumped from the rear of the logging train, wedging his boots in logs, the train backed up, knocking him down, and its wooden brake beams hitting him over and over. An arm and leg were broken and his head needed 37 stitches.15

Some records survive showing occupancy and patient days for Queen’s Hospital:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dec ’05</th>
<th>Jan. ’06</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total # of hospital days</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total cases nursed</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outpatients</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For January 1906 the records show five ticket holders and the amount of $55 paid by patients. Ticket holders were patients who were part of a prepayment scheme instituted to pay a monthly sum to the hospital to make free care possible should the need arise, an example of an early pre-
paid insurance plan.

For March 1906 the records show 14 new cases, 24 cases nursed, 6 medical cases, 11 surgical cases. There were 42 outpatients. Dressings sent to camps were 16. The total number of hospital days was 204. The hospital was then staffed with two nurses and one servant. Patients paid $151. As the records indicate, the nurse saw to it that dressings were provided to logging camps and outpatients were seen on a regular basis.

The VON nurses were prepared by the most up-to-date nursing education of the time. After graduating of three-year hospital diploma programs, they entered the six-month VON program in Toronto or Montreal, preparing them to nurse patients in their own homes.16 The nurse managed a patient’s care, provided hygienic and comfort measures, cared for post-delivery and post-surgical patients, applied dressings for burn patients and accident victims, cared for babies and children, cared for dying patients, and comforted and supported family members. The nurse worked co-operatively with doctors and other hospital workers, kept hospital records, and saw that a clean environment was maintained.

Chief Superintendent Margaret Allen remembered how, when head nurse Jean Sutherland died in 1906 (from overwork, according to Rev. John Antle), the Rock Bay loggers made a coffin to transport her body to the mainland, lining it with spirea and other wild flowers they had collected.17 In 1910, a fire burned Queen’s Hospital. A new hospital, “St. Michael’s,” was built in 1911 and the Columbia Coast Mission took over management and operation of the Rock Bay hospital from the Victorian Order of Nurses.

The establishment and operation of this cottage hospital at Rock Bay shows the rewards of teamwork and community participation in bringing hospital and district nursing to the hinterlands of British Columbia. The value of influential partners, the sharing of a commitment, and the cooperation of many key players was as important then as it is today. Once the cottage hospital was in place, it was the nurse—often on her own or with one other nurse—who played the critical role in making the cottage hospital a success. She was the only professional present on a 24-hour basis, she organized and oversaw the hospital’s operation; working in remote and isolated regions she made the decisions and provided professional care in a wide variety of situations and under the harshest of conditions. ~

15 Anderson, The Columbia is Coming, 25.
16 Gibbon, The Victorian Order of Nurses, 38.

Left: Ward in Queen’s Hospital, Rock Bay.
"I love history, always did," Lynda Orr, who is assistant programmer at the Burnaby Village Museum, came from Ireland in 1973. She has a degree in history and women's study from Simon Fraser University.

It was the event of the season, a glittering soirée, attended by the cream of society. On 12 May 1898, Vancouver's most prominent citizens gathered at the home of Mrs. J. C. McLagan to bid farewell to four nurses of the Victorian Order, before they departed for the gold fields of the Yukon. Among the guests in the flower-filled rooms of the McLagan house were the officers of the Yukon Field Force, "whose dark uniforms made a pleasing contrast to the graceful daintily-robed women." So successful was the event that it was "past seven before the guests could tear themselves away."

The nurses, accompanied by Faith Fenton, the famous correspondent of Toronto's The Globe, had been continually feted by Vancouver society since their arrival from Ottawa on 24 April. They had been met at the station by a delegation of the Local Council of Women (LCW), of which Mrs. McLagan was president, and once the nurses' identity became known, "the ladies attracted a great deal of respectful attention, the noble character of their mission adding to the interest felt in their personalities."

A very special mission it was. Lady Aberdeen, wife of the governor general, had personally chosen the four nurses: Georgina Powell, Rachel Hanna, Amy Scott, and Margaret Payson, as the first contingent sent into the Yukon by the Victorian Order of Nurses (VON). In 1898 the Yukon was the destination for many men hoping to strike it rich in the gold diggings of the Klondike. The mission was the subject of much discussion since it was considered a strange place to send respectable women. However, Lady Aberdeen was no stranger to controversy and fully understood the value of publicity for the fledgling order.

It seemed appropriate that the citizens of Vancouver were able to participate in the nurses' glorious send-off, as the whole idea of a nursing order had originated with the Vancouver Local Council of Women. Distressed by the "dangers and hardships encountered by women, who in their greatest hour of need were often miles from medical aid," the Vancouver Council proposed in 1896, that the "Dominion and Provincial Governments take earnest steps to establish medical and nursing aid in those districts." This plea and the desire of other councils to establish a memorial honouring the 1897 jubilee of Queen Victoria captured the attention of the national president of the Council of Women, Lady Aberdeen. The creation of a distinct nursing order based upon home visits, the Victorian Order of Nurses seemed a perfect solution to both requests.

Lady Aberdeen lost no time approaching the government and bringing her remarkable organizational skills to bear, for the idea was very dear to her heart. However, not every one in the country was as keen. The conservative press automatically criticized anything with which the Aberdeens were connected, and the medical profession ranged solidly against it. Canadian nurses, struggling to achieve professional recognition, were not at all pleased by the idea of a nursing order staffed by unqualified personnel. Lady Aberdeen, realizing the nurses had a valid point, decided to use only trained nurses in the Victorian Order, although this greatly increased the overall cost and effectively ruled out any hope of government support.

Undaunted, Lady Aberdeen mounted her own publicity campaign to counter the negative press coverage. First she sent an appeal to the schoolchildren of Canada asking for their support in the Queen's name:

If the Queen herself could appear in your schoolrooms and ask you to do something for her, what a rush and competition there would be to do it. Well, Her Majesty has—she has said "Make this a year of jubilee to the sick and suffering of my dominions."

Lady Aberdeen's next move was to enlist the help of Dr. Alfred Worcester of Harvard who persuaded the influential doctors of Ottawa to change their minds. Dr. Worcester reassured the medical establishment that: "Victorian nurses are trained nurses, before they begin district visiting. And this means that they are trained to know their own proper sphere, they know too much to interfere with the physicians." The doctors were no doubt most relieved to know the nurses knew their place.
Lady Aberdeen had the audacious and brilliant idea of sending four nurses to the Yukon: "...nowhere could be more remote or more likely to need nurses than the Yukon and nowhere would success be assured of more publicity." On 28 March 1898, Lady Aberdeen wrote to The Globe outlining her plans, noting that the nurses were fully aware of the hardships they would have to face, "...but [they] count[ed] the opportunity of succouring suffering humanity a joy and an honour."

The four nurses would accompany the troops of the Yukon Field Force as far as Fort Selkirk. The decision to send the troops was prompted by concern for the maintenance of Canadian law and order, in an area facing an influx of foreign miners, many resenting Canadian mining regulations. The commissioner, fearing that "it would be the easiest thing in the world for a few bold men to take possession," urged the government to take action.

The Canadian government was asked to provide safe passage for the nurses from Vancouver and in return the nurses were asked to attend any soldiers who fell ill. The government did not pay the travel expenses for the nurses. Lord Aberdeen took care of most of the cost and Lady Aberdeen, in her capacity as president of the VON, made the travel arrangements. She thought of everything. On 28 April she wrote to Sara McLagan, in Vancouver asking her to procure a list of supplies for the nurses: "cocoa, compressed tea, essence of beef, compressed beef and vegetables." She even had the entire list of supplies published in the newspapers. No doubt the public was intrigued by the lengthy list of sleeping bags, long fur coats, endless kinds of boots, sou'westers and outfits of "neat brown suits made with bloomers and gaiters in the style of a natty bicycle suit." One can almost hear the gasps of shock from astonished readers.

The whole event was a masterpiece in public relations and ensured that the mission remained in the public eye. Reporter Faith Fenton would accompany the nurses on their trip. Apparently Lady Aberdeen's letter outlining the plan to send the nurses north convinced the editor of The Globe that readers would be intrigued by Fenton's accounts of the nurses' journey. Doubtless he agreed with E.E. Sheppard, the editor of Saturday Night, that "trifles such as would hardly be read if written by a man become thrilling and picturesque as an episode in the life of a woman." Whether Lady Aberdeen had any say in the decision to employ Fenton as a correspondent remains a mystery, but she knew Fenton quite well. Fenton had often been in charge of publicity at the annual conventions of The National Council of Women and, when she was editor of The Canadian Home Journal, Fenton offered the Council a permanent space in the journal that "was under the direct personal supervision and control of Her Excellency."
All the arrangements were in place by 18 April when the four nurses, accompanied by Faith Fenton, left Ottawa by train for the west coast. They travelled ahead of the troops as they had a busy schedule of meetings and interviews along the way. The Local Councils of Women arranged the meetings. Fenton was frequently the only member of the group speaking publically, praising the nurses and outlining the aims of the VON. She spoke “feelingly of the loneliness of the mountain sections of our mining districts and the comfort tender hands could bring.”

In Vancouver, Fenton and the nurses found themselves thrust into the limelight. Fenton stayed with Sara McLagan, who never missed a chance to publicize the causes she believed in. In 1888, McLagan and her husband had founded the Vancouver Daily World, and although Sara was not involved in the day-to-day management of the newspaper, her influence was evident. Vancouver was kept informed of practically every move the nurses and Fenton made. On Wednesday, 27 April, they spent the day in Victoria as the guests of the Lieutenant Governor, on Thursday they attended an executive meeting of the Local Council and on Saturday, 30 April, they all went for a drive in Stanley Park. At a benefit performance of the play May Blossom, The Daily World reported that the nurses, “look[ed] to be women who realise their mission is no ordinary one...the next three years will bring much of toil and perhaps of sorrow into their lives.”

The Yukon Field Force arrived in Vancouver on 11 May. A huge crowd turned out to welcome them, “the station was packed and every point of vantage on the hill was soon taken up.” The troops enjoyed their short stay, the Vancouver Daily Province reported that “at night they owned the city and enjoyed themselves hugely, sauntering around the docks and occasionally putting a dollar or two in the way of the hotel and saloon keepers.”

Of course Vancouver was enthralled with anything concerning the Klondike, for it had brought much prosperity to the young city. The decision by the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) to bar prospectors from entering the Yukon unless they had a year’s provisions had proved to be a veritable gold mine for the storekeepers of Vancouver and Victoria. Many citizens were optimistic that “many of the returning Klondikers will settle down to live here and there will assuredly be a large investment of capital in a city with so bright a future.”

On Saturday, 14 May, “as Vancouver lay sleeping under an opal sky,” the nurses and soldiers left Vancouver for the Yukon. Their route took them by boat to Wrangell, by river steamer to Glenora, then overland to Teslin and down the Hootalinqua and Yukon rivers to Fort Selkirk, which had been tentatively selected as the capital of the territory. It had been decided that they would travel the “all-Canadian route”, rather than seek permission from the American authorities to enter United States territory. A pamphlet published by the Vancouver Board of Trade admitted that while this trail avoided the hardship of the passes, “it had its own particular hardships,” a fact that the nurses would soon discover for themselves. In an article published in The Daily World of the nurses, Georgina Powell, wrote: “...we went tramping, leaping, springing and climbing, a strain that only the strongest and most sinewy women could bear,” and that at a time when women were constrained as much by their clothing as by convention. Fenton, Powell, Scott, Hanna, and Payson were crossing more than one boundary on their journey north.

Propriety still had to be preserved. When Fenton made her first appearance in her short-skirted travelling costume, Colonel Evans, the commander of The Yukon Field Force was horrified as she was not wearing bloomers under her dark green skirt. Fenton, a fan of dress reform, who once described long skirts as “impeding our progress in every direction, by increasing if not producing our physical weakness”, was eventually persuaded to alter her skirt by sewing on a band of black sateen. No doubt the colonel heaved a sigh of relief.

From June to November 1898 Fenton’s articles were published in both Toronto’s The Globe and Vancouver’s The Daily World. As a writer, Fenton tended to be somewhat effusive—she described Vancouver as “a bright young Queen of the west, the sunset doorway of the dominion”—but she possessed an insatiable curiosity about life that appealed to her readers. She described the local flora and fauna; the vagaries of west, the sunset doorway of the dominion—butshe posessed an insatiable curiosity about life that appealed to her readers. She described the local flora and fauna; the vagaries of...
They arrived in Fort Selkirk on 25 July. However, The Anglican was wrecked while attempting to return to Teslin, and so the rest of the party was forced to make do with smaller boats and scows, frequently running aground on the sandbars. “Then the fun began, all hands had to tumble overboard up to their waists in ice-cold water and pull and haul for about twenty minutes, till at last we swung clear and went on our way, damp but rejoicing.” One of the most frightening moments occurred at the Five Finger rapids, when two scows swung broadside as they entered the fast water, “but at the last minute the current changed and they plunged through the channel.” On 11 September the small flotilla arrived in Fort Selkirk.

Some of the troops went on to Dawson to assist the North West Mounted Police in combating lawlessness, the rest stayed behind to finish the construction of the barracks. Georgina Powell had already gone from Fort Selkirk to Dawson to take charge of The Good Samaritan Hospital, where a typhoid epidemic was raging. In a letter to Lady Aberdeen, which was reprinted in the newspapers, Colonel Evans explained that in Dawson house-to-house nursing was impossible and as the newly completed hospital was overflowing with patients, Powell’s arrival was truly providential. Colonel Evans added:

The work of the Victorian Order in Dawson is a great one—theyir presence with the force has been invaluable. . . . I do not know how we should have fared without them. Here [in Fort Selkirk] Nurse Scott holds sway and not only the force but the surrounding countryside realise and appreciate the value of her presence.

After four weeks of round-the-clock nursing, the exhausted Georgina Powell herself caught typhoid. Fortunately help was at hand as the other three nurses arrived in Dawson three days later. In Dawson Payson took charge of the Grand Forks hospital “if the miserable building could be so called” where she slept on the floor “in an atmosphere thick with tobacco smoke.” Scott was sent to the barracks hospital and Hanna remained with Powell at the Good Samaritan. Typhoid was not the only scourge. An outbreak of scurvy proved to be a considerable challenge. For severe cases of frostbite the only solution was amputation of the affected limbs. Here Hanna’s “services to the surgeon were invaluable.”

The lack of basic sanitation and decent housing, coupled with the overwhelming amount of work, made for trying times, so much so that six weeks after her arrival, Margaret Payson left the Victorian Order and obtained a position with the post office. She later married a wealthy miner and raised “cats and dogs to her heart’s content.”

Rachel Hanna also left the order, as she wanted to remain at the Good Samaritan Hospital and was apprehensive that if she stayed with the VON, she would be transferred. In 1899, Amy Scott, who was never as physically robust as the others, was sent home to recuperate from an operation. She later served in South Africa during the Boer War.

That same year, the discovery of gold in Nome, Alaska, prompted an exodus of miners bound for the new Eldorado. As the population of Dawson began to decline, so did the need for the nurses’ services. The original plan of making home visits had proved impractical in the Klondike, so despite the fact that the nurses had done sterling work in the local hospitals, the decision was made to recall the VON from the Klondike. On realizing she would be transferred, Georgina Powell also resigned, as she was engaged to a sergeant in the North West Mounted Police. She too served in South Africa, in the same unit as Amy Scott. Faith Fenton also remained for a while in the land of the midnight sun and she continued to write for The Globe until her marriage to Dr. J. Brown in 1900.

So the story of these five women and their epic trek to the goldfields of the Yukon ends here. Undoubtedly it was a great success. Apart from all the lives they saved, they succeeded in firmly establishing the VON as a viable enterprise. Branches were formed in communities all across Canada and women who previously found it difficult to obtain medical aid came to rely on the Victorian Order nurse. Their success also had significant if less tangible benefits, since women across the country were empowered and inspired by their example.
On the Trail of the One-Armed Man

by Graham Brazier

Graham Brazier writes about colonial Vancouver Island from his home on Denman Island.


4. Annie Deans, Letter to a Friend, 1 October 1856.  

5. Government Record 308, v.  


7. For example, on two occasions Olsen portrayed Thomas quence was shot from ambush. Olsen further speculated that Douglas concealed Quamtny’s identity in order to justify what was to be the largest and most expensive military expedition to that point in the Colony’s history.

Olsen’s theory was that Douglas had a particular fondness for the Iroquois guide and interpreter, Thomas Quamtny, who throughout his many years of service in the Hudson’s Bay Company, also answered to “Tomo Antoine,” “One-Armed Tomo,” and “Toma.” According to Olsen, Douglas was anxious to punish Quamtny’s assailant, but doubted that British authorities would look favourably upon a large expenditure of money and a massive movement of troops into a territory unsettled by whites, simply to capture a single Native who had been involved in a dispute with another Native. Olsen went on to suggest that, in reports to London, the name “Thomas Williams” was substituted for “Thomas Quamtny,” who was described as being a British subject, as well as a “squatter” in the Cowichan Valley. In spite of the lapse of almost forty years, Olsen’s hypothesis is worthy of closer examination for a couple of reasons. Firstly, it has consequences for the reputation of the man who became known as “Sir James Douglas, Father of British Columbia,” and secondly, in recent years it has gained acceptance among a number of scholars and writers.

Olsen’s theory that “Thomas Williams” was simply an anglicized pseudonym used by James Douglas to obscure the identity of Thomas Quamtny rests on two factors; firstly, letters written by Douglas in which he appeared uncertain about the name of the man brought from Cowichan Bay to Victoria in August of 1856 and, secondly, the nature of the injury sustained by the man. Shortly after the arrival of the victim on 22 August, Douglas wrote a flurry of letters to various British officials. Before settling on the name “Thomas Williams,” which he used in all correspondence before 22 August, he referred to the injured man both as “Thomas Williams Antony” and “William Antony.”

Douglas’ confusion surrounding the man’s identity is further evident in the text of one letter written to HBC officials in which the “s” in
“Williams” appears to be added later and the first “Antony” appears above the line of writing and then is crossed out. Apparently alerted by Douglas’ uncertainty, as well as some striking similarities of the name “Thomas Antony” and “Thomas Quamtany,” Olsen noted that the injury sustained could well have been the one which caused the loss of one of Quamtany’s arms and the reason he became known as “One-Armed Tomo.” August Jack, a Cowichan elder, who told “the story as it came from the lips of his elders,” appeared to offer support to Olsen’s conjecture for, according to Olsen, August Jack said that Tomo was shot by a Chief “in the arm, and the bullet goes right through and makes a big hole in his chest,” and then a medicine man packed his wound with cedar bark before taking him to Victoria in a canoe where the doctor was unable to save his arm and had to cut it off.3

Olsen’s hypothesis is further bolstered by the fact that the first reliable reference to “One-Armed Tomo” appeared only a few months after the shooting. The entry in the Nanaimo Journal of the Hudson’s Bay Company for 21 November 1856 indicated that “One-Armed Toma [sic]” was “engaged at the mill which now goes night and day.” Furthermore, the injury suffered by the man Douglas referred to as “Williams,” was to the right arm and side, and there seems little doubt that Quamtany was missing his right arm. Annie Deans, a resident of the Metchosin district at the time, described the wound of the shooting victim almost exactly the way August Jack had. She reported that the man brought to Victoria from Cowichan “had been shot in the right arm just below the shoulder, the ball shattered the bone and went into the right side.”4 Two sources confirm that Quamtany was indeed missing his right arm. Victoria City jail records show that in 1867, when he was charged with selling liquor to Indians and was admitted to jail under his anglicized name of Thomas Anthony, he had his “Right arm off at [the] shoulder.”5 In addition, Mark Bate, an early settler in Nanaimo, recalled that “‘One-Armed Tomo’ was an extraordinary man...he had lost his right arm, and it was surprising with what celerity, and power he could swing an axe, or use tools—an auger, for instance, with his left hand.”

Evidence to the contrary, however, is abundant. For example, Annie Deans, who, though she didn’t record whether she actually saw the injured man, noted in a letter to a friend that “he is getting all right again—the Doctors set his arm so about a week after he was shot, the Governor went off....”6 In other words, according to Annie, despite the seriousness of the injury, the man who suffered the gunshot wound at Cowichan Bay did not lose his arm. Furthermore, HBC employment records show wages paid to both “Thomas Williams” and “Thomas Quamtany” for work performed in the Fort Victoria area between 1852 and 1855.7 In addition, a number of sources confirm that the gunshot victim was not a “half-breed Iroquois” but rather a “white man” just as Douglas had described him in correspondence with HBC Factor James Murray Yate.8 The Reverend Cridge, HBC chaplain, who along with Dr. Johnstone tended to the man’s wounds, described him as “a white man...[who] recovered.”9

Also, according to the daughter of Comiaken Chief Lo-Haar, the victim of the shooting was “a white settler.”10 Neither description would fit Thomas Quamtany.

At least one contemporary writer has suggested that, because evidence of the presence of white settlers in Cowichan in 1856 is not conclusive, Douglas’ characterization of the victim as “white” arouses the suspicion that, as Olsen alleged, the Governor might have been engaged in a “cover-up” in order to justify his planned course of action which involved mobilizing over four-hundred of Her Majesty’s troops.11 By most accounts, however, the earliest white settler in the Cowichan Valley was John Humphreys (or “Humphrey”) who arrived, along with two unnamed friends, in 1856.12 Quite likely, one of the friends was Thomas Williams, for both Williams and a “Jack Humphrey” had worked together at the HBC’s Craigflower farm, near Victoria, for a brief period in 1854. According to Robert Melrose, the unofficial chronicler of events at the farm, they also drank together on at least one occasion, and, what is perhaps more significant, they both quit work and left the farm on the same day.13 Subsequently, though Williams’ contract with the HBC extended into 1857, he did not draw wages after 1855. It is entirely possible that Thomas Williams grew disenchanted with working for the company for one reason or another and in order to avoid being compelled to honour his contract, and to stay out of sight, he Quamtany without his left arm.

(1) The cover of Water Over the Wheel depicts Tomo with a rifle in his right hand and a short stump extending from his left shoulder. (2) Writing in The Ladysmith Chronicle in 1963, Olsen noted that since “the loss of his left arm, the half-breed Iroquois [Tomo] had acquired abnormal strength in the one that remained.” H. Olsen “The Face of Tomo Antoine (Part VI: Gold Bullets)” The Ladysmith Chronicle, 14 February 1963.

8. Annie Deans, Letter to a friend, 1 October 1856. BCARS.
12. B.M. Cryer, “Legends of the Salish”, (undated typescript) BCARS. p. 3. I am indebted to Chris Arnett for this source.
19. 25 August 1856, Nanaimo Journal, BCARS.
21. Olsen wrote about the incident three times. Each time, his description grew less specific. On the first occasion he quoted August Jack at length and enclosed Tomo's name inside the quotation marks, stating that Tomo was much feared and disliked by the local Cowichans and that he was shot by a young Chief before being taken to Victoria where the doctor had to cut his arm off. (Olsen, "Tomo Antoine... He Who Played God", p. 8). On the second writing, in January of 1963, Olsen altered the quote in a number of minor ways and also substituted the words "this fella" for "Tomo" (Olsen, "The Face of Tomo Antoine: One-Armed Tomo", The Ladysmith Chronicle, 31 January 1963). By the time Olsen wrote about the incident a third time, the most compelling piece of evidence that Thomas Ouarntany and Thomas Williams were the same person was omitted altogether: neither the name "August Jack" nor any of his words appeared in Water Over The Wheel, Olsen's only published book. Though Olsen seems to have lost confidence in his source—perhaps August Jack objected to the particular of the words attributed to him in the first quotation—it didn't cause Olsen to change his conclusion.

For footnotes 16–20 see previous page.

Erratum

BC Historical News, Volume 33 No. 2
"Nanaimo's Malaspina Murals."

Author Phyllis Reeve points out that the photo credit of Edward J. Hughes’ mural of "Captain Galliano sketching the sandstone 'Galeries' on Gabriola Island" should have been: “Courtesy Schwarze Photographers, Nanaimo Archives photo collection.”
Token History:
The Church Collection Tokens of Holy Trinity Church, Aiyansh
by Ronald Greene

Around 1900 the Nisga'a community of Aiyansh was located at the head of navigation of the Nass River in northern British Columbia. The river flows into Nass Bay and the Portland Inlet. Two miles (three kilometres) upstream from Aiyansh was another community, Gitladamiks (Gitlakdamix). Until not too many years ago the only way in or out of the area was by water.

The story of the token is also the story of Reverend James B. McCullagh. He was a missionary working on behalf of the Church Missionary Society with headquarters in London, England, a society that is related to the Church of England. When the Church first came to Vancouver Island and British Columbia the Diocese of British Columbia was formed. As the population of the area grew, responsibility for certain parts of the diocesan territory was carved off. The Diocese of Cal- edonia was formed in 1879 and the Reverend W. Ridley was appointed as the first Bishop of the See. Under Bishop Ridley several missions were established: on the upper Skeena, Hazelton in 1880 and Gitwangak in 1882; on the upper Nass, at Aiyansh in 1883; and on the coast, at Kitkatla in 1887. James B. McCullagh was selected as the missionary to go to Aiyansh.

McCullagh had a very English vision of a church with a tower and spire, at the end of the main street with the forest and mountains rising behind. He appealed to friends in England and received £200, but when he sat down to work out the cost he realized that he would be able to build just a very tiny church for that amount, and that freight up the Nass River would consume fully half of the money. Ultimately he hit upon the idea of using the funds to buy a sawmill to cut lumber on site. The raw material was everywhere around him, he could eliminate the freight, and produce lumber for the church, for a school, and for houses. He therefore added what he could afford to the funds received and purchased a water-driven sawmill.

The efforts to harness the river's flow failed so when he took a trip to England in 1891–1892 he raised enough extra funds to buy a boiler and engine in order to run the sawmill by steam. Once he had everything at Aiyansh he engaged a skilled white man to come, erect the mill, and to teach "my Indians" to run it. When they could do that he handed the mill entirely over to them on the condition that they produce, as required, the value of the mill in lumber for the church, school and mission house. By 1893 the mill was running and producing the community's own building material.

October 29, 1896 saw the church opened officially. It was named Holy Trinity Church, a name taken from a church in Cheltenham with which McCullagh had some early connec-

...could hardly lift it on to the Holy Table. Each person's offering was in a small canvas bag with the name and amount written on the outside. The offertory amounted to one thousand three hundred and eighty-nine dollars, or about £250...I have no hesitation in saying that every twenty-five cent piece in the above collection represented a definite act of self-denial."

McCullagh's biographer, Moeran, wrote that the amount of that day's...
special collection slightly exceeded the direct cost of building the Church!

The Reverend McCullagh described a typical Sunday and a most unusual method of collection.4

The morning Service is always conducted in the Indian tongue. The people use the Nishga Book of Common Prayer, the chants and hymns being sung sweetly and heartily in the true spirit of praise. Native Readers read the Lessons in Nishga, and a native presides at the organ, while there is no half-heartedness about rendering the responses.

In the evening we have the service in English when the people use the English Prayer Book and sing English hymns with equal facility. The Lessons, too, are read in English, but for the present the sermon is in Nishga. At each Service there is a collection but it is conducted on a curious principle by the Wardens. A supply of two-and-a-half cent tickets and five cent tickets is kept by one of the Wardens who acts as banker, and who, when the Indians have money in the Autumn, sells to each person as many tickets as he or she may require until the annual pay-day comes again. The cash received for these tickets he keeps in a box, and when the tickets are counted in the vestry after a collection he takes them back at their face value in cash. The amount is then entered in a book and signed for by the Reader who takes the Service or by myself if I am there. Thus the running expenses of the church are defrayed.

The Reverend's words may need some explanation. Firstly the Reverend McCullagh was English and the English do use the word "ticket" and "token" somewhat interchangeably so it is quite probable, that the "tickets" he refers to are tokens in our sense. Secondly, the community was very isolated with few opportunities for wage labour. While the Indians might obtain cash from their spring hunt, it was the late summer salmon run that would provide their main source of cash income—the men fishing and the women working in the cannery. They would be paid at the end of the season—essentially one pay day per year. Much of this pay would have been spent in the cannery store to obtain their various needs. Since the smallest coin in circulation was a 25 cent piece, even the smallest coin available would have represented a great sacrifice. The introduction of the "tickets" would have permitted an affordable offering each Sunday.

The September of 1917 turned out to be a very wet month. By November the river levels had risen very high along both the Skeena and Nass rivers. Flooding occurred along the Skeena, cutting Prince Rupert off except by sea. On the 18th of November the Nass River broke through its banks near Gitladamiks. By the 20th the Mission House in Aiyansh was under 10 feet (three metres) of water and other parts of the community were submerged under more than twenty-four feet (seven metres) of water. Houses, plank walks, carcasses of horses, cattle and anything that would float were carried down the river for miles.5 Overall the damage was extensive, to all intents the village of Aiyansh was wiped out. The decision was made to relocate the community of Aiyansh to Gitladamiks to avoid a recurrence of the loss. The west window and some interior fittings of Holy Trinity Church were removed and installed in St. Bartholomew's church at Gitladamiks which had been started in 1911. Unfortunately all of the surviving Aiyansh records and older Gitladamiks records were lost when St. Bartholomew's church was destroyed by fire.6

Finally, in summary, we have the record of two Church Collection tokens, one of which is known to have been used in the Holy Trinity church in Aiyansh possibly as early as 1896 until 1917.7

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5 The Daily News (Prince Rupert), 7 December 1917.
6 Letter from Cliff Armstrong, Archivist, Diocese of Caledonia, 17 April 2000.
7 McCullagh, The Aiyansh Mission, 56.
**Book Reviews**

Books for review and book reviews should be sent to:

Anne Yandle, Book Review Editor BC Historical News, 3450 West 20th Avenue, Vancouver BC V6S 1E4

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**R. W. Sandwell**  
*Beyond the City Limits: Rural History in British Columbia.*  
REVIEWED BY CLINT EVANS

**Nanaimo Community Heritage Commission**  
*Columns, Cornices & Coal; the Heritage Resources of Nanaimo.*  
REVIEWED BY GORDON R. ELLIOTT

**Betty O’Keefe and Ian Macdonald**  
*The Sommers Scandal: The Felling of Trees and Tree Lords.*  
REVIEWED BY KIRK SALLOUM

**Shirley Campbell**  
*Our Fair: the Interior Provincial Exhibition: Its First 100 Years.*  
REVIEWED BY ALICE GLAISIEVille

**Tom Henry**  
*Small City in a Big Valley: the Story of Duncan.*  
REVIEWED BY ADAM C. WALDIE

**Peter Johnson**  
*Glyphs and Gallows; the Rock Art of Clo-oose and the Wreck of the John Bright.*  
REVIEWED BY PHYLLIS REEVE

**Dick Hammond**  
*Haunted Waters: Tales of the Old Coast.*  
REVIEWED BY KELSEY MACLEOD

**Leigh Ogston, Ed.**  
*Researching the Indian Land Question in British Columbia.*  
REVIEWED BY MORAG MACLACHLAN

**Brian Titley**  
*The Frontier World of Edgar Dewdney.*  
REVIEWED BY CHARLES HOU

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**Beyond the City Limits: Rural History in British Columbia.**  
REVIEWED BY CLINT EVANS

*Beyond the City Limits* represents an attempt by a group of university scholars to broaden the focus of academic history on British Columbia. According to the editor, Ruth Sandwell, British Columbian history has traditionally concentrated on urban and industrial themes. When rural issues are explored they are usually cast within the context of urban dominated, capitalist development. This has led to a blurring of distinctions between rural and urban and to the notion that British Columbia has developed in the absence of a distinct rural tradition. In an effort to counter these misconceptions Sandwell argues that “rural” must be elevated to the status of a discrete “category of description and analysis”, one that cuts across more traditional categories of analysis such as class, race, and gender and one that will shed new light on the social, political, and economic history of the province.

Her book represents an eclectic collection of thirteen essays covering topics as diverse as Aboriginal history, codling moths, and pimping and prostitution in Depression-era Prince George. Some of the essays are narrowly focused and will have limited appeal to people outside the academy. Others appear to have been written with a general readership in mind. Richard Mackie’s article on cougar hunters on Vancouver Island, for example, is eminently readable and it will “ring true” for anyone familiar with rural traditions on the Coast. Ken Favrholts’ article on agricultural settlement south of Kamloops does a wonderful job of explaining the presence of the old abandoned farm houses that dot the landscape on either side of Highway 5, and David Dendy’s account of codling moths in the Okanagan is a “must read” for anyone interested in the history of the provincial tree fruit industry or the problems facing the widely publicized sterile insect release program.

Perhaps the strongest essay of the collection is Jean Barman’s “Invisible Women: Aboriginal Mothers and Mixed-Race Daughters in Rural Pioneer British Columbia.” Despite its academic sounding title, Barman’s essay is clearly written and it manages to tackle a number of potentially contentious issues in a balanced and non-partisan manner. After reading Barman’s contribution you will no longer accept the arguments that all pioneering women were white, that academics are incapable of writing a coherent sentence, and that academic articles are categorically different from the articles that grace the pages of The Beaver or British Columbia Historical News.

Having described some of the strengths of *Beyond the City Limits*, a few criticisms are in order. The first concerns the introduction. Sandwell’s introduction is marked by numerous references to theories and theorists, by tortuously complex sentences and by excessive academic jargon. It is, in other words, a perfect example of what is wrong with all too much academic history today. The editor seems to be guided by the mistaken notion that academic history must be unintelligible in order to be considered profound. This is a real pity as her introduction alone is bound to scare away a large proportion of the book’s potential readership.

A second serious problem with the collection is the editor’s claim that it represents “rural history” or an attempt to discover an “authentic British Columbia voice”. Several of the articles are not really about rural topics at all, whereas others display a profound ignorance of rural conditions, rural activities, rural people, and rural space. What, for example, is “rural” about youth employment in Williams Lake between 1945 and 1975? Is this not a study of urbanization, albeit in a small town setting? Similarly, is it very meaningful to describe the predominantly male society of the gold-rush-era Cariboo as an expression of “homosocial” nineteenth century? True, an absence of women forced men to wash their own socks and to bake their own beans, but what is surprising about that? People do not need to be guided by convoluted feminist theories to discover that
men will act differently in the absence of women, that gold miners were forced to perform tasks that they would have shunned back home, and that drinking, gambling, and violence were prevalent on the gold fields where work was hard, recreation was limited, gold was plentiful, and the law was thin on the ground.

Beyond the City Limits is best regarded as an uneven production that illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of academic history today. Ruth Sandwell does, however, deserve considerable credit for drawing attention to a much-neglected dimension of British Columbia's past. Because of her energy and enthusiasm for the topic, academic historians will find it increasingly difficult to portray British Columbia as an essentially urban place. Most of British Columbia is rural in nature and the rural areas continue to generate the bulk of the province's wealth. British Columbia's international reputation has always been largely based on its rich and varied rural heritage, and it is high time that people in the southwestern corner of the province took stock of the fact that the traditions, culture, interests, and concerns of rural British Columbians have long been different from those of their urban counterparts. ~

Reviewer Clint Evans is a historical consultant and part-time instructor at Okanagan University College.

Columns, Cornices & Coal; the Heritage Resources of Nanaimo.
Compiled and published by the Nanaimo Community Heritage Commission, 455 Wallace St., Nanaimo, BC. 90 pp. Illus., maps. $15 paperback.
REVIEWED BY GORDON R. ELLIOTT.

The appearance of this short paperback booklet brought with it both a sense of pleasure and a sense of shame. Pleasure because it does so much in a short space to lay out a sense of the history of Nanaimo for people who have been, again and again, in, out, around, and through that city without really having seen it; in the not-having-really-seen it lies the shame. In fact, one hopes that this short booklet might become a model for short heritage histories of both small towns and not-so-small cities throughout this province which is only recently becoming interested in its own historical sites.

The organization is exemplary. The first five and a half pages give us a quick overview of the city's historical development from its Aboriginal roots to its beginnings as a Hudson's Bay Company post, through the arrival of coal miners in 1854, to its name change from Colville to Nanaimo—a corruption of the Coast Salish word Snuu'mutxw—which eventually became "Sneilumutxw" and on through almost one hundred years, period by period, with eleven sketches of characteristic buildings, one for each period. Each of these eleven appears later as a photograph and in comments making up the main text. Following this short introduction a single good map indicates the relationship of the six districts of the city one to another, and, thankfully, throughout the main text, immediately before the commentary on each of the districts, a really adequate map lays out the streets of the district next to be discussed.

Immediately following the short historical overview, for example, a map of the "Downtown & Old City Neighbourhood" leads into concise descriptions of buildings in that oldest part of the city, a part you too might have ignored while rushing through or bypassing this city on your way to someplace else. And those short descriptions, usually two or three to a page, along with pictures, indicate the heritage importance of them. The 1897 Rowbottom cottage—of which we had earlier seen a sketch—appears as "The Miner's Cottage" along with a short description of it and something about Frederick Rowbottom who emigrated to Nanaimo in 1872 from Yorkshire and by 1890 worked for the Vancouver Coal Company. Some of the buildings are old, some new, some remodelled and some moved, all different, all historically and architecturally interesting.

The Earl Block on Church Street, built 1897–1898, "is a proud surviving example of the brick-faced commercial buildings of downtown Nanaimo's Victorian era". Nearby, the Great National Land Building, designed and built by the Dominion Realty in 1914 as a Bank of Commerce, stands dramatically at the north end of Commercial Street; its classical front bowed out, and "with a deep projecting cornice supported on four fluted giant order Doric columns." Such interweaving of facts and impressions lead readers into seeing something new in these heritage structures they had passed so often yet had never really considered.

Following the central area, the core of the old city and still the centre of town, come the other five areas, each with its own essential map and characteristics. Harewood, for example, seems to have been mainly a residential area, though some houses are on what was once farmland later "subdivided by the colliery for use of its workers," but one very plain two-storey building, a good example of a "once common" local store is now a home, as is a small and pleasant looking brick house at number 1881 on pleasantly named Jingle Pot Road. Another "prominent landmark" is the school built in 1914.

In Newcastle homes are also of most interest, the oldest built in 1898 for G.L. Schetky, an insurance agent who was also the United State Consul. The Northend district is less finely defined: a pioneer log cabin built on Bowen Road in 1872 at the delta of the Nanaimo River; Our Lady of Good Counsel Roman Catholic Church built in Lantzville in 1938 but later moved to 4334 Jingle Pot Road; Pacific Biological Station residence of 1928 at 3190 Hammond Bay Road; the Beban house built around 1930 also on Bowen Road; and Northfield School of 1920, being somewhat reminiscent of the later Superior Schools, but more attractive in outward appearance.

The fifth and sixth areas of the city, Southend and Chase River, have fewer heritage sites, although Southend has several elegant residential areas, though some houses are on what was once farmland later "subdivided by the colliery for use of its workers," but one very plain two-storey building, a good example of a "once common" local store is now a home, as is a small and pleasant looking brick house at number 1881 on pleasantly named Jingle Pot Road. Another "prominent landmark" is the school built in 1914.

Altogether, 124 different justifiable sites appear in this slim volume on heritage buildings, seventeen sketches of architectural details, and seven maps, as well as contemporary photographs by Donald Luxton and a colourful cover painted by Fred Peters. Apart from a few grammatical infelicities, this impeccable publication does exactly what it was intended to do. For that reason it could stand as a model for almost any city, town, village, or cross-roads community in the province. ~

Reviewer Gordon Elliott is a member of the Vancouver Historical Society.

The Sommers Scandal: The Felling of Trees and Tree Lords.
REVIEWED BY KIRK SALLOUM.

Robert Sommers was an early organizer for the BC Social Credit and, later, a rookie politician. As Minister of Lands, Mines and Forests, he was one of the most powerful individuals in the W.A.C. Bennett government. His actions as minister were relatively short
lived. Sommers resigned from Cabinet because of accusations of questionable behaviour. Later, he served two years and four months in jail after being convicted of conspiracy and accepting bribes while a BC Cabinet minister.

O'Keefe and Macdonald masterfully outline the Sommers scandal. The authors encapsulate the scandal using government, court, and media documentation, supplemented with people's recollections. Discussions on relevant events, such as the development of the forest industry and government policy at the time, assist the reader with appreciating the details of the Sommers affair.

The authors suggest that it was Gordon Gibson, a Liberal MLA, started the ball rolling in the legislature. Without mentioning Sommers by name, Gibson accused the Sacred government that "money talks and has talked." The House deemed these allegations inappropriate and Gibson became "the first MLA ever ordered out of the B.C. legislature." As a form of damage control, the government appointed the Land Commission to probe Gibson's charges. People involved in money transactions with Sommers immediately began assessing their files. Others distanced themselves from Sommers, including W.A.C. Bennett.

O'Keefe and Macdonald outline the events that led to the lengthy trial and supply a lucid analysis of the complicated court case. The reader finds out that though other accused individuals escaped a guilty verdict, the Sommers scandal altered their lives. The authors address a host of questions that evolve from the trial and convictions of Sommers and Wick Gray (a major character in the Sommers affair).

The media played a substantial role in making public the story of the Sommers scandal. O'Keefe and Macdonald provide background as to the relationship that each politician had with the media. Before and during the trial, media reports provoked public debate. At its conclusion, "almost everyone had an opinion of the trial." The outcome of the Sommers affair made history: The Province newspaper maintained that it was the first time in the British Commonwealth that a cabinet minister had been convicted of conspiracy to accept bribes.

Information collected from major players throughout the decades following the trial, including an interview with Sommers, adds to the story's intricacies. What the authors elicited and documented makes for a good read. O'Keefe and Macdonald conclude the book with two contemplative topics regarding the governance of this province: one focuses on the moral and ethical behaviours of politicians, and the other revolves around BC forest policies and practices. As with the media coverage of the Sommers scandal, this book provokes debate and reader opinion.✔

"Review: Kirk Saltourm is an educational consultant living in Vancouver, BC."

Our Fair: the Interior Provincial Exhibition: Its First 110 Years.

Reviewed by Alice Glanville.

Any thought that Our Fair would be a rather dry compilation of facts and statistics, is dispelled after becoming absorbed in the contents of this delightful book. The lists of trophy winners, presidents, life members, etc. and a relevant timeline are there, but documented in the appendices for quick reference. An index is also included. Shirley Campbell has done a masterful job of chronicling the development of the Armstrong Fair—the Interior Provincial Exhibition (IPE).

Although the book follows the development of the fair starting in 1900, the author takes us back to the Overlanders of 1862 when AI Fortune pre-empted land at Enderby, followed by Moses Lumby near Enderby in 1870, Martin Furstineau at Lansdowne in 1873, Price Ellison in Priest Valley in 1876, and Benjamin Young a short while later. These men and others, with the same pioneer spirit, all realized that they had rich, productive land. It was from this soil that the challenging exhibits to the Armstrong Fair would come.

Immigrants from Eastern Canada, United States, Europe, and Asia joined the First Nations people in the Okanagan and brought with them their favourite seeds and breeds of livestock and their competitive spirit. This "winning combination of people" gathered in 1900 to decide who had the best produce. The actual site of the Fair was determined following the completion of the CPR across Canada. A number of wealthy businessmen and farmers formed a company to build the S and O Line, a connecting rail link from Sicamous to Okanagan Landing. Arriving at "the island in the swamp," they parked a box car beside the tracks and called it Armstrong, in honour of W.E. Heaton-Armstrong who floated most of the bonds for the S and O. This site became the locale of the future Interior Provincial Exhibition (IPE).

Expanding to a three-day show in 1932 at the height of the Great Depression, the fair experienced a further expansion in 1974 to a four-day event. By 1988 the show enlarged to a five-day event following its designation as a class "A" exhibition in 1982. A splendid agricultural hall was completed in 1906 and in 1960 a new grandstand with dining hall below the bleachers was opened. Other grandstands, a new agricultural complex and the horticultural building have been added to accommodate the increased growth. The grounds, the buildings, the racetrack, the quality of exhibits and livestock, and the entertainment have all been targeted to become even better. Attendance increased to $5,000 in 1993, to 86,000 in 1998, and 95,000 in 1999, making the IPE the largest agricultural fair in the province.

A progression of many relevant and lively photographs (almost 200) spanning the century not only provide an attractive window but also attest to the depth of research achieved by the author and her advisors. The researchers have used The Armstrong Advertiser extensively, a reminder of the importance of local newspapers in recording history. Interspersed throughout the text are interest boxes of vignettes, mainly quotes from the Armstrong Advertiser, adding another dimension and providing further insight into the phenomenal success of this fair.

The Wagner Shows, formerly Gayland, became a substantial part of the entertainment for many years with Mark Wagner himself being an enthusiastic supporter of the IPE. Prominent politicians and entertainers have shared the podium over the years. The names of Max Hassen and his son, Matt S. Hassen, are synonymous with the Armstrong Fair. Their combined record of 59 years as secretary-managers have given the fair the necessary continuity for networking and building the reputation of a first class fair.

With directors who were alert to the needs of all branches of agriculture, the IPE continued to grow and to flourish whereas some other fairs did not. The directors encouraged "outside competition," and this prevailing competitive spirit, along with a strong belief in the educational value of agricultural exhibits and displays, contributed to the "general improvement and productivity of the entire community."
To quote from the book:

The phrase 'Where farming comes first' is the essence of the Spallumcheen district historically and today. It is a guide to policy making in the Official Community Plan of the present municipal government. Farming is the trunk of the tree and the IPE is the enduring branch. The story of early families in Spallumcheen and of the townspeople of Landsdowne and Armstrong brings the creation of the IPE into present history.

The book is a well-written, inclusive account of the IPE, a remarkable achievement which today stands as a testimony to all who have contributed over these hundred years.

The author and her excellent research committee worked on this volunteer project for the Armstrong and Spallumcheen Museum and Arts Society and have more than adequately fulfilled the purpose of this history of "Our Fair City" to discover its origins, acknowledge its evolution and to inspire its present direction. [Reviewer: Alice Glanville, a member of the Boundary Historical Society, is a former president of the British Columbia Historical Federation.]

Small City in a Big Valley: The Story of Duncan.


Reviewed by Adam C. Waldie.

This beautiful volume looks like a small coffee table book, though it is much, much more. Its 182 pages encompass some of the liveliest prose and most interesting photographs and line drawings this reviewer has seen for a long time. It could well be read in an evening by anyone even remotely interested in this unique Vancouver Island town.

Covering a span of the first hundred years of the hundred and thirty seven year history of Duncan, it relates at once the anatomy and development of this thriving community. Intwoven in the fabric of this history are the stories of the Native people, a distinctive Chinese community, a smaller Japanese one, a hard-working East Indian group, and the purely British phenomenon of the "long stockings." British Columbians have long referred to this latter group as "remittance men." It is a good account of the cultural legacy of these turn-of-the-century pensioners from the British Army and Navy and victims of the laws of primogeniture.

Nestled at the foot of the Cowichan Valley, in the rain shadow of the Island mountains, the Municipality of North Cowichan had the warm, sheltered climate to become the breadbasket of British Columbia. Indistinguishable from the surrounding municipality is the city of Duncan itself, not unlike the civic anomaly of the City of North Vancouver encircled by a district of the same name. At various times it has been called the city of totems, the dairy capital of British Columbia, and the sweet-pea capital of America.

The author, Tom Henry, is a native of Duncan and a graduate of its school system. Presumably this intimate connection is at least one reason for the freshness of the anecdotes he relates, and for the caring way in which he describes the various ethnic communities. For example, he mentions that a son of a large Chinese family started out in the family corner store, and ended up one of the top photographers for Playboy Magazine. An older brother became a pharmacist, then a senior officer in the Canadian Armed Forces, and, on retirement, mayor of Petawawa. Similarly he notes that Frances Kelsey, who as head of the United States Food and Drug Administration forty years ago prevented the marketing of Thalidomide in America, was the daughter of a Major Oldham of the Cowichan Valley. A new high school and a newly discovered planet have been named in honour of this distinguished daughter of the valley.

Sir John A. Macdonald made but one short trip to British Columbia, in 1886, to hammer in the traditional last spike of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. There were to be three stations in the Duncan area, but at the last minute Premier Robert Dunsmuir, the coal mining baron, decided to eliminate the one at Duncan's Crossing, as it was then known. The locals put up such a protest that, at the last minute, Dunsmuir relented and restored the plan for the station.

The author won the Bill Duthie B.C. Booksellers' Choice award for 1999 for his WESTOASTERS: BOATS THAT BUILT B.C. This delightful volume on Duncan and the Cowichan Valley should put him in the running for another honour. [Reviewer: Adam C. Waldie, BA, MD died in May of this year.]

Glyphs and Gallows; the Rock Art of Clo-oose and the Wreck of the John Bright.


Reviewed by Phyllis Reeve.

Pete Johnson breezes ashore with an entourage of students and tourists. I don't know which he enjoys more: learning some new thing or refreshing it with his own enthusiasm and teaching it to someone else. His initial encounters with petroglyphs on Gabriola Island and sleuthing in the depths of the Provincial Archives, attempting to uncover a link between a set of Aboriginal rock carvings and an historical murder mystery.

The word "art" in the title indicates Johnson's appreciation of petroglyphs as an art form heavy with symbolic and likely shamanic implications, with roots deep in tradition and history. He looks at them with eyes accustomed to looking at art, and reacts to the "plethora of metaphorical images and symbols that took me to places I did not know I wanted to go." But at Clo-oose on the West Coast Trail the carvings depict sailings. How can we read these records of European arrival?

Joy Inglis, in Spirit in the Stone, (Horsdahl and Schubart, 1998) interprets them as references to cargo and part of the wealth of the sea. Presumably shamanic power could call in cargoes as it called in fish. But Johnson thinks them a factual account of events.

In February 1869 the English barque John Bright came to grief on the rocky coast near Nootta Sound. Soon the Victoria press printed rumours of bodies found on shore, some decapitated. There was a fanatical corner store, and ended up one in Petawawa. Similarly he notes that Frances Kelsey, who as head of the United States Food and Drug Administration forty years ago prevented the marketing of Thalidomide in America, was the daughter of a Major Oldham of the Cowichan Valley. A new high school and a newly discovered planet have been named in honour of this distinguished daughter of the valley.

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Who, living up the coast, has not encountered such people—the know-it-alls who regard the rain forest as their oyster? As they get their come-uppance a tremendous sense of satisfaction fills the reader.

"The house by the Talking Falls" is the book's longest story. To say it is weird is an understatement, and the author's father, who relates the story, remains a bit of a mystery. What did he really experience? Were some of the characters and happenings a product of imagination? The real impact of the tale is at least partly taken away by the disclosure toward the end of two separate incidents: In one, a family who have lived in the area for years deny that there is any house in the location. Here would be a fitting place to end the story. But it continues with the writer's parent returning to the site and finding the remains of the house. So we are left wondering if the house was a total illusion, or if it was known to neighbours who preferred to pretend the house and its occupants did not exist. Take your pick.

"Svendson and the Taxman" is a narrative of the amusing outwitting of an income tax official. "That's Nothing"—the chronicle of an only too typical character polluting his surroundings with his ego. "The Deer and Silence" give shivers up the spine. One would like to shrug off the stories told as superstitious nonsense, but the supernatural auras make this impossible, and one is left with the uneasy feeling that it just could all be real. Spooky.

"The Stoics" is my favourite story, for all that it relates rather gruesome accidents, back in the days before there were mercy flights, rescue helicopters, the Coast Guard, and quick communication. It is the reaction of these injured men that holds the interest. These were the people, their attitude, that built our province. When reading the stories, I could not help thinking of so many of today's individuals who delight in making much of every twinge, every symptom, every discomfort, every difficulty they meet. How they do go on, on TV, radio, in the printed word, delighting in the display of their lack of intestinal fortitude. This story should be required reading in our elementary schools, to give children a role model early on. It just might bring back a smidgen of that old pioneer spirit.

As I read the last sentence, I found myself wondering: if today's men had to face what these pioneers did, would we have the country, the province, we share today?

All in all, a good read. It is heart-warming that here, on the West Coast, young as we are historically, we are at last publishing myths, legends, superstitions, happenings, that are unique, and our own.

Reviewer Kelsey McLeod is a free-lance writer living in Vancouver. She is on the executive of the Vancouver Historical Society and has contributed articles to BC Historical News over the years.
education, and those involved in community planning will make use of this excellent reference material.

This book provides practical advice about research basics, so clearly presented that beginning researchers can start work with confidence. But as well as instruction in methodology, there is a great deal of information about sources—libraries, archives, government departments, and web sites, and there are bibliographies to accompany most chapters. The use of anthropological, archaeological, and legal resources are explained and there is information about reserves, treaties, cemeteries, water as well as land rights, the use of maps, and oral history.

In spite of the comprehensive nature of this publication, it is obviously a work in progress. There are no page numbers and the ring binding makes it possible to alter or add material as more information is acquired.

In his famous 
*In de ceur* in 1967, Chief Dan George predicted that his people would become great and that education would be one of the tools that would help them overcome the effects of colonization. An educational system designed to assimilate and to train a labour force failed miserably, producing instead, with some notable exceptions, apathy and despair. The production of this reference work is a clear indication that this generation of Native people freed from that system, is making great progress in improving their economic and social status. But improved education for the First Nations people is not the only answer. It is only when enough people in the dominant society are educated and enlightened that progress can be made.

The chief in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who saw their reserve lands being curtailed and their way of life destroyed, were fully aware of the damage being done to their people and used all the legal means available to them to reverse the situation. Until the 1930s they were a dying people weakened by white men’s diseases, and those in power refused to listen, expecting that the problem would disappear.

In view of the “apartheid” nature of the reserve system, it is ludicrous to insist that there should be no “special status” for Native people. The separate status has been well and truly established. As the research goes on and aboriginal land claims are established, particularly in densely populated urban areas, there will be many people with long-standing claims who will find their ownership disputed. Two wrongs do not make a right and the great challenge of the twenty-first century will be to find a way in which we can all live together with consideration and respect for each other.

Review by Charles Hou.

As a high-school teacher I kept coming across Edgar Dewdney’s name. I hiked with students on the Dewdney Trail in Manning Park, had my students debate the arguments for and against British Columbia’s entry into Confederation, used Dewdney as a witness in mock trials of Louis Riel, and took students to see his grave in Ross Bay Cemetery. In each case I wanted to learn more about the man. Brian Titley has solved this problem for me and probably many others, as the chapter headings of his book will illustrate: “The Trailblazer,”“The Politician,”“Indian Commissioner,”“Rebellion,”“Lieutenant Governor,”“Minister of the Interior,” and “A Frontier Capitalist.”

Titley documents how Edgar Dewdney acquired some of his strongest biases in his native England. He believed in government by a small political and social elite drawn from the upper classes. When given a chance to be part of the government in Western Canada he resisted the democratization of political institutions and opposed native-born democrats such as Amor de Cosmos, Louis Riel, and Frank Oliver. When British Columbia joined Confederation and acquired responsible government, Dewdney was elected as a Conservative Member of Parliament and continued the battle with de Cosmos and others.

In order to live and function in the proper strata of society (another idea he picked up in England) Dewdney realized he would need a lot of money. He sought wealth in British Columbia during the gold rush. His skills as a civil engineer were useful and he worked briefly with Colonel Moody of the Royal Engineers before striking out on his own to fulfill government contracts building roads in southern British Columbia. He speculated in agriculture, ranching, mining, real estate, and transportation schemes in Western Canada from 1860 till his death in 1916. The results were mixed and he depended more on secure government appointments for most of his wealth, as government officials were very well paid at the time. When Sir John A. Macdonald offered him positions as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories, or a member of his Cabinet, he quickly accepted. He did the same after Macdonald’s death when offered the position of Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.

Titley clearly shows how Dewdney arrived in the colony with an imperialist disdain for Native people—an attitude he never lost. As Indian Commissioner and then as Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories, Dewdney had a hand in events leading up to the Riel Rebellion of 1885. As an agent of colonization he went along with the government’s decision to force the Natives to move to reservations, and was very adept at minimizing the costs involved. Even Big Bear, the one chief he respected, was brought to his knees by the threat of starvation. Unlike Macdonald, Dewdney was well aware of the incredible hardships faced by the Native people in 1884–1885 and the half-hearted government response to their needs. While Titley is reluctant to blame the Rebellion of 1885 on Dewdney, many historians believe that Dewdney should have lobbied Ottawa more forcefully, visited Ottawa to explain the urgency of the situation, or resigned, in order to get Macdonald’s government to act on what he knew were serious and legitimate Native grievances.

Like Matthew Baillie Begbie, another British immigrant with a similar social background but a more tolerant attitude, Dewdney was also motivated by a sense of adventure and a willingness to take risks. Both left the safety of jobs in England to seek their fortunes in a faraway British colony. They both revelled in the tough frontier conditions and enjoyed camping and travelling in the somewhat harsh conditions of British Columbia.

Unfortunately Titley mars an interesting chapter on the Riel Rebellion with a couple of significant errors. On two occasions he has Big Bear surrendering on 2 June 1885. In fact Big Bear’s band was involved in several skirmishes with Major-General Strange in June and did not surrender until July. Big Bear was one of the last Natives on the prairies to select a reserve in 1882 and was one of the last to surrender in 1885. He was also wrongfully convicted for his actions during
the rebellion and was released from prison only when it appeared likely he would die there. Titley also states that Chief Poundmaker led the looting at Battleford when in fact the chief opposed the looting and, like Big Bear, did his best to keep his more militant followers out of the rebellion.

Although Dewdney did use his position in government to further his financial interests (his choice of Regina as the capital of the North West Territories was based on his ownership of property there), Titley makes a strong case for Dewdney's leadership abilities. Dewdney avoided extreme solutions to problems. He sympathized with Alexander Mackenzie when depression conditions prevented Mackenzie from building the Canadian Pacific Railway on time, and worked for a reasonable solution; he was flexible in assigning reserves to Native people in the prairies; he worked to improve decisions affecting western Canada made in far-off Ottawa; and he worked for a compromise solution in the contentious matter of religious schools in the North West Territories.

Titley's book unfortunately does not tell us much about the personal life of Dewdney or his wife Jane. The author states that this is due to the lack of documentary evidence. Hence the book focuses on Dewdney as a public figure and does a fine job of documenting him as "a representative of that class of adventurer who saw in the western frontier an unprecedented opportunity for self-aggrandisement." Oddly, Titley also states that he does not consider Dewdney a great man or a nation builder. Dewdney does not explain what it takes to be considered a great man and one must assume that his standard is so high that only a few Canadians have achieved it. His book provides plenty of evidence in Dewdney's favour. To hike from Hope to the Kootenay gold fields without a map in high that only a few Canadians have achieved it. His book provides plenty of evidence in Dewdney's favour. To hike from Hope to the Kootenay gold fields without a map in

Kathryn Bridge, Manager Access Services of BC Archives, can be reached by telephone (250) 387-2962 or e-mail: kathryn.bridge@gems1.gov.bc.ca
Reports

Harley Robert Hatfield 1905–2000

A tribute spoken by Harvie Walker on 1 April 2000 in Penticton.

I AM GREATLY HONOURED that I have been asked to speak about a person who has touched our lives, in so many positive and personal ways. Harley Hatfield has been a model citizen—the mentor of many of us here today, both young and old, who have known him through family ties, through his family business, the Boy Scout Movement, civic politics, his profession of civil engineering, and the numerous volunteer organizations, in which he served so faithfully.

I would like to prefacing this remarks with an apology to Harley. I know that because of his modest nature and quiet demeanour, he would not be particularly comfortable on an occasion such as this one in praise of his character and achievements. We are here to celebrate Harley’s life, and to acknowledge the many ways he has touched and influenced the lives of so many of us, through his great skill in the art of quiet leadership and his ability to move others to action.

It has been said that, “Every exit is an entry to somewhere else” and that “Nothing is final among friends.” So these comments are, in a certain sense, a little stock-taking along the pathway of a continuing journey for this most unique individual, who has enriched the lives of all of us. In that vein, I would like to take a little time to visit the life of this remarkable person.

Harley Robert Hatfield was born in Saint John, New Brunswick, on 28 February 1905, the son of A. Seaman Hatfield and Roberta Christie. The Hatfields moved to BC in the summer of 1907, and they lived in a tent on the edge of Shuswap Lake, while Seaman Hatfield worked as a timber cruiser. That fall, they moved to Summerland to their new home, which still exists there today. In 1909, they moved on to Kaleden, living first in a tent, then in a converted chicken coop, and finally, in a new house on the Skaha Lake beachfront.

Growing up in the pioneering days of the South Okanagan along with his brother Phillip, Harley graduated from Penticton High School in 1923. The following year, he bought a horse and rode it over the Hope trail to Chilliwack. In his later years, he would relate with pride, that he paid $35 for the horse and sold it for $50—in his words, “at a handsome profit of $15.” In Chilliwack, carrying his saddle, bridle, and pack, he boarded the old inter-urban tram for Vancouver. There he enrolled in the fledgling University of British Columbia where he completed a Bachelor of Arts degree in history.

His career in construction began with Dominion Construction during the rebuilding of the Fraser Canyon section of the old Cariboo Road. In 1930, Harley and his father founded the Interior Contracting Company. Working with his brother Phillip, the family business became well known for the quality of its work and the unfailing honesty and integrity of its operation. Many of the roads, bridges, and dams in the BC Interior have the Hatfield “stamp” on them. On one occasion, while travelling with Harley past the Nickel Plate Road, a Hatfield road that snakes its way up the hillside near Hedley, I asked him, in jest, if it were true that every Hatfield road had to have at least one switch-back in it. After thinking about it for a while, and taking a long Hatfield draw on his pipe, he replied, “Well you must admit they are a good way to get up a hill, and sometimes a helluva fast way to get down one.”

In 1932, Harley married Edith White Tisdall. “Toddy,” as she was affectionately known, was the daughter of Charles Tisdall, Vancouver’s mayor in the 1920s. Toddy, an RN, served as a public health nurse in Kelowna prior to her marriage to Harley. In the early years of their marriage, they lived in the cottage that still exists on the island at Vaseaux Lake. Children followed, as they usually do, so she was able to use her health-nurse talents raising and repairing an active and adventurous family of four. Son John was born in 1934, Peter in 1936, and the post-

Above: Harley Hatfield in sight of Mt. Haçfield. John P. Hatfield took this picture in August of 1986, when his father was 81 years old. Harley never made it to the top, but he got pretty close.
war babies, Chris and Alyson, a decade later. There is an old saying, I suppose no longer politically correct, that says, "A good wife is the best home remedy." The Hatfield children have all achieved success in their chosen fields; proof positive of the care and support they received from their parents, in their childhood years. Todd Hatfield predeceased Harley in 1984.

Harley began his engineering career during World War II, serving first in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and then in the Royal Canadian Engineers, where he achieved the rank of captain. After returning to civilian life and further study, he became a member of the Association of Professional Engineers of BC in 1948. Following the sale of the family business, Harley set up practice as a consulting engineer. In 1987, in recognition of his devotion to his community and its youth, and to his profession of civil engineering, Harley was honoured by his colleagues, "as a most worthy recipient of this Association's 1987 Community Service Award."

As the award suggests, Harley was an active and tireless community worker. One of his long-time associations was with the Boy Scout Movement. Beginning in 1913 as a Wolf Cub, his Scouting career spanned every level of Scouting leadership, from cub master to president of the Interior Region. In 1967, he was awarded Scouting’s Medal of Merit, and in 1994, the Silver Acorn, Scouting’s highest service award. The citation for the award reads, "Harley Hatfield through his long association with Scouting in the Okanagan Valley has exemplified the finest Scouting traditions as an active outdoorsman who has combined those skills with sustained community service. Beyond this legacy to Scouting and to his community, is a man who has greatly influenced the lives of many boys and men—a man of great warmth and unfailing humour."

My personal association with Harley and his family began in my impressionable teenage years, and as a consequence, I owe many of my values and attitudes to the things he modelled through example, quiet urging, and his parable stories about life. He was one of those catalytic people who could relate to young people and demonstrate the important basic values needed for a caring society that recognizes and celebrates the uniqueness of individuals. Harley's steadfast adherence to the ideals of the Scouting movement, and his unfailing belief in the goodness of humankind, made him "the right person at the right time" in our teen-age struggle "to find out who we were and what we wanted to be." He was our model for what we would like to be. He was a leader by doing, and a doer by leading.

Harley possessed a passionate and keen sense of history, as well as an intense love and respect for nature. He combined those interests in his historical research, and in his long-time association with the Okanagan Historical Society, as a writer and director, and latterly, as an honorary life member of that society. He was also a founding member of the Okanagan Similkameen Parks Society. It is natural, therefore, that his pioneer background, his research skills, and most of all, his dogged determination, drove him in his efforts in re-locating and protecting sections of the Okanagan Fur Brigade Trail, and the 1849 Hudson’s Bay Fur Brigade Trail, between Princeton and Hope. There are people here today, myself included, who will remember those days in the rain, fog, mosquitoes, and devil's club at Fool's Pass, so aptly named, might I add, when Harley would, with the determination of one possessed, drag us out of our sleeping bags and lead us in search of old axe blazes and other signs of a trail, long since reclaimed by nature. Most of the credit for saving those important historical and recreational trails belongs to Harley. It is appropriate, therefore, that a mountain near the trail has been named Mount Hatfield.

In addition to the public service I have already mentioned, he made other substantial contributions to his community. He served two terms as a Penticton city alderman, was on the executive of the Similkameen Regional District, from 1965 to 1969. He served a term on the Penticton School Board, and was the Civil Defence Officer, in the 1970s. He was a continuing member of the Okanagan Similkameen Parks Society and was a founding member of the Apex Alpine Ski Area— one of its tireless early volunteer workers.

Harley was also an active member of the South Okanagan Naturalists’ Club, a director of the Engineering Institute of Canada from 1961 to 1971, a member of the Museum Advisory Committee and the Penticton Centennial Committee, in the 1970s. He was active in the Canadian Legion and the Canadian Club, and served 20 years on the Penticton Board of Trade. He was an active member of Engineers for Disarmament, a member of the World Federals of Canada, and the Borstal Society of Canada. Such a record of public service by one individual is a remarkable reflection of his unlimited energy, and his deep concern for others.

As you know, one of Harley's most endearing characteristics was his talent as a storyteller. He had a story for every occasion, and often spoke in parables. To travel with him was to experience a colourful historical travelogue, and a variety of anecdotes prompted by the moment. He was self-deprecating, often making himself the victim of his own humour, as the following incidents he related to me will show.

In his youth he worked for his uncle, Jim Christie, one of the pioneer ranchers of Okanagan Falls. Each morning his uncle would rap on Harley's cabin door to wake him to go fetch the cows for milking. One morning the rap came as usual, and he answered, "Aight, Uncle Jim." The rap was repeated a second time, and Harley responded even louder. And a third time, when he realized that a woodpecker had taken over the waking chore, and, as Harley put it, "done me out of a half hour's sleep."

Another story he related involved Bobby Christie, Jim's son, who Harley described as "a serious little boy, anxious to know all about the world". One day, tiring of Bobby's incessant questions, he said to him, "Haven't you heard that curiosity killed the cat?" to which Bobby replied, "Was it his cat?" As I have said, Harley never minded a joke on himself. He told me about the time he and Tommy Shuttleworth were riding the range in the late fall gathering the cattle. On one particularly cold night, they were camped out in the hills above Okanagan Falls. In the middle of the night, Tommy poked him in the ribs and said, "I think your horse is loose and you had better get up, if you don't want a long walk back to the Falls". So Harley dressed, and in the dark and cold, managed to retrieve the horse in question, only to find it was Tommy's horse, and not his own.

I recall one day when I was the victim of Harley's humour. We had spent a particularly hot July morning wandering through the sagebrush and cactus near White Lake, looking for signs of the old Okanagan Fur Brigade Trail. By mid-day, I had developed a burning thirst. And as luck would have it, we arrived at a small pipe sticking out of the hillside with a nice stream of water flowing out of it. Producing a cup from his knapsack and filling it, he politely offered me the first cup, which turned out to be the foulest alkali water I have ever tasted.

This of course,
Sonia Cornwall

By Eileen Truscott

This summer, from July to September, the Kelowna Art Gallery presented an art exhibition of some historical interest. The work shown was by Sonia Cornwall, an artist well known in the Williams Lake area. Showing her work at this time is appropriate, considering the increasing interest in both Canadian history as well as regional Canadian art history, especially in regard to history moulded by women. Much of Sonia Cornwall's early life intersected with the very romantic era of the opening of the west, and the transition from European cultural traditions to the beginnings of a particularly Canadian art history.

Sonia was born in 1919 in Kamloops where her father, C.G. (Deadwood) Cowan was a property agent. Leaving Ireland when he was 15, Deadwood Cowan arrived in Kamloops to visit his brother's farm in South Carolina. In the late nineteenth century he went to Mexico, arriving during a pre-revolutionary Mexican gunfight. Family legend recounts how he saw, looking at a magazine while sheltering under a bed from stray bullets, an advertisement for the North West Mounted Police, in Edmonton. He rode up to Edmonton to join their division and stayed with them for six years. During that time he learned how to speak the Cree language, how to guide, and how to track and hunt. While following a murderer into British Columbia he first saw what later became his Onward Ranch, and vowed to come back. Later, when he became a property agent in Kamloops he started to put together the land that formed the Onward Ranch, which included the 150 Mile Ranch, and the Jones Lake Ranch. At one time Onward Ranch included over 11,000 acres and substantial grazing rights on Crown Land. Sonia still calls this a small ranch when compared to other ranches in the area.

"Deadwood" also guided English visitors on 6-month trips to Canada while persuading them to invest in land. He wrote about these expeditions for the British magazine Country Life and travelled back and forth, crossing the Atlantic from Canada to Europe numerous times. He had a Canadian Pacific Railway pass for rail and steamship travel because he wrote for their agricultural column. Before his marriage he spent the winter in London enjoying theatre and his club. He used to visit for a few days at Tatton Place as a guest of Lord Egerton who had frequently employed him as a guide and agent and he would also visit Lord Exeter at Burleigh House. He had met Lord Exeter serving as the agent for Lord Exeter's ranch at 100 Mile House. "Deadwood" also served as a guide for the collection for the Rothschild Museum in New York, and the Kensington Museum in London where you can see the record moose, with antlers over seven feet, that he shot in Kodiak, Alaska.

We can imagine that "Deadwood" Cowan would be quite a catch. He was good looking, and had an office, a house, a buggy with a handsome pair of bay horses with brass-trimmed harness, a chauffeur, and a housekeeper. Every year a crate of books would arrive from the Times Book Club in London, England. When Sonia's mother Vivien Tully arrived from Portland, Oregon it was love at first sight.

Sonia was born in 1919. She grew up at a time when there were smudge pots in the garden, mosquito nets at home over the bed, and children were to be seen and not heard. She had her dog, Mr. Timothy, and her horse, Camp. When she was nine she went to school, she began to study to be a set designer with Don May of the Cornish Theatre in Seattle during the summer months and would see her family during the winter in Victoria. Any isolation the family felt on the ranch would be counter balanced by the winters spent in Victoria, where the family went each year, accompanied by trunks of linen, silver, and books. In 1939, when her father died, all this ended. At that time her family, like many others, had no money. Sonia began to take a serious interest in the working of the ranch, labouring beside the men, which was quite an undertaking for a woman at that time. She would rise at 5 A.M., eat breakfast, feed and harness the team, and head to the hay fields for a ten-hour day. Sonia loved it. The family would still have their books to read because during the 1930s and the 1940s the public library in Victoria would lend up to six books, sending them by mail even paying the postage each way. At night Sonia remembered rigging up a car battery to a radio and listen to jazz from New Orleans.
During this time Sonia's mother Vivian began to take art classes at the Banff School of Fine Arts and met A.Y. Jackson. In 1943, Sonia was working on the ranch when she received a telegram from her mother telling her A.Y. Jackson would arrive by bus and instructioning her to "take care of him." A.Y. Jackson returned several years, each time staying for approximately three weeks. At the end of each visit he would set up the paintings that he had produced during this time and offer Sonia and her family a choice from among them. He would then pack up his works with wooden matchsticks between the panels and tie them with string and set off to return east. A.Y. Jackson continued his association with the family and Sonia would later send him half a dozen of her paintings at a time for his criticism.

In 1946, when Sonia was 27 years old she and her sister went to the Provincial Institute of Technology in Calgary to study art. They had been attracted to this school because Jock MacDonald taught design there. Most of her classmates were ex-servicemen of similar ages, but in spite of this, Sonia and her sister felt they were all treated like children. Sonia remembers how they studied still life. No nude studies were allowed. She would take a tram as far out as she could go on the Bow River and paint, or hitchhike out of Calgary to Okotoks and draw people in the pub.

This only lasted three months. She returned to the ranch. In 1948 she married Hugh Cornwall, a native of Ashcroft who had served as a pilot with the RAF and a flying instructor with the RCAF before coming to the Cariboo to work for the Cariboo Cattlemen's Association. Like many people living in supposed isolation, she didn't feel lonely or deprived. She continued to work as a rancher while she raised a family.

She continued to paint. Sonia is largely self-taught and with the help of the CBC radio programmes and extensive reading she continued to learn. She attended outreach workshops in the Cariboo and received critiques from well-known artists such as Molly Bobak, Herbert Ziebner, Joe Plaskett, Jack Hardman, Takao Tanabe, Cliff Robinson and Zelko Kujundzic, besides A.Y. Jackson. Sonia also credits friends who were involved with playwriting, set designing, and writing books and poetry, encouraging her to paint. Sonia says she always had interesting friends.

But her real inspiration is the ranch where she and her husband Hugh still live. She is familiar with all its terrain, with the seasonal pattern of calf birthing, branding and roundup. Sonia wasn't able to paint when her children were very young and she and her husband were busy running the ranch. But she was able to store images and experiences to be released later when she could work again in her own lyrical extension of the Canadian Impressionist tradition.

The works in her exhibition were produced over a forty-year period and are a testimony to her love of life and her energy and talent to capture this love in her work.

Sonia Cornwall: House at the Outward Ranch, 1960. Oil/paper 18" x 23½".
From the Branches

Alberni District Historical Society

Simo Nurme, who died of cancer at the age of 54 on 3 August, had worked tirelessly developing a course in BC history incorporating a portion of the local history for each college region using this format. He was one of those rare people who delight in the knowledge they acquired and share it willingly and with enthusiasm. His pupils could not help but join in the quest for more knowledge.

By accepting the volunteer position of Community at Large Member of the Museum Advisory Committee in 1989 he became involved with the heritage family. He served for six years. "We strove to create partnerships amongst community institutions and to integrate education into the museum's purpose and history and use of the museum in college level education." Simo continued as a volunteer with the Alberni Valley Museum, the McLean Mill National Historic Site Project, and the Alberni District Historical Society.

Since January Simo was busy building a canoes, serving on the planning committee for the British Columbia Historical Federation Conference, and presenting a double course on Canadian Political History to Eldercollege. On 3 and 4 May he hosted a two-day meeting of 19 college history teachers from all over the province, and, beginning on the evening of the 4th, as the President of the Alberni District Historical Society, he began his duties as official host for the four-day BCHF conference on 17 May.

Just two weeks later, Simo fell ill and was admitted to hospital. On 4 July, he was gone, leaving a legacy of enthusiasm to learn and share knowledge that will last many lifetimes.

Wennonock before 15 August, 15 November, 15 February and 15 May. 

Bowen Island Photo Album

Audrey Ades Ward of Penticton recently presented a photo album of the 1928–1929 school year to the Bowen Island Historians. Audrey's sister, Jay (Jessie) taught on Bowen Island and carefully recorded the dates, places, names, and circumstances for each picture. The Bowen Island Historians were delighted to receive pictures of so many of Bowen's pioneer citizens. That should remind us of the importance of recording names, dates, and places on each picture one takes as soon as the film returns from the print shop and it will be easy. Someone, some day, will be very happy that we took the trouble.

CHEMINUS VALEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Once again the Chemainus Valley Historical Society celebrated Canada Day with an old-fashioned tea served under the towering firs and white "Canada flag" birthday cake and iced tea to an appreciative crowd. 

And just to show our island individuality, the society purchased a Colony of Vancouver Island flag to fly over the museum with the Maple Leaf and the British Columbia flag. The Colony of Vancouver Island flag was authorized by Queen Victoria in 1866 but, as we amalgamated with the mainland in 1866, it was never officially flown. This handsome flag displays the Blue Ensign with the badge of the Colony of Vancouver Island; the Wand of Neptune, Mercury's Wand of Commerce, a pine cone, representing our forests and the beaver for the Hudson's Bay Company emblazoned on the fly. Unfortunately, someone liked the flag so much, it disappeared five days later along with the other flags.

OTHER NEWS

Galiano Museum Society

On 22 July the little Galiano Museum opened its doors. Members of the executive have spent much time getting things ready for public viewing. Donated furniture has been arranged to create areas for theme displays and explanatory information sheets are created. Donations of things suitable for display continue to arrive. Entry to the mu-
The book is dedicated to Mrs. Bennett, who passed away in April of this year at the age of 88. She went with the knowledge that her book would be published. Mrs. McCrae worked with her on both books and certainly misses her and her help.

This second volume of Pioneer Legacy will cover some of the riverboat landings, the telegraph line, mail service, and the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The reviewer of the first volume mentioned that there are no articles devoted to Meanskinish. Well, in this volume there are several stories of the Tomlinsons of the Holy City, once known as Meanskinish, now Cedarvale.

— Helene McRae

The Oliver and District Heritage Society—reviewed in BC Historical News, Winter 1998–1999 by George Newell of Victoria—was awarded second prize in the 1997 BCHF writing competition. Pioneer Legacy is a compilation of stories up to about 1920 collected by Norma V. Bennett, who donated her material to the Dr. R.E.M. Lee Hospital Foundation in Terrace for publication. Any funds realized were to go toward hospital equipment. So far approximately $20,000 of the revenues of the first volume has gone towards the new endoscopy unit for Mills Memorial Hospital in Terrace.

Helene McRae has just gone through the final editing of the second volume of Pioneer Legacy with Harbour Publishing’s editor. The book should be available before Christmas.
This first Heritage Fair attracted 125 students between Grades 4 and 9. The individual students or team chose topics for projects and 90 projects were displayed. For a small number of outstandingly well-done projects a Certificate of Excellence was issued. From those with “Excellent” rating are chosen entrants to district, provincial, or national fairs.

— Naomi Miller

ELKO COMING WEEKEND

During the last weekend in June the East Kootenay community of Elko of less than two hundred citizens hosted a special reunion for former residents. Honorary Mayor Viola Wilkinson came to Elko as a toddler and has lived there for the rest of her more than eighty years. She welcomed visitors and presided over the anniversary cake cutting. There was a fascinating parade of old vehicles and machinery. Local children rode in a hay wagon. There were musical entertainment, food booths, children’s games, raffles, a steak supper and dance. Neighbours from nearby Wardner put on a fashion show. Returnees came from all across Canada, parts of the United States, and from as far away as England and New Zealand. One family came from New Mexico to attend the reunion and stayed for a friend’s wedding the following weekend. About nine hundred people participated on the Saturday and seven hundred turned up for the pancake breakfast on Sunday.

One of the reasons to celebrate was a history book titled A Century in the Life of Elko, compiled and composed by a committee of five: Gladys Wilkinson, Marjorie Fitzpatrick, Phyllis Johnson, Corlyn Usarstad, and Caroline Mercer. Ron Blair, of Friesen Printers, gave the group guidance and encouragement. A large number of the books were presold and attendees purchased almost all the extra copies at the reunion.

— Naomi Miller

UNION OF BC INDIAN CHIEFS

In April the Union of BC Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) announced the release on the Internet of its book Researching the Indian Land Question In BC: An Introduction to Research Strategies & Archival Research for Band Researchers.

This timely publication is the first ever how-to manual focused exclusively on the full spectrum of BC repositories and records relating to First Nations. The entire publication or chapters of the manual needed can be downloaded from the Web site http://www.ubcic.bc.ca/manual.htm. Comments and suggestions on any aspect of this manual are welcome. Please call UBCIC Research at (604) 684-0231, fax (604) 684-5726 or e-mail research@ubcic.bc.ca

Morag Macdcllan’s review of this book can be found on pages 31 and 32 of this issue of BC Historical News.

JOHN WOODWORTH HONOURED

On 12 June 2000 John Woodworth, a retired architect and founding member of the Alexander Mackenzie Trail Association (AMTRA), was honoured in his hometown of Kelowna with an Honorary Doctor of Laws Degree from Okanagan University College.

The tiny group of volunteers that formed AMTRA twenty years ago has grown into a national organization: the Alexander Mackenzie Voyaguer Route Association (AMVRA) of which John Woodworth is executive secretary. John Woodworth wrote an article, “Show Us Where Mackenzie Walked,” in BC Historical News, 26:2, Spring 1993.

— Naomi Miller

MANUSCRIPTS SUBMITTED FOR PUBLICATION should be sent to the Editor, BC Historical News, PO Box 130, Whonnock BC V2W 1V9. Submission by e-mail of text and illustrations is welcome. Otherwise please send a hard copy and if possible a disk copy of the manuscript by ordinary mail. Illustrations should be accompanied by captions and source information. Submissions should not be more than 3,500 words. Authors publishing for the first time in the British Columbia Historical News will receive a one-year complimentary subscription to the journal.

British Columbia Historical Federation

2000 - 2001 Scholarship

Applications should be submitted before 15 May 2001

The British Columbia Historical Federation annually awards a $500 scholarship to a student completing third or fourth year at a British Columbia college or university. To apply for the scholarship, candidates must submit:

1. A letter of application.
2. An essay of 1500-3000 words on a topic relating to the history of British Columbia. The essay must be suitable for publication in British Columbia Historical News.
3. A professor’s letter of recommendation.

Send submissions before 15 May 2001 to:

Scholarship Committee,
British Columbia Historical Federation
PO Box 5254, Station B.
Victoria BC V8R 1N4

The winning essay will, and other selected submissions may be published in British Columbia Historical News.

BC History Web Site Prize

The British Columbia Historical Federation and David Mattison are jointly sponsoring a yearly cash award of $250 to recognize Web sites, longer than one page, that contribute to the understanding and appreciation of British Columbia’s past.

Judgement will be based on historical content, layout, design, and ease of use. The award honours individual initiative in writing and presentation.

Nominations for the BC History Web Site Prize for 2000 must be made to the British Columbia Historical Federation, Web Site Prize Committee, prior to 31 December 2000. Web site creators and authors may nominate their own sites.

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

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

In the 1940s, the Vancouver artist F. P. Thursby painted a rendition of the ship Thames City in full sail. The Province reproduced that painting (14 April 1945) to illustrate an article by George Green. Mike Layland of Victoria seeks help locating the painting and wants to hear from anyone who happens to know what happened to the ship after the Columbia Detachment disembarked in Esquimalt in 1859. boytext@islandnet.com

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BC HISTORICAL NEWS - Vol. 33 No. 4
**British Columbia Historical Federation**  
**ORGANIZED 31 October 1922**

## MEMBER SOCIETIES

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<td>Box 687, Princeton BC V0X 1W0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qualicum Beach Historical Society</td>
<td>587 Beach Road, Qualicum Beach BC V9K 1K7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond Museum Society</td>
<td>Minoru Park Plaza, 7700 Minoru Gate, Richmond BC V6Y 7M7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt Spring Island Historical Society</td>
<td>129 McPhillips Avenue, Salt Spring Island BC V8K 2T6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidney &amp; North Saanich Historical Soc.</td>
<td>9281 Ardmire Drive, North Saanich BC V8L 5G4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silvery Slocan Historical Society</td>
<td>Box 301, New Denver BC V0G 1S0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrey Historical Society</td>
<td>Box 34003 17790 Hwy., Surrey BC V3S 8C4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrace Regional Historical Society</td>
<td>PO Box 246, Terrace BC V8G 4A6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texada Island Heritage Society</td>
<td>Box 122, Van Anda BC V0N 3K0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trail Historical Society</td>
<td>PO Box 405, Trail BC V1R 4L7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver Historical Society</td>
<td>PO Box 3071, Vancouver BC V6B 3X6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria Historical Society</td>
<td>PO Box 43035, Victoria North, Victoria BC V8X 3G2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellowhead Museum</td>
<td>Box 1778, RR # 1, Clearwater BC V0E 1N0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of BC Indian Chiefs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## AFFILIATED GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The British Columbia Historical Federation is an umbrella organization embracing regional societies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local historical societies are entitled to become Member Societies of the BC Historical Federation. All members of these local historical societies shall by that very fact be members of the Federation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affiliated Groups are organizations with specialized interests or objects of a historical nature.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership fees for both classes of membership are one dollar per member of a Member Society or Affiliated Group with a minimum membership fee of $25 and a maximum of $75.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Questions about membership should be directed to:**  
Terry Simpson,  
Membership Secretary,  
BC Historical Federation,  
193 Bird Sanctuary,  
Nanaimo BC V9R 6G8

Please write to the Editor, *BC Historical News* for any changes to be made to this list.
BC HISTORICAL NEWS
welcomes manuscripts dealing
with the history of British Co-
lumbia and British Columbians.
Please send stories or essays on
any aspect of the rich past of our
province to:
The Editor, BC Historical News
Fred Braches, PO Box 130
Whonnock BC V2W 1V9
Phone: (604) 462-8942
E-mail: braches@netccm.ca

Send books for review and book
reviews directly to the Book
Review Editor, Anne Yandle
3450 West 20th Avenue
Vancouver BC V6S 1E4
Phone: (604) 733-6484
E-mail: yandle@interchange.ubc.ca

NEWS ITEMS for publication in
BC Historical News should be
addressed to the editor in
Whonnock.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL FEDERATION
invites submissions of books for the eighteenth
annual competition for writers of BC history.
Any book presenting any facet of BC history, published in
2000, is eligible. This may be a community history, biography,
record of a project or an organization, or personal rec-
collections giving a glimpse of the past. Names, dates and places, with relevant
maps or pictures, turn a story into “history.” Note that reprints or revisions
of books are not eligible.

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

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

Winners will receive a Certificate of Merit, a monetary award and an invita-
tion to the BCHF annual conference to be held in Richmond in May 2001.

SUBMISSION REQUIREMENTS: All books must have been published in 2000 and
should be submitted as soon as possible after publication. Two copies of each book
should be submitted. Books entered become property of the BC Historical Feder-
ation. Please state name, address and telephone number of sender, the selling price of
each edition of the book, and, if the reader has to shop by mail, the address from which
it may be purchased, including applicable shipping and handling costs.

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

DEADLINE: 31 December 2000