British Columbia Historical News

"Any country worthy of a future should be interested in its past." W. Kaye Lamb, 1937

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British Columbia Historical Federation

2003

The British Columbia Historical Federation invites submissions of books for the twenty-first annual competition for writers of BC history.

Any book presenting any facet of BC history, published in 2003, is eligible. This may be a community history, biography, record of a project or an organization, or personal recollections giving a glimpse of the past. Names, dates and places, with relevant maps or pictures, turn a story into "history." 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 history 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 invitation to the BCHF annual conference to be held in Nanaimo in May 2004.

SUBMISSION REQUIREMENTS: All books must have been published in 2003 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 Federation. Please state name, address and telephone number of sender, the selling price of all editions 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
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British Columbia Historical News

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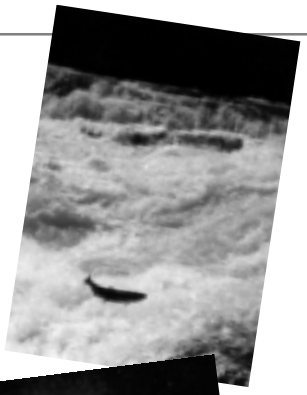
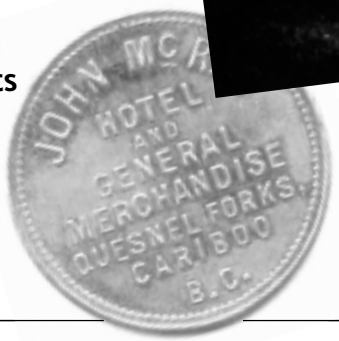




From the Editor

Welcome to the Fall 2003 issue of the *BC Historical News*.

A few months ago I received an e-mail suggesting that I might be interested in editing this journal - not something I had ever considered - but was intriqued enough to reply to my mystery correspondent and meet for coffee. After several hours of pleasant conversation I found myself agreeing to, at least, consider the idea.

BC Historical News is one of those publications which has always found its way into my library over the years. It joins an eclectic reading list which includes archaelogical journals, bus preservation and shipping history magazines to books on London, the Middle East, volumes of local history and, my passion, nineteenth century travel.

It is interesting to see how close we come to the past everyday. In this issue, W.J. Bowser, E.B. Hermon, F.S. Barnard, and Johannes Buntzen all get a mention. My modest house in Vancouver was built by William Seaman MacDonald. He was a Vancouver alderman, ran provincially with Carter-Cotton and Garden - but he lost, worked for the BC Electric Railway as their power house foreman and appears in a photograph with E.B. Hermon. In the attic were twenty plus ledgers from the firm of Bowser, Reid and Walbridge. Bowser, of course became Premier of the province in 1916. The pages are covered in White Pigeon lottery tickets, which suggests the house was home to a numbers man in the 1930s, the same time it was owned by John Weart a lawyer who was responsible for finding the funds to complete Vancouver's lovely Christ Church Cathedral in the 1890s.

As I step into the reasonably large shoes left by the previous editor, my goal is to produce a journal which will continue to find space on your library shelf and on the coffee table. I have no plans to revamp and change things for the sake of change. The most noticable adjustment in this issue is the slightly wider margins and the consisent top margin and rule.

I couldn't produce the *BC Historical News* without a lot of help. Fred Braches has made the transition very easy, Diana Breti has agreed to copy edit, and Tony Farr continues to proofread and Christopher Garrish puts it up on the web.

I look forward to the next few years with great interest. Keep the articles coming because the best part of my job is reading everything.

John Atkin

Correction:
In the Spring 2003 issue which listed winners of the Lieutenant Governor's Medal, BC Historical News mispelled the name of the 1987 winner, Lynne Bowen. Our sincere apologies to Lynne.

BCHF Awards | Prizes | Scholarships

W. KAYE LAMB Essay Scholarships
Deadline 15 May 2004

The British Columbia Historical Federation awards two scholarships annually for essays written by students at BC colleges or universities on a topic relating to British Columbia history. One scholarship ($500) is for an essay written by a student in a first-or second-year course: the other ($750) is for an essay written by a student in a third-or fourth-year course.

To apply tor the scholarship, candidates must submit (1) a letter of application: (2) an essay of 1,500-3, 000 words on a topic relating to the history of British Columbia: (3) a letter of recommendation from the professor for whom the essay was written.

Applications should be submitted before 15 May 2004 to: Robert Griffin, Chair BC: Historical Federation Scholarship Committee, PO Box 5254, Station B, Victoria, BC V8R 6N4.

The winning essay submitted by a third or fourth year student will be published in BC Historical News. Other submissions may be published at the editor's discretion.

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 that contribute to the understanding and appreciation of British Columbia's past. The award honours individual initiative in writing and presentation.

Nominations for the BC History Web Site Prize for 2003 must be made to the British Columbia Historical Federation, Web Site Prize Committee, prior to ***31 December 2003****. Web site creators and authors may nominate their own sites. Prize rules and the on-line nomination form can be found on The British Columbia History Web site: http://www.victoria.tc.ca/resources/bchistory/announcements.html*

Best Article Award

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 ot 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 ot BC history.

The Lone Man:

Founding of Fort St. John

by Yvonne Klan

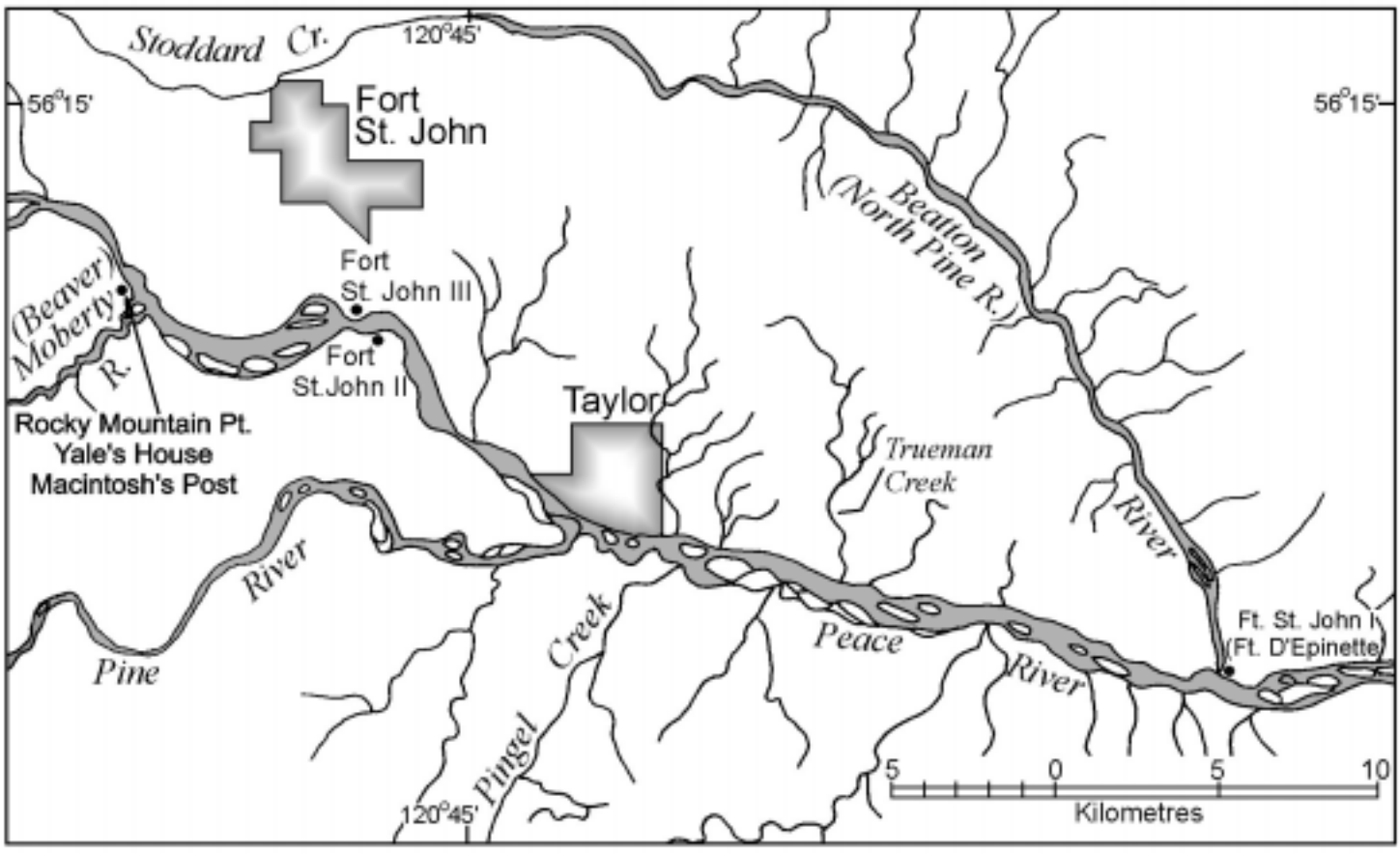
Yvonne Klan has published several articles on BC history and is currently working on a biography of James Murray Yale. She is thrilled by narratives of high adventure unreeling from HBCo microfilms.

Fort St. John's earliest days have remained hidden from scholars and fur-trade enthusiasts alike. This is not surprising; the record of its founding year—untitled, with *Pine River 1807*, written in a corner of the first page—lies buried in a jumble of thousands of pages of documents amassed by Lord Selkirk.[1] The Pine River journal is a copy of the incomplete original. Its twenty-one pages commence in mid-sentence 12 January 1807 and end with the conclusion of the trading season, 2 May 1807.

Historians speculated that Frederick Goedike, North West Company (NWC) clerk at Dunvegan, built the first Fort St. John in 1806. However a more likely candidate would be A. Roderick McLeod[2], who kept the Dunvegan journal until mid-October 1806 and whose writing style and attitude towards Natives was remarkably similar to that found in the Pine River journal. The writer had a good command of English whereas Goedike's mother tongue was French, and though he had "received most of his education in the English language [h]e is not master of this."[3]

The Peace River was the highway to the fur-rich country beyond the Rocky Mountains.[4] In 1792 the NWC built Fort Forks near the junction of the Peace and Smoky Rivers as a staging area for Alexander Mackenzie's 1793 journey to the Pacific Ocean. As Mackenzie paddled along the upper Peace he beheld a land "so crowded with animals as to have the appearance, in some places, of a stall-yard."[5] This bountiful country became the site of B.C.'s first inland fur trading post—Rocky Mountain Fort, built in 17946-- and here was written the first record of B.C.'s land-based fur trade, the 1799-*1800 Peace River Journal* kept by an unknown clerk.[7]

The journal reveals that as early as 1799 the NWC was sending trading expeditions beyond the Rockies where no forts yet existed, and in this journal we meet for the first time The Lone Man, L'homme Seul. Near the end of the season traders customarily "clothed the Chief" by giving European garments to the leader they deemed most worthy of the honour. The high esteem in which the Natives held L'homme Seul is evident in the entry for 1 April 1800:



Fur Trade Posts along the Upper Peace river.
Map by Cathy Chapin, Lakehead University, Thunder Bay

Spoke to the Cigne [Swan] and his parents to cloth the Cigne but when I offered it to him he refused and told me to give it to L'Homme Seul for that he was the most proper in the Band … I told them that since they refused the Cigne that they should not have any Chief till next winter.

Early journals record interminable wars along the Peace. Cree Natives, empowered by arms acquired from early European traders, pushed into Beaver country, where firearms were not yet attainable. As traders moved westward the Beaver, too aquired arms and drove into Sekani lands around the Rocky Mountains. Unending friction along shifting territorial boundaries ignited massacres which had to be avenged. Meanwhile the NWC were fighting rival traders who were making inroads on their lucrative Peace River trade. The ruthless, costly struggles pushed the competitors towards financial ruin until they agreed, in 1804, to merge under the banner of the NWC. Their resources were now put towards expanding trade beyond the Rockies and following Mackenzie's Great River to the Pacific.[8] In 1805 Simon Fraser was ordered to undertake this task.

By 1805 Clerk James McDougall,[9] had already made excursions beyond the mountains. Now, to facilitate passage of the anticipated brigades, he improved the twelve mile portage which bypassed the Peace River Canyon and built Rocky Mountain Portage House,[10] near today's Hudson's Hope. Rocky Mountain Fort, in Beaver territory, was abandoned and all trade transferred to the new post situated in Sekani country. This was a blow to L'Homme Seul, a Beaver Native who would now have to enter enemy territory to trade, and he feared for his life. John Stuart, at the Portage House, recorded,

This evening a Beaver Indian arrived here and told us that he had been with the lonesome man and left him on his way down to the lower Fort.[11] That he had been afeard to go with him on account of his relations. That they would kill him if they would see him.[12]

L'Homme Seul led his people, twelve lodges in all, to Dunvegan where they traded with some success. Dunvegan's clerk wrote, "L'Homme Seul having worked well this spring got a hat, a feather, and a shirt."[13] A subsequent visit in June was less successful, illness having prevented them from working. In July they returned to Dunvegan, again with little to trade,

…. consequently they were very ill treated, especially L'Homme Seul who gave us only 4-1/2 skins in furs. He was not kicked out of the fort and that was all. In short they were all treated like so many dogs and the most severe expressions that vexation and displeasure could suggest were made use of to abash them for their bad behaviour. To all this they gave no answer, only that they were deserving of the treatment they met with … They left us this evening after promising to work well.[14]

On their last recorded visit to Dunvegan in September, 1806, the journal states,

We settled L'Homme Seul and band and they set off. They are to be on the borders of the river, (opposite to la Riviére d'Epinette [Pine River]) on the 20th October, at which place they asked to have a fort this fall.[15]

The NorWesters obliged and later that year began building Fort d'Epinette near the junction of Beatton[16] and Peace Rivers, in Beaver territory.

The following extracts from the *1806-07 Pine River Journal* describe occurrences at the fort and the activities of the fifteen men under the Clerk's supervision. It commences in mid-sentence in January, 1807.

(Continued) with the hunters, by them I sent the Little Head, Collas' Gun and _ Fathom Tobacco. Lariviere was chopping as usual. Prey 36 lbs.

***Jan. 13.** Cloudy, snowed a little this morning. Martineau plaster'd their house over with thin mortar in order to white wash it. Beauchemin sent for wood to make a sledge for Martineau. Prey 56 lbs.[17]*

***Jan. 14.** Beauchemin made a Garret in the Ice House – The Wood which he brought yesterday to make a sledge not being good, Martineau went for more, he and Beauchemin worked at it the greatest part of the day, and turned the sledge this evening. Lariviere washed his shirt.*

***Jan. 16.** Martineau white washed the chimney and one of the gable ends of my room, some parts of it are not white washed, the mortar not being yet dry, though it was plastered almost two months ago. This morning came here one of L'Homme Seuls sons with the Petit Garcon, this is the fourth day since they left their lodges, it appears that L'Homme Seul and those who are with him worked well enough. I sent L'Homme Seul a little ammunition on credit.*

***Jan. 23.** The Little Head killed a cow [moose] but as he could not dress it, it being almost night when he killed it, he left the whole and the next day it was spoiled. The Little Head and his brother are sick, the latter being hardly able to walk.*

***Jan. 25.** The Little Head and the others intend to go and work Beaver and will no longer hunt for the fort. This morning three young boys came from Old Piette's lodge [T]hey told me they killed two moose and asked for two men to go for one of them; I sent them immediately and they returned this afternoon with the meat of a doe moose, weight 371 lbs.*

***Jan. 26.** Shemathush and the Slave Yuseday did not bring a single skin. I told them everything I thought would make them ashamed of their behaviour and threatened them of abandoning the Fort in the Spring, as well as beating, and using them like dogs if they did not work better for the future. The only excuses they have is that they were sick and could find no Beaver where they went. Martineau having broke the sledge he brought yesterday went for and brought wood to make another. Ross has a very sore hand which I am afraid will keep him some time from being able to work at the fort or go for meat.*

***Feb. 20.** This afternoon Mr. [A. N.] McLeod[18] arrived from Dunvegan with [seven men and three women]*

Notes and References

[1] B.C. Archives, Selkirk Papers, Add. Mss. 1468, (Microfilms A00682-A00701) fos. 9371-9392.

[2] The adventurous career of Alexander Roderic McLeod (1782-1840) was outlined by Glyndwr Williams in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol VII*, University of Toronto Press. 1991. p. 569

[3] W. Kaye Lamb, ed. *Sixteen Years in the Indian Country. The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon.* The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd. 1957. p. 93

[4] For an excellent historical/archaeological account of early upper Peace River forts see Burley, David V., J. Scott Hamilton, and Knut R. Fladmark in *Prophecy of the Swan. The Upper Peace River Fur Trade of 1794-1823.* UBC Press. Vancouver. 1996.

[5] W. Kaye Lamb, ed. *The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie.* Macmillan of Canada. Toronto. 1970. p. 266.

[6] John Stuart, a Peace River veteran after whom Stuart Lake was named, is best remembered as Simon Fraser's lieutenant. He stated, "[We] encamped on the site of the old Beaver [today's Moberly] River Fort first established in 1794 and where ten years afterwards I wintered." ":*Journal of Occurrences from York Factory … Oct. 12, 1823.* Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.119/a/1.

[7] Marion O'Neil published *The Peace River Journal 1799-1800* in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Washington State Historical Society. 1928. pp. 250-270. The fort was situated near the mouth of the then Beaver River, known today as the Moberly. Traders usually referred to it as the Beaver Fort.

and an Indian whom he brought to hunt on the way and at the R.M. Portage. He is going to see Mr. McGillivray.[19] *Martineau and Ross returned from the hunters and brought 665 lbs. meat. D. Holmes and Beauchemin were plastering their chimney which was nearly fallen down, and made a hearth in my room. Prey 110 lbs. besides 125 lbs. given for the Dogs.*

Feb. 21. *Mr. McLeod sent off two of his men with the hunter. They are to go and hunt above the old Fort at Beaver River*[20] *until Mr. McLeod overtakes them. Mr. McLeod is going off tomorrow morning for the R. Mountain and I am to accompany him.*

Feb. 27. On the 23rd Inst. I left this for R.M. Portage with Mr. McLeod and all the men as well as the women who came up with him. We went on very slowly the weather being extremely cold and the road filled up with snow.[21] *We took three days to go to Grand River,*[22] *about a days journey below the Portage, at which place we found one of the hunters and the two men Mr. McLeod sent off last Saturday. They killed nothing and had been two days without eating. They told us they had seen two of Mr. McGillivray's men who informed them they were starving at their Fort which obliged me to come back with three men and two women, Mr. McLeod still proceeding with the men he had remaining … ordered me to send two men to meet him with provisions. On my arrival here I found David and Collas white washing my room and four of the men were gone for meat. The hunters killed thirteen red deer since my departure, and the men hauled 1519 lbs. meat.*

Feb. 28. *Very early this morning I sent off Ross and Beauparlant to go and meet Mr. McLeod and [gave] them besides their provisions to go and come, 200 lbs. fresh and 50 lbs. dried meat.*

Mar. 1. *Mr. McLeod and his people arrived here at 11 o'clock a.m. They left Beaver River Fort*[23] *about daybreak this morning and found Ross and Beauparlant at their encampment of last night, they having slept about halfways between this and the old Fort. In consequence of their laziness and negligence the provisions I sent up were of no succour to Mr. McLeod, he therefore gave them a very severe reprimand, they were near getting more, for he took hold of one of them by the hair and tossed the other from one side of the room to the other. Mr. McGillivray is still in great distress for living, several of his men came down with Mr. McLeod for provisions … he sent them back with the meat of two red deer … and the provisions I sent up per Beauparlant and Ross.*

Mar. 2. *The Little Head is to set off tomorrow with David to go and carry a message to L'Homme Seul and all the other Indians of this place. Mr. McLeod told him everything he had a mind they should know, reproaching them in the most pointed manner of their behaviour in having worked so little this winter, and at the same time threatening with the most exemplary punishment such of them as shall dare to deviate from the instructions he sends them of the manner in which they are to behave for the future.*

Mar. 3. *A little before daybreak Mr. McLeod left for Dunvegan. 2000 lbs. meat was put apart for the spring.*

Mar. 7. *The Pouce Coupe is preparing himself to go with the men to the plains and will be here tomorrow. His old Father in Law separated from him some days ago and is gone up in Pine River to live upon Rabbits, the women were scraping skins as usual and Lariviere was chopping.*

Mar. 10. *Lafleur, Cantaras and Martineau laid one of the canoes upon the canoe bed and with three others sewed part of it in the afternoon. Three men were part of the day employed clearing round the houses where the ditch is to be made, and afterwards helped Lafleur &c to sew the canoe. Three others cut 180 pickets 18 feet long.*

Mar. 11. *Three men went & cut 120 pickets, three others cleaning about the houses. Holmes begins to dig the ditch for the stockades. This evening each of the men went for four pickets and in all brought 24.*

Mar. 12. *This morning two young men arrived from L'Homme Seul's band. L'Homme Seul sent them for some powder to fire on his arrival here, but I did not think it proper to send him any.*[24] *As soon as they arrived I began to harangue them, and told them everything I thought could make them ashamed of the scandalous hunt they have made since they were here last. After abusing them as much as I possibly could with words I stepped to L'Homme Seul in order to pull his ears, but he rising suddenly took hold of one of my hands whilst his son and several others surrounding me held the other, without however attempting to do me any harm or injury. In the meantime L'Homme Seul slipped out and took his arms, on hearing which I ordered him instantly back into the room, where I again abused him and all the others as much as ever without their saying a word that might provoke me. At last I sent them for what furs and provisions they had, an account of which I took.*

Mar. 13. *This morning I settled all the Indians, that is to say gave them ammunition to go and work beaver. For all the skins and provisions they brought I gave them each two measures powder and three of shot except L'Homme Seul who got three measures powder and four of shot. They traded a few gun flints and awls for pack cords and Castorium to the amount of 22 skins. They find it very hard to be thus sent off without a ball or a pipe of tobacco and I am afraid that some of them will not be much inclined to come back here the 28th of this month which is the time appointed for them to come to the fort. They did not even smoak in the house, but were treated like so many dogs—none of them were beaten. I thought that depriving them of every other article but powder and shot was punishing them enough for the present and told them that if they did not work during the 15 days they are to hunt they shall be abused, beaten, and have their ears cut.*

Apr. 23. *Two of the men who went for meat yesterday returned, they found two of the animals the hunter killed almost eat up by bears and wolves so that they only brought about the half of each. The water of the rain and snow drops through the roofs of all the houses and there is not a dry spot to be found in any of them, so that it is very uncomfortable to remain in them.*

Apr. 24. *As I happened to go into the store I perceived that the beams of it were bent and almost broken. I immediately ordered two of the men to repair it by putting posts under the beams but before they had begun we heard a terrible noise over our heads and in an instant were buried under the pieces of the roof, ridge pole and the whole square of the building, we were very near being crushed to death by the timber and the prodigious quantity of earth there was on the store. I had the good luck to escape unhurt but it was not the case with Beauparlant & Pre. Lavigne who were with me; the former was about*

[8] "The distance to the Mouth of [the Great River] would be too great for me to go and come back in the course of the season, particularly as my canoe was so much damaged as to be unfit for use … and that we had lost all our Bullets on which depended our safety and subsistence … I have not the least doubt of the great River being navigable with canoes and boats to its mouth." Alexander Mackenzie's manuscript journal quoted in G.C. Davidson, *The North West Company*. Russell & Russell. New York. 1967. p. 277

[9] James McDougall, b. about 1783, became an Apprentice Clerk with the NWC in 1798. He had been trading in the upper Peace since 1799 and was probably at Rocky Mountain Fort in 1802. He was considered by John Stuart to be "the father of New Caledonia," and it was there he spent the remainder of his working days. Still a clerk and worn out by the rigors of the country and illness, he was superannuated in 1832. He died in Montreal in 1851.

[10] John Stuart, op.cit. "It was to have [the Beaver and the Rocky Mountain Indians] separate and as a prelude to the establishment of New Caledonia that I sent Mr. James McDougall to establish a post at the portage in 1804."

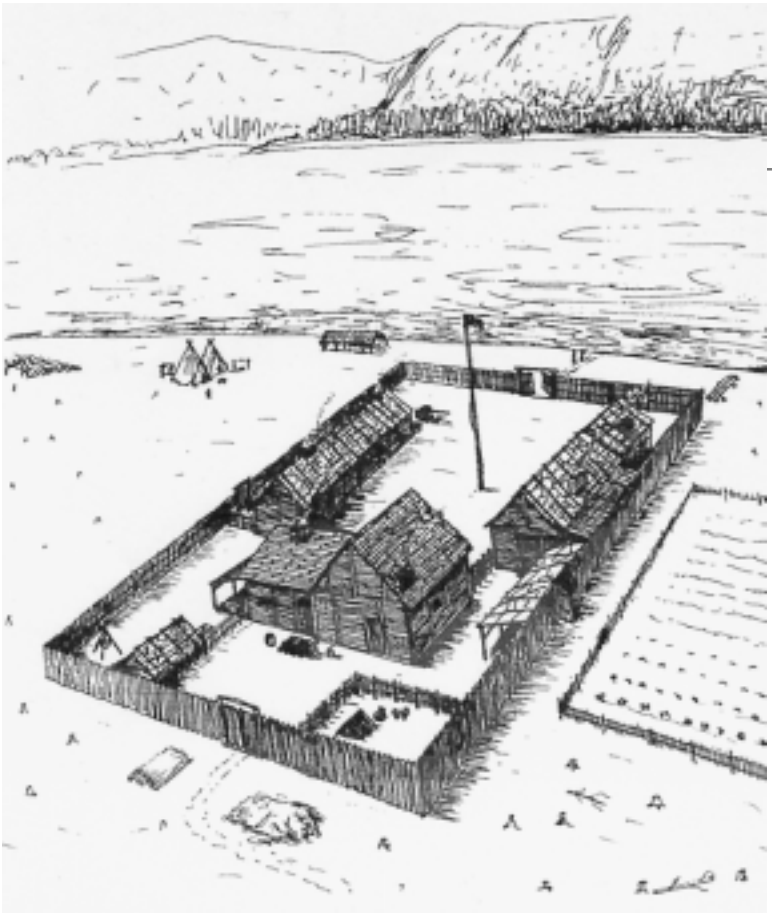
[11] Dunvegan, built in 1805.

[12] John Stuart, *Journal at the Rocky Mountain December the 20th 1805*. BCA A/B/40/St9, 1A/3.

[13] *Journal of the Daily Transactions at Dunvegan, April 28, 1806*. Selkirk Papers, fos. 8958-9002.

[14] *ibid*. July 17, 1806

[15] *ibid*. Sept. 18, 1806.



Interpretive Reconstruction based on archaeological evidence and journal descriptions inferred by Knut Fladmark.
From *Prophecy of the Swan, The Upper Peace River Fur Trade of 1794-1823*. UBC Press. Vancouver. 1996.

half an hour buried under a tremendous load of wood and earth and it was with great difficulty we got him out; however he is but slightly hurt. But Lavigne was severely hurt in the side and I am afraid he will not easily recover.

***Apr. 25**. Four men worked at the store; they squared 4 beams & 2 sablieres, besides several posts for the doors, windows; and they put up the square of the store. I. Hoole made a keg of gum which he brought some time ago. Lariviere bored holes through the fort pickets. Martineau this evening took the varangues[25] & lisses[26] out of the old canoe to put into the new one.*

***Apr. 28**. D. Holmes and Beauparlant plastered the roof of the store. Beauchemin and Jos. Lavigne finished setting the lices of the second side of the fort and fixed the pickets upon them. Ross and Collas cut the ends of such as were too long, so that the two sides of the fort are now ready to be put up. Old Lafleur and Martineau gummed one of the canoes inside & placed the lices and varangues in it.*

***Apr. 29**. [T]here are already some mosquitoes and they begin to be a little troublesome. Four men begin to put up the fort and fixed the pickets to three rails with pins; besides they put up all the posts and rails on that side of the fort and the pickets have only to be pinned to the rails and that side will be completely finished. Hoole cut 100 small pickets & afterwards worked at the fort with the others. D. Holmes plastered the store and put the goods and furs in order. Martineau and Lafleur finished banding the canoe which is now ready to be gummed. Beauparlant and Cantaras are still sick and cannot do anything. Lavigne does not appear to get better. This morning L'Homme Seul went off but not before he had his ears slapped; he promised to work well this summer and was in a great hurry to be off.*

***Apr. 30**. Early this morning all the Indians arrived. They have done but very little since they were here. The Brasse D'Ecorse and his brother were a long while out of doors without daring to come in until I sent for them and even then they but reluctantly entered the room. I gave them a severe reprimand for not coming to the fort when I desire it.*

***May 1**. The men were busy as usual putting up the fort and finished one side this evening so that the half of it is up; but I am afraid will remain so for the summer as we must soon leave this to go down. There is but very little ice in the river opposite the fort.*

***May 2**. This morning all the Indians went off and are going to work beaver until the latter end of June at which time they are to come back to the fort. I sent two men for one of the animals the Indians killed. [End of journal]*

We don't know who changed the name of the post from Pine River to Fort St. John, or why. However, in January 1808 a Peace River outpost received visitors "from Pine River, now called St. John".[27]

The next known journal, heretofore believed to be the first written record of Ft. St. John, covers 22 October 1822 to 18 May 1823. The post is now a Hudson's Bay Company establishment managed by Chief Trader Hugh Fairies, who does not record any abuse of natives or labourers.[28] The Lone Man is now referred to as the Old L'homme Seul. He is still the head of his band but it is his son, The Gross Gueule,[29] who brings the hunt to the fort and carries out trading activities.

Tensions continued to run high between Beaver and Sekani, and the Sekani requested that the post be moved back to the old Rocky Mountain Fort. The HBC agreed--a decision which infuriated the Beaver Natives and resulted in the massacre of the fort's personnel in 1823.[30]

Today the Peace River flows serenely past the site of the long-ago fort. Its currents slowly erode its bank and tug at the old foundations. Trees and underbrush grow out of the ancient hearths while farms, highways, townsites and oilwells cover territory where The Lone Man once roamed. BCHF

[16] Geological Survey maps of 1875 and 1879 show today's Beatton River as Pine River North. In 1921 the Geographic Board of Canada named it Beatton River.

[17] The journalist gave a daily account of the weather and the amount of game ("Prey") consumed. These will be omitted from here on.

[18] Partner Archibald Norman McLeod, the senior officer on the Peace River, was headquartered in Dunvegan. B.C.'s McLeod Lake was named after him.

[19] Clerk Archibald McGillivray was having a miserable time as Master of Rocky Mountain Portage House. His untitled 1806-07 journal is in the Selkirk Papers, fos. 9309-9327.

[20] The abandoned Rocky Mountain Fort.

[21] They would have been traveling on the frozen Peace River with sleds and snowshoes.

[22] Probably today's Halfway River.

[23] The old Rocky Mountain Fort

[24] It was the custom for prominent Indians to announce their arrival with volleys of gunfire.

[25] Canoe ribs.

[26] Strakes of woodwork (planking; sheathing) put along the bottom and sides of the canoe.

[27] *Journal at Isle aux Compements, January 18, 1808*. SP 9270

[28] This journal has been published in *Prophecy of the Swan*, op.cit, pp. 152-181.

[29] mouth; mug; gob.

[30] *Prophecy of the Swan*, op.cit. pp. 126-136.

Baillie-Grohman's Diversion

by R. J. (Ron) Welwood

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Ron is also an afficionado of Kootenaiana.

In the Rocky Mountain trench of southeastern British Columbia lies a unique geological fea ture. It is an isthmus of flat land barely separat ing the Kootenay River from the headwaters of the Columbia River. This narrow landmass is noted in both aboriginal and non-aboriginal records. The Ktunaxa creation legend provides a picturesque description of how this land was formed[1] and explorers' journals contain succinct descriptions of the land's profile.[2] This sliver of land between the two watercourses also was the focus of a canal diversion scheme in the late nineteenth century. Adventurer-explorer William Adolf Baillie-Grohman was so captivated by the agricultural potential of the fertile floodplain south of Kootenay Lake, near present-day Creston, that he devoted a decade of his life to promoting and developing an engineering project to reclaim it. In theory the scheme was straightforward: divert the Kootenay River into the Columbia by constructing a ditch or canal across the narrow isthmus separating the two river systems, at what is now called Canal Flats.[3] This diversion would then help to reduce the annual flooding of the flatlands south of Kootenay Lake.

Baillie-Grohman posing with favorite stag trophy in his Schloss Matzen study. (below)
BC Archives A-01974

William Adolf Baillie-Grohman was born in London on 1 April 1851, and was raised in a privileged environment where he was privately tutored until he was 14. He tried working after leaving school at 18, but the lure of the outdoors was too great. Baillie-Grohman spent several years travelling, hunting, and mountain climbing in Europe. His first adventure book, *Tyrol and the Tyrolese*, was published when he was 24. In 1878 Baillie-Grohman made his first Atlantic crossing to hunt in North America and his third book, *Camps in the Rockies* (1882), described his adventures in Wyoming and Montana.[4] For the next decade Baillie-Grohman was totally engrossed in his Kootenay diversion scheme. This project dominated his life until 1893 when, disillusioned, he returned to Europe. By this time he had crossed the Atlantic "some thirty times, and the Continent of North America a few odd times oftener."[5] In the nineteenth century big game hunting had become a fashionable pastime among British gentlemen. North American trophies were particularly prized, and as Baillie-Grohman told a Victoria reporter, "for the past five years I have been visiting the western territories, spending six or eight months every year devoting myself exclusively to exploration and sport."[6]

In March 1883 he informed the British Columbia Provincial Secretary that after travelling through the northwest with some friends in 1880 and 1882, he became familiar "with certain localities in the southeastern portion of British Columbia, the features of which led us to have a more thorough examination."[7] This "thorough examination" commenced in 1882 when he set out to hunt the elusive mountain goat north of Kootenay Lake. According to Baillie-Grohman this "mysterious beast" had been identified under 13 different generic names, and he was the first in Europe to publish a description of *Haplocerus montanus*.[8] Baillie-Grohman had planned his first expedition to the Kootenay in the map rooms of the Geographical Society, Foreign Office, and British Museum. He mused that early explorers had recorded the geographical aberration at Canal Flats, but none had recognized the "importance of creating a navigable connection" between the two river systems. He concluded, on his "first visit to this then immeasurably remote spot," that a canal project was "a very feasible one from an engineer's standpoint."[9] Extant

maps were not complete, but the Palliser Expedition[10] reports in London would have provided Baillie-Grohman with a good, general overview of both the upper and lower Kootenay valleys.[11] Before returning to the Kootenay in July 1883, Baillie-Grohman outlined his scheme to the *Daily British Colonist* in Victoria. The Kootenay River flatlands were annually inundated with an average of 22 feet (6.5 m) between mid-May and mid to late July. To reduce this floodwater and take advantage of the excellent, rich alluvial soil[12] he

proposed two separate projects [firstly] by digging a water ditch of considerable length connecting the upper waters of the Kootenay river with the headwaters of Columbia which at this point is of slightly lower elevation, and secondly, by widening the outlet of Lake Kootenay.[13] The first mentioned work will subdue the Kootenay waters only to a very limited extent; the latter will be far more effective.[14]

It should be noted that when this newspaper interview took place, Baillie-Grohman was about to depart on his second trip to the Kootenay. Although he had prepared himself by consulting maps and reading various reports, this would be his first venture into the Upper Kootenay region. How was it possible to conclude it was feasible to dig "a water ditch" to connect the Kootenay and Columbia "which at this point is of slightly lower elevation"? In order to initiate his grand reclamation scheme, Baillie-Grohman applied for various land concessions including a large acreage south of Kootenay Lake. In 1883 this territory was considered terra incognita, so before approving Baillie-Grohman's request, the government required further information on the extent and characteristics of the lands in question. Messrs. Arthur S. Farwell and Gilbert M. Sproat were contracted to carry out these duties.

Leaving Victoria on 16 July 1883, they took the Northern Pacific Railway to Sandpoint, Idaho, where Baillie-Grohman joined them and provided transportation north. After reconnaissance of the Kootenay country, Farwell and Sproat reported to British Columbia government officials in December 1883 and January 1884 respectively. By 25 July 1884, Baillie-Grohman had submitted a formal proposal to the provincial government "to acquire partially free grants of the lands specified" totaling approximately 73,100 acres (29,240 ha). The provisions and conditions of this proposal were approved and ratified on 7 September 1885.[15] It was then possible for Baillie-Grohman's Kootenay Lake Syndicate to raise venture capital from influential and wealthy acquaintances in England.

Much to Baillie-Grohman's frustration, his proposed project became mired in government bureaucracy. On 6 March 1886, thirty citizens from Golden and the Upper Columbia valley submitted a petition to Canada's Minister of the Interior. They feared that by diverting the Kootenay River into the Columbia River system, hay lands, railway beds, and town sites would be inundated. Project permission from the Dominion Government was obligatory and would only be granted if the drainage canal was constructed as a navigable[16] waterway with a lock. As compensation, Baillie-Grohman was to receive from the British Columbia government a grant of 30,000 acres (12,000 ha) in the Upper Kootenay valley, after the canal was constructed.[17] On 29 July 1889, Baillie-Grohman's canal was finally completed and he cynically declared that "it was a job I can honestly recommend to those desirous of committing suicide in a decent, gentlemanly manner."[18]

The complicated details of the entire project are well documented in Mabel E. Jordan's article, "The Kootenay Reclamation and Colonization Scheme and William Adolf Baillie-Grohman."[19] Much of Jordan's information was based on Baillie-Grohman's publications and other resources available at the time, but how accurate were those records? Historical information is gleaned from either primary or secondary sources. Both are susceptible to error, but the likelihood of a mistake in the latter is greater. In his popular book, William Adolf Baillie-Grohman candidly wrote that engineers "pronounced the idea I had formed a practical one."[20] His dogged promotion of the reclamation scheme gave added credibility to this statement. Contemporary reports crediting him as the originator of the concept were never denied, so "the idea [he] had formed" became an indisputable fact. Subsequently, secondary sources flatly stated that he was the first to "conceive" the idea.[21]

There is no denying that Baillie-Grohman committed an inordinate amount of time and energy to this project. This is evident from the plethora of correspondence, petitions, reports, and newspaper accounts. He was so consumed by this enterprise that he spent almost a decade pursuing this dream. However, the question still must be asked: Was he actually the first to "conceive" this notion? To comprehend how Baillie-Grohman's contemporaries viewed his tenacious and passionate commitment to this project would be helpful, if his habits and character-

Notes and References

[1] At one time the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers were joined and inhabited by a rogue water monster. To capture it, a giant formed a blockade in the river.

[2] David Thompson (1807), Joseph Howse (1810), Sir George Simpson (1841), James Sinclair (1841, 1854), Rev. Pierre Jean De Smet (1845), Captain John Palliser (1858) and Dr. James Hector (1859).

[3] Canal Flats or Canal Flat has been recorded as "McGillivray's Portage" (Thompson, 1807), "Columbia Portage" or "Lake Pass" (Palliser, 1858); "Howse Portage" (Palliser's map, 1863), "Kootenay City" (1885), "Grohman" (1888).

[4] Mabel E. Jordan, The Kootenay Reclamation and Colonization Scheme and William Adolf Baillie-Grohman, *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 20 (July-October 1956): 206-207.

[5] *W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia* (London: Horace Cox, 1900), v.

[6] Development of Kootenay: The Great Draining Scheme of an English Corporation, *Daily British Colonist* (Victoria), 11 July 1883: 3.

[7] Crown Lands Records. Victoria: British Columbia Archives. GR 1088 Box 1 Files 7 & 8.

[8] W.A. Baillie-Grohman, "*A* Paradise for Canadian and American Soldiers," *Nineteenth Century 83* (April 1918): 770 note; Baillie-Grohman Fifteen Years', 86.

[9] W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Travel and Colonisation: Seven Years Pathfinding in the Selkirks of Kootenay, *Field, the Country Gentleman's Newspaper* (11 May 1899): 658.

[10] Captain John Palliser's British North American Exploring Expedition, sponsored by the Royal Geographical Society, mapped the region in 1858-1859.

David McLoughlin. Porthill, Idaho. June 1899 (left)
Oregon Historical Society 49854 via Creston Archives

Richard (Dick) Fry. Bonners Ferry, Idaho (right)
BC Archives HP091883

istics were even partially understood. Victorian writers, particularly outdoor adventure writers, often used a florid and rather exaggerated style to describe the landscape, its inhabitants, and the challenge itself. Baillie-Grohman certainly must have felt that his pen was a mighty force, for his communications deluged government officials and sorely tested their patience. On 18 September 1890, W.S. Gore, Surveyor-General of British Columbia, directed the government recorder in Nelson to submit a full report on the Kootenay Valleys Company's seasonal progress. This would provide reliable information "as to whether the agreement is being carried out in good faith, or only in a colourable manner."[22] Just over two months later, the Acting Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works wrote to Baillie-Grohman that,

The efforts made by you to carry out the covenants of the agreement being so far of a colourable nature,[23] I must positively decline to accede to your request. I may add that these small matters which seem to occupy so much of your attention do not tend to accelerate the large works you have undertaken to carry out with all diligence.[24]

The "small matters" that occupied Baillie-Grohman's attention referred to his dispute with J.C. Rykert of Kootenay Flats. Among other things, Baillie-Grohman accused Rykert of trespassing and cutting wild hay on his land concession. Rykert retorted, "Mr. Grohman has no idea of ever completing his contract, which every man in the West Kootenay can corroborate," and hinted that he was "simply trying a speculative scheme." He also wrote that Baillie-Grohman had no intention to "benefit this part of the country, but just make believe, as he has done in everything he ever took hold of, so as to make something on a pure wild cat scheme."[25]

While in the Kootenay Lake area Baillie-Grohman also managed to become involved in a complicated legal battle between Thomas Hammill and Robert Sproule, over a mineral claim. Hammill hired a lawyer, while an impoverished "Sprowle [sic] had but my help to get up his case—I knew absolutely nothing about law."[26] However, Baillie-Grohman managed to win the initial trial before the resident Gold Commissioner. Hammill's lawyer appealed to the British Columbia Supreme Court where Chief Justice Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie's decision (1884) noted that,

It is impossible not to be struck with the fact that the whole of this wearisome, expensive and mischievous litigation has been caused and fostered by the unauthorized intrusion of a stranger, who seems to have succeeded, before the Gold Commissioner, in raising such a cloud of irrelevant statements and controversies, as to entirely obscure the officer's view of the material facts in each case.[27]

The reputation that Baillie-Grohman left behind was that of a "disputatious, litigious bumbler."[28] He was considered "a better dreamer than an engineer. Furthermore, so pronounced was his propensity for meddling in everyone else's business that he seems to have ended up by interfering in his own."[29] Thus it becomes apparent that this energetic and well-intentioned adventurer lacked the finesse required to successfully complete such a grand reclamation scheme in the isolated wilderness. These uncomplimentary comments also suggest that the original concept credited to Baillie-Grohman should be viewed with skepticism.

Baillie-Grohman first saw the Lower Kootenay River valley in 1882 while on his quest for mountain goat trophies. Until that time his sole occupation was that of a writer with extensive experience pursuing travel and sport. Other than receiving royalty payments, his only apparent income came from his family.[30] Perhaps this could explain why he focussed on

[11] The Upper Kootenay valley is the Kootenay River area in the Rocky Mountain trench whereas the Lower Kootenay lies south of Kootenay Lake (also known as the flatlands or bottomlands).

[12] The flatlands were estimated to be 45,000 acres (18,000 ha) in British Columbia and 65,000 acres (26,000 ha) in Idaho. Arthur S. Farwell, Report in British Columbia. Sessional Papers, 1883-84. *Report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for the Province of British Columbia for the Year Ending 31st December, 1883* (Victoria: G.P.O. 1884), 256.

[13] "were the outlet sufficiently large, the lake would not rise and the valley would not be overflowed.... The discovery I made soon afterwards ... seemed to corroborate the correctness of the above surmise." W.A. Baillie-Grohman, *Notes on the Upper and Lower Kootenay Valleys and Kootenay Lake*, in Arthur O. Wheeler, *The Selkirk Range*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1905), 252.

[14] Development of Kootenay, 3.

[15] Kootenay Reclamation and Colonization, *British Columbia. Sessional Papers*, 1886 (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1887), 419.

[16] Initially, Baillie-Grohman intended to dig "a shallow ditch in 1883 when I first saw the spot...." Baillie-Grohman to Guy Constable, 14 Sept. 1918. Fort Steele Heritage Town Archives. Mss 84.

[17] Two vitriolic editorials denounced "The Grohman Canal Swindle," *Golden Era*, 1 & 8 May 1897. "Tommy" Norbury of Fort Steele, wrote "Grohman's useless canal is I believe finished so he now owns most & all the good land of this country." 29 July 1889 letter in Norbury Family fonds, BC Archives. Add Mss 877 Box 1 File 4.

the reclamation project—it was an original wilderness adventure that could profit from a well-planned and executed scheme.

Although it has been stated that Baillie-Grohman formulated his plan after seeing the lower Kootenay Flats,[31] it is highly unlikely that he could envision a reclamation scheme without visiting the entire Kootenay landscape. It is also difficult to believe that an outdoorsman without related work experience or agrarian inclination would be struck by the agricultural potential of this alluvial floodplain. However, there may be a different explanation—the concept, which had been floating around the Kootenay for a number of years, had been suggested to him. Thus Baillie-Grohman's proclamation, "In 1882, when this scheme first came up"[32] would be factual, albeit misleading. After detraining at Sandpoint, Idaho in 1882, Baillie-Grohman headed northward. With a small non-native population in the region, there is little doubt he would have been advised to contact well-known Kootenay pioneers Richard (Dick) Fry of Bonners Ferry and David McLoughlin of Ockonook, Idaho. Both were very familiar with the country north and south of the border. There is evidence and reason to believe that he learned about the region's agricultural potential from these men.

Baillie-Grohman first visited Dick Fry's small trading post to purchase basic foodstuffs. Through Fry, Baillie-Grohman hired two native guides for his hunting expedition to the north end of Kootenay Lake. Since he was familiar with the Kootenay landscape, it is logical to assume that during the course of the evening's conversation Fry willingly shared information with his overnight visitor. Fry, born in March 1838, migrated westward from Illinois with his parents when he was eleven. Six years later, he left home to serve in the military during the native uprisings around Walla Walla. He later struck out for the Columbia River gold rush, but quickly realized more money could be made from trading than panning. Across the river from his trading post (now Marcus, Washington) was a Sinixt village where he met his wife, Justine Soqu'stik'en. The Frys eventually settled at Bonners Ferry and maintained a ferry, trading post, and pack train business. During this period Fry also traveled around the country hunting, fishing, trapping, mining, and exploring.[33] During the 1860s, Dick Fry maintained a trapline on Cottonwood and Forty-Nine Creeks just west of Kootenay Lake's outlet, near present-day Nelson. He also placer mined for gold on Forty-Nine Creek in the summers of 1867, 1868, and 1869.[34] On his trapping and mining excursions he became more than familiar with the surrounding terrain, including the natural bottleneck located at Kootenay Lake's westward outlet. "Richard Fry knew the Kootenay country probably better than anyone else"[35] and, as with most pioneers, he would have been more than willing to share this information with a curious gentleman such as Baillie-Grohman.

Baillie-Grohman had arranged to meet Fry near the outlet after his hunting trip in July, 1882. This would allow him to view Kootenay River narrows, the bottleneck that caused annual flooding at Kootenay Flats. In an interview with the *Daily British Colonist* in 1883, Baillie-Grohman outlined his plan to remove this obstacle and repeated this critical tactic in other publications. However, all the circumstantial evidence, albeit from secondary sources, points to the inevitable conclusion that Baillie-Grohman was

[18] Baillie-Grohman *Fifteen Years*', 264.

[19] *British Columbia Historical Quarterly 20* (July-October 1956): 187-220.

[20] Baillie-Grohman *Fifteen Years*', 261.

[21] Baillie-Grohman "Notes", A.O. Wheeler notation, 255; Florence Baillie-Grohman, "Why the Canal Was Built Across the Kootenay Flats," Attached to undated letter (1922?) to Guy Constable, Fort Steele Heritage Town Archives. Mss 85; Jordan "The Kootenay Reclamation", 187; Guy Constable, *The History of Dyking and Drainage in the Kootenay Valley*, in British Columbia Natural Resources Conference. *Transactions* (10th), 1957, 87; etc.

[22] Correspondence: Kootenay Reclamation Scheme, *British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1891* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1892), 499.

[23] Baillie-Grohman replied: "I beg to give a most emphatic and indignant denial. You appear to rest under some misapprehension respecting the personelle [sic] of this Company, so … before giving official expression to such an unwarranted aspersion … more reliable information … should have been collected." *Correspondence*, 503.

[24] *Ibid.*

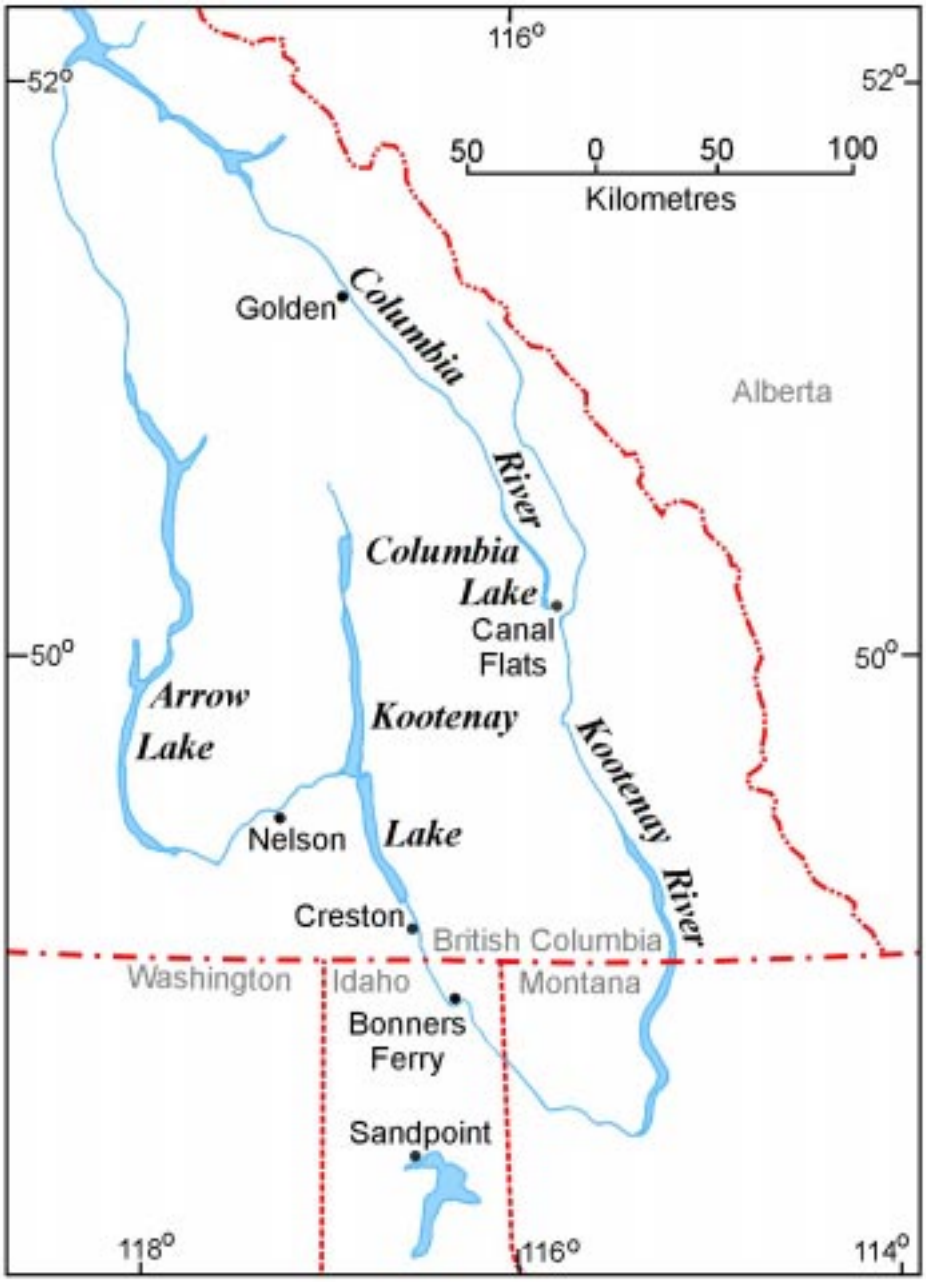
[25] *Ibid.*, 496-497.

[26] Baillie-Grohman *A Paradise*, 774.

[27] "Kootenay Mining Appeals: Hammil [sic] v. Sproule," in *British Columbia Law Reports. Courts of Appeal, vol. 1 pt 2* (Victoria: Law Society of British Columbia, 1900), 44.

[28] Edward L. Affleck. Personal communication, 22 Nov. 2000.

[29] Edward L. Affleck, *Kootenay Lake Chronicles*. (Vancouver: Alexander Nicolls Press, 1978), 68.



Canal Flats, Kootenay and Columbia Rivers (right)
Map by Cathy Chapin, Lakehead University, Thunder Bay

not the original visionary of the scheme. After leaving Dick Fry's small post, Baillie-Grohman stopped overnight at David McLoughlin's where he made arrangements to store some equipment. David McLoughlin, son of the Hudson's Bay Company's chief factor, Dr. John McLoughlin, was born around 1818. Educated at Fort Vancouver and Montreal, young David moved to Paris about 1834 to train as an engineer. He then returned to North America and began work as an apprentice clerk for the HBC. After succumbing to gold fever and wanderlust, McLoughlin briefly settled in the Wild Horse Creek area where he took as his wife Annie Ksooke (Grizzly), the daughter of a Kutenai chief. In 1865, he established Fort Flatbow at Kootenay Flats and around 1871, moved to Ockonook[36] just south of the border. Here he built a log house that was both home for his large family and a trading post. David McLoughlin's reputation as an authority on the Kootenay region was legendary and he "cheerfully gave any information on this subject."[37]

In 1881, McLoughlin was sponsored by the Northern Pacific Railway to address the Portland Chamber of Commerce about potential agricultural development in the lower Kootenay valley. The company had a vested interest in this region and was pragmatic enough to subsidize McLoughlin's trip to help promote this isolated part of northern Idaho, western Montana, and southeastern British Columbia. On 14 September 1881, a lengthy letter from "Mac" (McLoughlin) about "The Kootenai Country" was published in the *Spokane Falls Chronicle*. His visionary plan indicated,

It is here that the Kootenay river has always been regarded both by government officers, and others, as the most favorable place for turning it into the Columbia river. The work of turning the Kootenay river into the south channel of the Columbia, could here be done at nominal cost, nature having favored it, in all particulars. It would reduce the surface of the Kootenay river several feet, thereby protecting from yearly overflow the vast extent of the Flat Bow valley[38], and reclaiming thousands of acres of the most valuable agricultural land in America.

[30] A remittance man who "came into an independent income upon reaching his maturity…." Mark Zuehlke, *Scoundrels, Dreamers & Second Sons: British Remittance Men in the Canadian West*. (Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1994), 39.

[31] "The man who in 1882 first conceived the idea of reclaiming these flats" or, "in 1882 … he discovered the Kootenay Flats and formulated his reclamation scheme." Jordan The Kootenay Reclamation, 187, 207.

[32] Baillie-Grohman *Fifteen Years'*, 262.

[33] Clara Graham, *Kootenay Mosaic*. (Vancouver: Evergreen, 1971), 80-83; Norris *Historic Nelson*, 28-37; Van B. Putnam, "What Happened to Richard and Alfred Fry," *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane), 11 July 1954.

[34] Letter from Richard Fry, Bonners Ferry to J. Fred Hume, 2 December 1893, in *Nelson Miner*, 3 Feb. 1894: 3.

[35] Graham *Kootenay Mosaic*, 82.

[36] Ockonook later, Porthill, Idaho.

[37] Farwell Report, 257.

[38] Lower Kootenay valley

[39] *John Norris, Historic Nelson: the Early Years*. (Lantzville, BC: Oolichan Books, 1995), 101-104; Carle Jones, The David McLoughlin Story, *British Columbia Historical News* 28(Winter 1994-95): 11.

[40] Noticed by "old Hudson's Bay fur traders who have lived in the country for twenty or twenty-five years…." W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Travel and Colonisation: Two Summers in the Kootenay Country, *Field, the Country Gentleman's Newspaper* (25 April 1885): 526; Baillie-Grohman "Notes", 252. An indirect reference to McLoughlin?

This letter was published *one year before* Baillie-Grohman's arrival in the Kootenay, and is the most damning evidence available.[39] By 1883 it became the blueprint for Baillie-Grohman's Diversion.

It is quite plausible that Baillie-Grohman heard about McLoughlin's letter and/or speech, either from Dick Fry or from others, while en route to the Kootenay in 1882. The subject would have inevitably been raised with McLoughlin while Baillie-Grohman was making his arrangements for storage and soliciting additional information for his hunting trip north. Evidence of the rich "earthy deposit"[40] was obvious from the bountiful crops which both McLoughlin and Fry successfully harvested. According to McLoughlin, this productivity would be even more plentiful if the Flats could be relieved of annual flooding. For example, the natives had previously been supplied with seed "but the uncertainty of securing their crops, through the flooding of the land, so thoroughly disheartened them, that they gave up farming in disgust."[41] This fertile floodplain extended the full length of the wide valley from Bonners Ferry to Kootenay Lake. Farwell's report indicated that the soil depth was so extensive that when the river's banks were fifteen feet (4.5m) high in mid-October, this soil quality was consistent from the top of the riverbank to water level. He confirmed that,

> *A successful reclamation scheme would benefit the lands subject to overflow, to the south of the International Boundary Line, as much, if not more, than those lying to the north of said line. From Mr. McLoughlin, I learnt [sic] that the land near the lake is first submerged, and as the lake fills up the water gradually approaches the boundary, and so on up the valley, showing clearly that the contracted waterway of the outlet is the main cause of the difficulty.*[42]

Baillie-Grohman may have found it strange that McLoughlin, living in this isolated part of the world, had more formal education than himself. This anomaly probably would have piqued his interest and curiosity. If Baillie-Grohman had not already seen the *Spokane Falls Chronicle* article, his host may have either shown it to him or, perhaps, even given him a copy—this is pure speculation. Nevertheless, Baillie-Grohman must have concluded that McLoughlin's engineering credentials gave added authority to a thesis that he soon accepted as his own. In *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia*, Baillie-Grohman's comments about David McLoughlin were far from complimentary. He was bemused by this "interesting old character who lived Indian fashion in a miserable hovel" near the Canada-U.S. border. According to Baillie-Grohman, McLoughlin "had long relapsed into the dirt and savagery of Indian life, [but] one soon discovered that he had received the education of a gentleman, was versed in three or four languages, and had seen the world." But "he and his large Indian family dwelt in all the unspeakable squalor and filth of savage life" in a "miserable pigsty." Located adjacent to this hovel was a large log structure that formerly served as a trading post, and Baillie-Grohman considered it an ideal site to store some of his gear, so he offered McLoughlin one hundred dollars for its use. He concluded, "Poor, good natured Old Dave would not have occupied the sorry position I found him in had not whiskey ruined his life; it had been his deadliest foe."[43]

Why did Baillie-Grohman malign David McLoughlin?[44] Did he depict him as a ne'er-do-well for a reason? Immediately following his précis of McLoughlin, he launched into an overview of the diversion scheme. "The American and English engineers who examined into the feasibility of preventing this overflow pronounced *the idea I had formed* a practical one. It was to turn the Kootenay river at Canal Flat into the Columbia lake"[45] [emphasis mine] Was the American engineer David McLoughlin? Recorded history can play tricks on the researcher who is deceived by misleading information. Baillie-Grohman's social status, influential acquaintances, and impressive list of publications gave him a certain authority that provided easy access to government officials and a facility to raise venture capital. The Farwell and Sproat reports to the British Columbia government confirmed the project's feasibility[46] and reinforced his credibility. All of these factors gave *his* diversion scheme a measure of authenticity.

On the other hand, Dick Fry and David McLoughlin lived in a remote, sparsely populated region of the western interior and, although acquainted with each other, they were relatively unknown to those outside the Kootenay. Since both men were more than willing to share their knowledge with strangers, it is only logical they would swap information on how to reduce the annual floodwaters at Kootenay Flats. Thanks to Fry and McLoughlin, Baillie-Grohman captured an opportunity in a visionary scheme and he devoted almost a decade of his life to make the concept a reality. By exaggerating the facts to make himself look heroic, by glossing over Dick Fry, and by portraying David McLoughlin to be of little consequence, William Adolf Baillie-Grohman created an altogether different type of diversion.

BCHF

[41] Arthur S. Farwell, Report on the Kootenay Indians, in *British Columbia. Sessional Papers, 1883-84* (Victoria: G.P.O., 1884): 327.

[42] Farwell Report, 256-257.

[43] Baillie-Grohman *Fifteen Years*', 256-258.

[44] In 1918, Baillie-Grohman wrote to Guy Constable, "I want to write something about him [McLoughlin], in his way he was one of the 'greatest' characters I have ever met." Fort Steele Heritage Town Archives. Mss 84. Was this a genuine or a backhanded compliment?

[45] Baillie-Grohman *Fifteen Years*', 261.

[46] "Widening these narrow places would no doubt materially assist in reducing the height of the water in Kootenay Lake: but to thoroughly reclaim the bottom lands … it will be necessary to divert the Upper Kootenay into the Upper Columbia Lake." Farwell Report, 259. "the advantages of turning the upper course of the Kootenay into the Columbia would outweigh the disadvantages" Gilbert M. Sproat, Report on the Kootenay Country, in *British Columbia. Sessional Papers, 1883-84* (Victoria: G.P.O., 1884), 316.

The Buntzen Lake Project 1901-06

Hydro-Electric Power For B.C.'s Lower Mainland

By H. BARRY COTTON
BC.LS. (Ret'd)

Barry Cotton is a retired BC Land Surveyor and was a member of the partnership who were the successors to the original firm of Hermon and Burwell. He is the author of *First in the Field, The Pioneer Years of Garden, Hermon and Burwell, Civil Engineers in the Province of British Columbia 1890 - 1920.*

In British Columbia's early 1900s, the use of water generated almost as many kilowatts of politics as it did of electrical energy. But although the politicking and wheeler-dealing surrounding the advent of the Coquitlam/Trout Lake power development has been written about several times in the past, this article proposes to describe, for the first time, the activities of the men who actually built the project—Johannes Buntzen and engineers Meredith, Hermon & Burwell.

Coquitlam Lake lay in the Railway Belt, an area set aside for administration by the federal government. It is some six miles north of Port Moody, where it drains a mountain watershed of approximately 100 square miles. In 1903 the average annual precipitation was thought to be 150 inches—a close approximation (today the figure given is 145 inches). What was known for sure was that it was wet, as all workers on the power project would soon be able to confirm.

Trout Lake sat in a pocket in the mountains above the Indian Arm, west and a little south of Coquitlam Lake, but with a 4000-foot-high range of mountains between the two lakes. In the very early days of Vancouver it had been named Lake Beautiful by a group of hikers who, by taking one initial from each of the girls' names in the party, formed the word BEAUTIFUL. It was then, and is now, a very beautiful lake—although in the years from 1902 until 1912, when construction was rampant, I doubt if it would have qualified for the name.

The Coquitlam Waterworks Company, incorporated in 1886, the unsuccessful candidate for the City of Vancouver's water supply, continued supplying the City of New Westminster until 1889 when the City took over the company's interests, and contracted to manage the waterworks. Thenceforth it would be known as the New Westminster Waterworks Company. It consisted of a low weir and intake at the south end of Coquitlam Lake—"500 feet downstream from the first riffle in the river, where it gets over the rim of the lake." There was a second intake lower down to draw water when the stream was low, and from the inlets a fourteen inch pipe ran south for twelve miles. The consulting engineer for the New Westminster Waterworks Company was Mr. A. McL. Hawkes, C.E., of Tacoma, Washington, an experienced and reliable man, who so described the workings in December 1901.

There was, of course, logging in the Coquitlam valley. Timber Berth "O" was granted in 1897, most of it in the vicinity of Trout Lake, and held by the British Columbia Mills, Timber and Trading Company (successors to the Hastings Mill). Their surveyor was E. B. Hermon, of the Vancouver firm of Hermon & Burwell. It was without doubt this firm's first introduction to the area, and they were not tardy in realizing its potential.

In 1897, when the British Columbia Electric Railway Company (BCER) rose phoenix-like from the ashes of three earlier tramway companies, its policy had been for the Board of Directors in Britain (of whom R. M. Horne-Payne was the leading light) to control operations through a local manager in Vancouver. The first managing director, Frank Stillman Barnard, incorporated the Vancouver Power Company as a subsidiary, which had in its terms of reference the potential to generate hydroelectric power. This move had not been sanctioned by London, and Barnard resigned as managing director soon afterwards, although he remained a Board member.

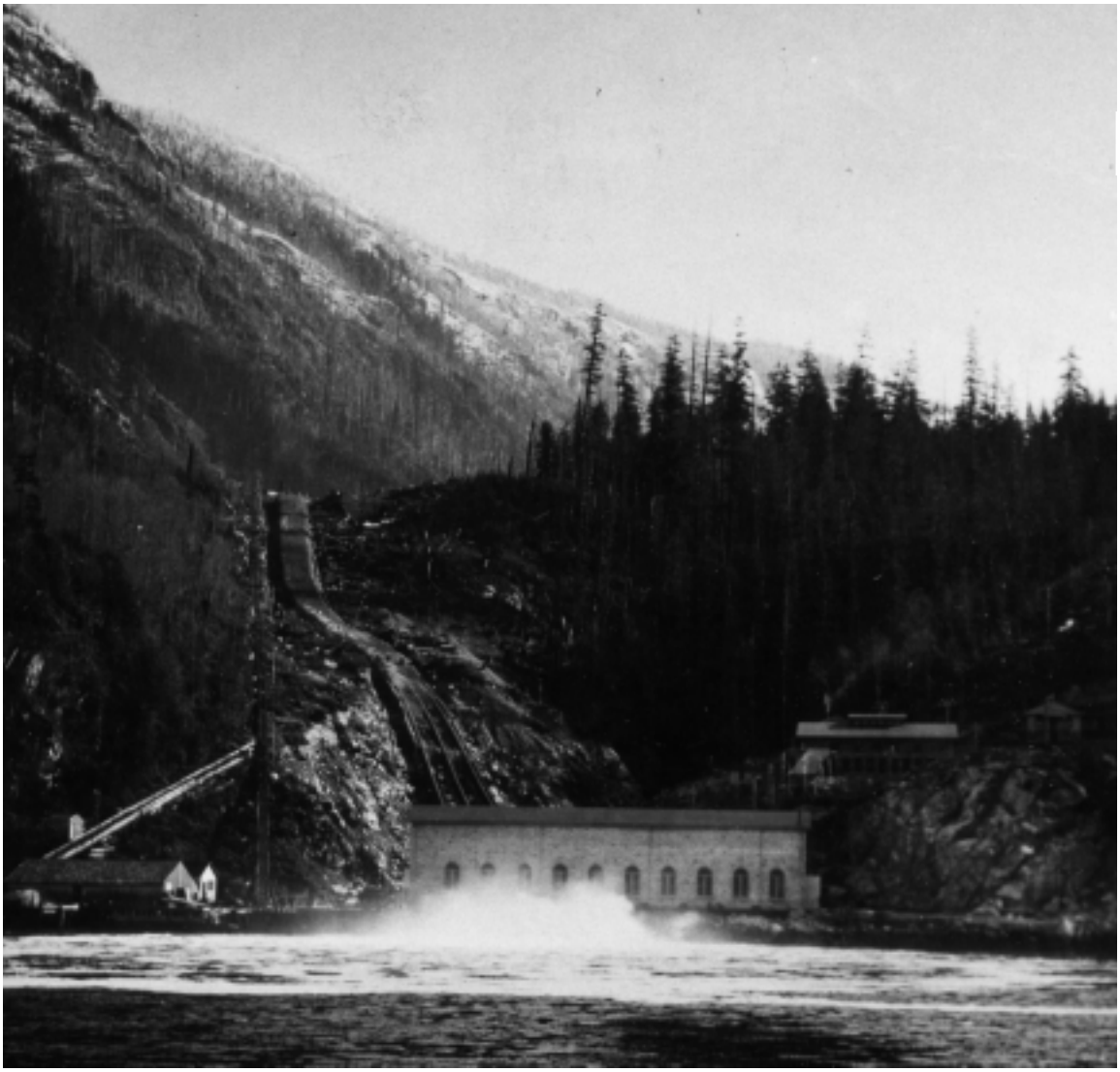
His replacement, Johannes Buntzen, was a very dynamic and level-headed man. A Dane, he emigrated to British Columbia in the 1890s, originally working for Ross & Ceperley as head bookkeeper. As general manager of the BCER, Buntzen was both forward-looking and forthright, and quite prepared to push the Board into major decisions. He soon made his point—that the company must keep up with the demand for power, or be content to face competition.

Competition there was. The Stave Lake Power Company would be incorporated in 1901, for the purpose of selling power to the cities of Vancouver and New Westminster. That company's directors included several influential persons, among them Sir Charles Tupper, K.C. Without adequate financing, however, they never got past the starting gate, although for the next ten years they would waste no opportunity to harass their rival, the BCER.

As consultants for the Vancouver Power Company, Hermon & Burwell were investigating the Lake Coquitlam area in 1898. One field book, badly water damaged, shows their first measurement of river flow below the New Westminster Waterworks pipe intake: 26,000 miner's inches, taken February 3, 1898. Hermon went on to measure the flow monthly during that year, and in July ran a line of levels down the river from Coquitlam Lake, setting twenty-six bench marks.

In these days of "high tech" and electronic distance measurement, it is perhaps hard to visualize the lot of the surveyor of 1901. While today we still have mountain and bush—and that coastal rain—to contend with, there is seldom any difficulty finding a bench mark (BM), even in a remote place. But at that

The author wishes to thank the firm of Hermon, Bunbury and Oke for use of their old field records, and Mr. George Brendack of Special Collections, UBC Library for access to the BCER's old files.



Vancouver Power Company's Power House and Outflow c.1905
BC Archives 24640

time, differences in elevation had to be found from scratch, and any BMs set were carefully preserved for the surveyor's own reference.

To obtain the difference in elevation between Trout Lake and Coquitlam Lake was no mean feat at that time. Hermon & Burwell started their network at the Barnet wharf, where they set up a tide gauge and connected their elevations to a Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) datum point near the Coquitlam railway bridge. Coquitlam Lake's height above sea level was then obtained by another seven miles of differential levels from the bridge up to the lake outlet. This line of levels was rerun in both directions to absolute precision in March 1902, before the final decision was made to construct.

The elevation of Trout Lake was somewhat easier to arrive at, by measuring up from tidewater. Burwell set up a tide gauge down in the Indian Arm, with a BM and water gauge in Trout Lake, and by correlating the tide gauges with the CPR datum and their own many miles of levels, the partners determined the relative difference in height between the two lakes. So the project was born.

This was, briefly, to put a low dam at the Coquitlam Lake outlet (increasing the head and improving the intake for the New Westminster Waterworks Company); tunnel through the mountain, diverting Coquitlam Lake water into Trout Lake (which would also be dammed as a balancing reservoir); and run pipelines down to a powerhouse on the Indian Arm. The power would go via pole line to New Westminster and Vancouver, a well-devised scheme.

It goes without saying that the rights of the New Westminster Waterworks Company would have to be safeguarded, so Buntzen went to work on New Westminster city council, pointing out the blessings that would accrue from the Vancouver Power Company's aspirations. In mid-October 1901, A. McL. Hawkes made his report to the City, coming out in favour of the enterprise, and saying in part, "In my judgement .□.□. the construction of a dam would be a benefit to the City's water supply; and if the work could be carried out without any expense to the City, I would recommend it."

A Few Technical Terms

Water Recorder. In the early days of B.C.'s development, most resources could be applied for by "staking" - the posting of a notice on the ground, usually followed by publication of a similar notice (of "intention to apply") in a newspaper and the *BCGazette*, and then the official application to government. The Water Recorder was the Provincial Government bureaucrat who dealt with water licences claimed in this way.

Miner's Inch is 1.68 c. ft of water flow per minute.

Railway Belt. This was a strip of land extending 20 miles from, and on both sides of the centre-line of the CPR. It stretched from the BC/Alberta border as far as Port Moody, which until 1884 had been considered as the western terminus of the railway. At the time of Confederation, politicians of the day had agreed to convey this corridor (containing some of the most valuable land in the Province) to the Dominion Government. It was returned to B.C. in 1930.

The Water Clauses Consolidation Act was a massive Provincial statute, with a special section applicable to industrial power. Its authority in Railway Belt lands was challenged in 1906 by the Dominion Government, and the matter of which government had the right to adjudicate water resources was not resolved by the courts until 1913.

In the report he made certain stipulations: that the dam should be five feet high (ten feet was eventually agreed to); the intake should be extended beyond the dam; and that the lowest level of the diversion tunnel be six inches higher than the intake pipe; all of which Vancouver Power Company were quite willing to implement, and at their own expense.

Enough engineering data was now available for Buntzen to start action. He also had the backing of his Board in London, so after getting tentative agreement from New Westminster city council on 18 October 1901, he was ready for the next—very important—step. This was to obtain an official water record. Applications were made by the Vancouver Power Company under the *British Columbia Water Clauses Consolidation Act* on 23 August and 23 September 1901, for 5000 miner's inches of water from Lake Coquitlam, and 500 inches from Trout Lake. The repercussions were considerable.

By 4 December 1901 the spoils—5000 miner's inches of water from Coquitlam Lake, and all the water in Trout Lake, was issued to the Vancouver Power Company by the Lieutenant Governor in Council (i.e., the cabinet). This was, of course, only half of the war—the provincial half. The other half would be waged with the Dominion government, who had hardly started to flex their muscles yet. This would drag on much longer, although it did not retard the actual delivery of electric power.

Buntzen would continue to report regularly to Horne-Payne in England regarding events, and big decisions would always be made by the Board. Although the engineering reports were thus far favourable, there was a lot of money at stake. Two more eminent engineers visited the site in early 1902 and made their reports: Wynn Meredith, of the firm of Hunt & Meredith, and Robert F. Dobie were both from San Francisco. The report of a third engineer, Hugh L. Cooper of New York, was made as late as July 1902, and served merely as corroboration, as by that time construction was under way.

Part of Buntzen's letter to Horne-Payne of 14 March 1902 is quoted,

Before any of the engineers would give their final definite opinion, they insisted on having the respective elevations of Coquitlam Lake and Trout Lake determined with absolute accuracy . . . yesterday morning, at last Mr. Hermon succeeded after two weeks of great hardship, in finally determining the elevation, and I am glad to say, found it better than we had expected, the difference in altitude being that Coquitlam Lake is 32 feet higher than Trout Lake, making a splendid grade for a tunnel.

During the fall of 1901, Hermon & Burwell carried on with the mass of preliminary work required. Complete layout plans (showing lands required, tunnel, dam sites, and powerhouse site) were made. As early as September 1901, the firm had made application on behalf of the Vancouver Power Company to the Dominion Land Agent for the Crown land required.

All the applications for rights-of-way and other parcels of land were eventually approved except one. This was the parcel at the end of Coquitlam Lake that covered the proposed dam and new intake for the New Westminster Waterworks Company. The application for this parcel bore the words "if not already disposed of." Controversy over this parcel, which the Vancouver Power Company was determined to control, will only be mentioned here briefly. It dragged on for several years. On 10 December 1901, Buntzen writes of taking all necessary data, surveys, plans, and measurements furnished by Hermon & Burwell to Toronto, to prove to the prospective debenture holders the feasibility of the scheme.

The next step was the selection by the London Board of a Chief Engineer. There were four applicants, among them Wynn Meredith and A. McL. Hawks. The job was offered to Wynn Meredith in a long letter from Buntzen, 30 April 1902. It said in part, "As you are no doubt aware, the power scheme originated with Messrs Hermon & Burwell of this city, and so far all the preliminary work has been done by this firm, and we feel in duty bound to give them a substantial share of the engineering in connection with the development of the scheme."

The firm of Hunt & Meredith, of whom Wynn Meredith was chief engineer, were mechanical engineers specializing in hydroelectric design; and besides having had sole control of the Los Angeles system some years before, had handled the BCER's first project, the plant at Goldstream on Vancouver Island. The BCER itself—in particular R. H. Sperling—would obviously provide the expertise in electrical matters. E. B. Hermon and H. M. Burwell were both civil engineers of considerable experience, and E. B. Hermon was a graduate in mining engineering.

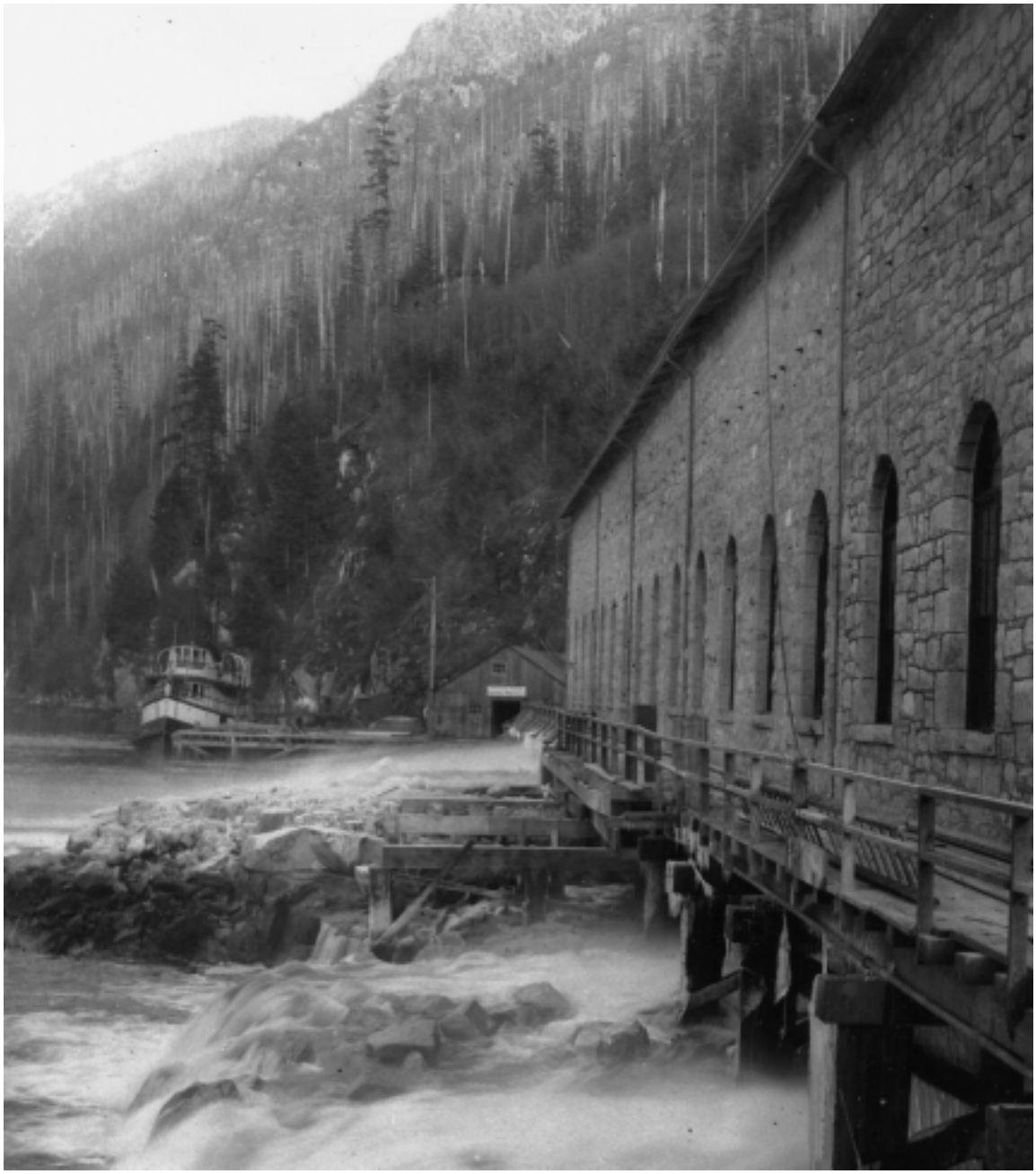
In May of 1902, Wynn Meredith arrived in Vancouver, setting up his office alongside that of Hermon & Burwell in the Inns of Court building. There can be little doubt that their overall ideas were in agreement, the proof being that Meredith's estimate of eighteen months to production of the first power was entirely accurate.

Vancouver Power Company's tunnel c.1905. Standing on the left, H.M. Burwell. Holding the lantern, D.K. Campbell, contractor.
CVA OUT.P.440,N155

Field surveying up to this point had been preliminary in nature; now the detailed surveys necessary for engineering design (required immediately), and also for construction control would start. First and foremost was alignment of the tunnel, for which both east and west portals had already been selected.

The partners cooperated on this tough assignment. Portals at the Trout Lake and Coquitlam Lake ends of the proposed tunnel were tied to triangulation over nearby Tunnel Mountain (so named in the notes), after which the true line from portal to portal was cut out over the top of the mountain and precisely aligned. Maintaining alignment was no problem; on the west shore of Trout Lake, and on the east shore of Coquitlam Lake were alignment flags (the latter being on what is today called Coquitlam Island—an island that came into being by subsequent raising of the lake to present-day levels). The field notes show that this work took six days. The partners must have had two things going for them—good weather and big crews, because even with modern instruments it would be hard to do it in less time.

Engineering parlance underground has its own language. For instance, the roof of the tunnel is known as "the back," and in it survey marks known as "spads" are set for controlling alignment and grade; they usually stay there unmoved, apart from the one nearest the face which might get hit by a flying rock. When tunneling, the sequence of events is simple—the miners drill and blast, followed by the muckers who clear up the mess, ready for the miners again. In between shifts, the engineer has to get in to set alignment and grade; he usually does it after the muckers have finished, although miners working on contract



Water and Politics

While the surveyors were doggedly working in the pouring rain, Johannes Buntzen was trying to steer the water applications through the political maze in Victoria. He was a man well aware of the powers of political persuasion, as indeed were all the directors of the BCER. No sooner had the water records been staked, than the Honourable. W.C. Wells, Chief Commissioner of Lands & Works received Buntzen's detailed letter. It was an excellent letter, and attended to the only two really relevant points - first that the City of New Westminster (the only prior interest) had agreed to the power company's proposals, and secondly that the money was all there and ready to be used (subject to the granting of the 5000 and 500 miner's inches of water to Vancouver Power Co as the sole licensee).

By this time, the Stave Lake Power Co had become aware of such happening, and also made application for a water record on the lake (of 10,000 miner's inches); and if there was any question of the Provincial Water-Recorder using his own discretion in adjudicating the matter, it was promptly overruled by his superiors in the Lands & Works Ministry. In fact, by October 23rd, the Water Recorder noted that three other Municipalities had also joined New Westminster in applying for water rights - Delta, Richmond and Coquitlam. He also reported that "opposition was developing".

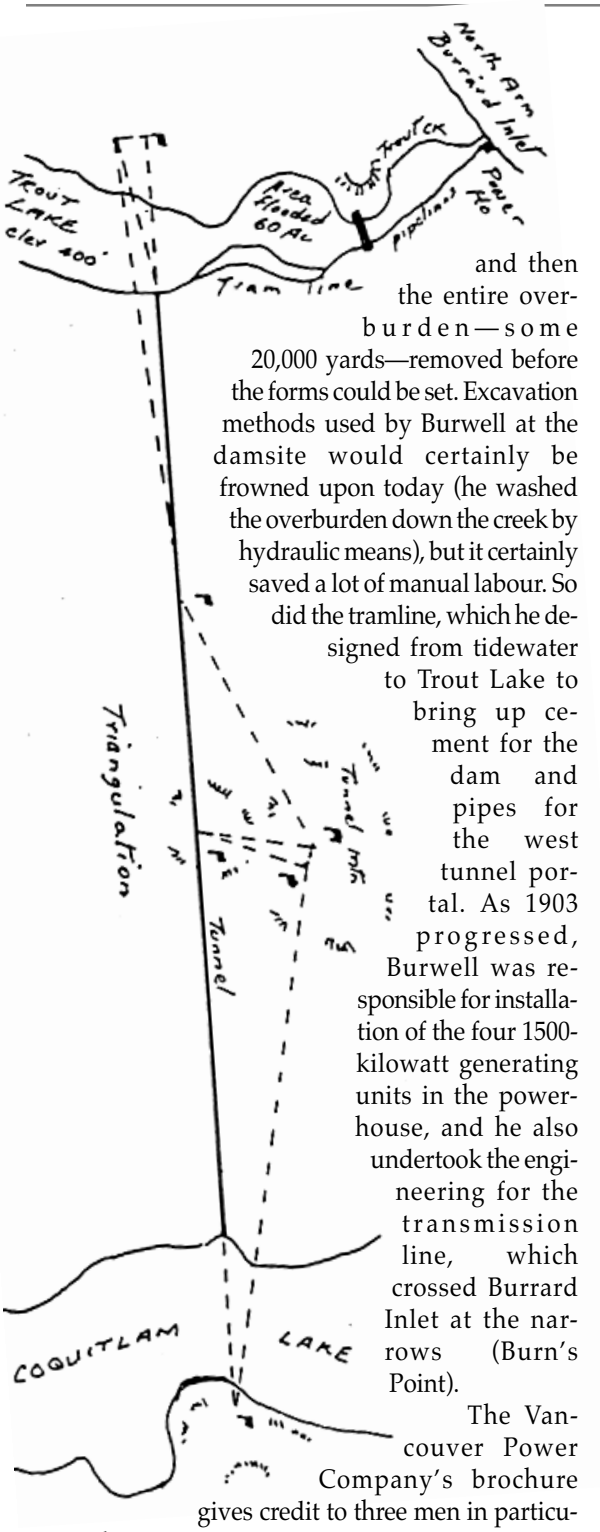
Opposition was a fairly mild word to describe the bickering that took place at the subsequent inquiry in which both E.B, Hemion and A.McL. Hawkes gave their expert opinions; but at least all parties had a chance to sound off. It seemed that if the object of the Stave Lake Company was simply to delay proceedings, it was succeeding. Buntzen then sent another letter,

often resent the time taken, and are not averse to throwing rocks at him to hurry up the process.

The tunnel was designed with a slight change of grade at the halfway point to facilitate drainage, which is always a problem underground. The Coquitlam tunnel was really no different from other tunnels but, let us not forget, there were no modern conveniences such as mucking machines, just a lot of men with shovels filling up the handcars to push back out to the portal, and all workers used carbide lamps—a temperamental device that often went out at the crucial moment. Special underground words were sure to be used on those occasions.

So much for that first tunnel from lake to lake. It was started in January 1903, driven from both ends. The contract was given to Ironside, Rannie & Campbell, who employed over 175 men, and sometimes as many as 300, probably housed at J. J. Nickson's camp. They worked in eight-hour shifts—days, nights, and holidays. In April 1905, the two ends of the tunnel met in traditional fashion, with a closing error of seven eighths of an inch in alignment, and 1 3/4 inch in grade.

The partners had divided their responsibilities on the rest of the project, with E. B. Hermon looking after the Coquitlam Lake end—dam, clearing contracts, and tunnel, while H. M. Burwell undertook work for the powerhouse, pipelines (penstocks), and Trout Lake Dam. This dam was an engineering project in its own right, as drilling had to be done to bedrock



and then the entire overburden—some 20,000 yards—removed before the forms could be set. Excavation methods used by Burwell at the damsite would certainly be frowned upon today (he washed the overburden down the creek by hydraulic means), but it certainly saved a lot of manual labour. So did the tramline, which he designed from tidewater to Trout Lake to bring up cement for the dam and pipes for the west tunnel portal. As 1903 progressed, Burwell was responsible for installation of the four 1500-kilowatt generating units in the powerhouse, and he also undertook the engineering for the transmission line, which crossed Burrard Inlet at the narrows (Burn's Point).

The Vancouver Power Company's brochure gives credit to three men in particular for this undertaking: Mr. J. Buntzen, general manager of the BCER, Mr. R. H. Sperling, advising electrical engineer, and Mr. R. M. Horne-Payne, the chairman of the BCER. In the last paragraph it names the engineers: Mr. Wynn Meredith of San Francisco, chief engineer for the Company, and Messrs Hermon & Burwell of Vancouver, engineers in charge of construction.

Power from the project was being received in Vancouver by December 1903 (before completion of the tunnel), and in December 1904 the BCER's old steam plant on Union Street in Vancouver was closed except for emergencies. It was without doubt a most successful and efficient undertaking.

It is interesting to quote some of the April 1905 statistics. The Coquitlam Lake dam was eleven feet high. The tunnel was nine feet square, and 12,775 feet long. The Trout Lake dam was fifty-four feet high. But no engineering work remains static; it is always being improved upon. By the time the original specifications had been carried out, plans had already been made to enlarge the tunnel (it is now twice its original size) and raise the Coquitlam Lake dam. Today the lake level is at least seventy feet higher than in 1902.

Nearly all these improvements would be made after Johannes Buntzen had left British Columbia. He has been called the "grand-daddy of electricity in British Columbia," a label well earned. His services to the BCER were recognized in April 1905, when he became managing director of the company. By all accounts, he was a modest and fairly retiring man. On the other hand, there was no doubt as to his popularity in the city and throughout the whole company as well, to the extent that he was even made an honorary member of the International Brotherhood of Street Railway Employees. There would be no labour troubles while he was at the helm. During his time in Vancouver he was a strong supporter of the arts in music and literature, although this is less well known. He even had time to sit on a Royal Commission on Taxation in 1905, together with F. Carter-Cotton, R. G. Tatlow and D. R. Kerr—all political gentlemen. But then Buntzen himself was also a political animal, and without his flair for politics his hydroelectric venture might have had a rougher passage.

There are still fifteen other Trout Lakes in British Columbia, according to the *Gazetteer*. Johannes Buntzen could not have received better recognition for his services than to have this one named after him. From a small beginning, the Lake Buntzen hydroelectric development was not slow to grow; even by 1911 it was producing 15,000 kilowatts. It now boasts two power stations and an output of over twelve times its original output. And the lake is still as beautiful as it originally was.

BCHF

Water and Politics continued

this time to the Provincial Secretary, 9 November 1901, protesting the Stave Lake Company's delaying tactics. Altogether, governmental deliberations dragged on from 19 September until 4 December of 1901.

In fact the cabinet had little alternative but to grant the Vancouver Power Company's application. The company had priority of staking (for what that was worth there was plenty of water, the money was in the bank, and the power was necessary for future of the Lower Mainland. A.E McPhillips K.C. (who, as a director of the Vancouver Power Company, was handling all their legal business) put the matter succintly in another letter to the Provincial Secretary, on 27 November, 1901;

It is apparent that the time has come for the Lt. Governor in Council to act in the matter, to prevent retarding of actual construction of a large work, which will be of great public advantage. ■

Engineering Details from the Vancouver Power Company's brochure. (this page)

Vancouver Power company's Power House and Outflow c.1905 (opposite page)
BC Archives 31162

Meziadin River Fish Ladders

by Rod N. Palmer

Rod Palmer is a retired Fisheries and Oceans, Canada biologist and fishery manager, with an interest in the history of fisheries research and management in British Columbia.

He did fisheries surveys on at Meziadin River and other Nass River tributaries in the 50's and 60's so the area is of particular interest to him.

All photographs by the author

In 1913, the provincial and Dominion governments cooperated to construct a fish ladder over a waterfall on the Meziadin River, the major spawning system for the valuable sockeye salmon run to the Nass River in northern British Columbia.[1] These fish had long sustained the Nisga'a and other First Nations people and were harvested for the canneries as early as 1878. During some years, however, the falls presented a major obstruction to salmon migrating to their spawning grounds. The Meziadin River joins the Nass River approximately 120 miles upstream from the estuary. The river, which is less than five miles long, flows from Meziadin Lake, which lies about forty miles from Stewart, B.C., adjacent to the Stewart-Cassiar Highway.

Before the Stewart-Cassiar Highway and connecting roads from Highway 16 were constructed in the 1960s, the Nass River, one of the major salmon-producing river systems in British Columbia, remained isolated and largely untouched by human development. Human occupation was mainly along the lower sixty miles of the Nass valley, with Nisga'a villages accessible only by water and foot travel or, in more recent times, by air. By 1912, after the railway to Prince Rupert was constructed, a few pre-emptors had settled in the lower Nass valley but these homesteads were largely abandoned within a few years.[2] In the early 1900s, the Meziadin River area was occupied by a few Native people—at least during the salmon season—but otherwise was uninhabited except for occasional trappers and prospectors.

A quarter of a mile from the confluence with the Nass River, two waterfalls on the Meziadin River have long been recognized as impediments to the upstream migration of salmon. These falls, separated by 600 feet of rapids, have a combined drop of over thirty feet. At some time in the past, the falls were informally named Victoria Falls, a name still used on the Department of Fisheries and Oceans Web site and in some publications.[3] In earlier times the thousands of salmon accumulating below the falls provided an ideal fishery for Native peoples including the Tsetsaut, the Tahltan, the Gitanyow and the Nisga'a. Access to this fishery was likely a factor in the frequent battles among Native peoples for control of the Meziadin area prior to the mid 1860s.[4]

Until the 1930s, when travel by bush plane became practical, access to the Meziadin River required overland travel on rough trails, either some sixty five miles upriver from the head of navigation on the Nass River or about forty miles from Portland Canal over the Bear River Glacier. This isolated location did not, however, discourage proposals for elimination of the obstruction to salmon at the falls. As early as 1896, John T. Williams, who in 1904 was appointed Inspector of Fisheries for northern British Columbia, had recommended that something should be done to help the passage of salmon.

In 1899, Indian Agent C. Todd wrote to A. V. Vowell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, recommending alleviation of the obstruction by blasting a channel at the upper falls. He proposed sending in a "mechanic" with five Native helpers and packers at a cost of $500.[5] When this proposal reached the desk of the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, he was advised that the Nass River was not a very productive salmon river and expenditures were not justified on the relatively minor tributaries of the system. This advice, given by E. E. Prince, a high-ranking officer in the Department of Marine and Fisheries who had visited the lower Nass River in 1894, illustrates how little was known about the upriver tributaries.[6]

No further action was taken until John Williams was established at Port Essington as Inspector of Fisheries for northern British Columbia. Williams now had the opportunity to follow up on his idea of remedial work at the falls and, in 1905, appointed Reverend James McCullagh to make a survey of the obstruction.

McCullagh had joined the Church Missionary Society after service in the British army, and was sent as a missionary to the Nisga'a in 1883. Based in the missionary village of Aiyansh, he served the Natives of the Nass valley until shortly before he died in 1921. The large church building and other construction projects that he initiated at Aiyansh illustrate the practical engineering skills which would enable him to survey the falls at Meziadin.[7]

In September of 1905, he set off from Aiyansh with three Native guides and packers. During this six-week expedition, McCullagh observed salmon movements at the falls and soon concluded that the salmon had considerable difficulty ascending the falls and many died in the attempt. In his report to Inspector Williams, he presented a proposal for grading a passage over the upper falls. He gave a cost estimate of

Notes and References

[1] Much of the information for this paper was found in the annual reports of the Commissioner of Fisheries of British Columbia for the years1908 to1935 and the Provincial Fisheries Department for the years1936 to 1944. Information was also found in the annual reports of the federal Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1906-13 and 1923-30, Department of Naval Service, 1914-22 and Department of Fisheries, 1931-33.

[2] Report on Exploratory Reconnaissance of a Portion of the Nass River Watershed, and Headwaters of Skeena River. Bonney, P.S. 1913. Unpublished typescript. 82p.

[3] Fisheries and Oceans Canada - Pacific Region. North Coast web site - www.pac.dfo.mpo.gc.ca/ops/northfm/default.htm

Old Meziadin Fish Ladders c. 1950s

$5,000 and offered to carry out the work during the low water period of February to April.[8] McCullagh's report was forwarded to Ottawa along with Williams' request for approval, but there it languished.

Williams continued to press for action in his annual reports, and by 1908 he began to receive support for his proposals from other observers. In that year, Provincial Fishery Overseer C. P. Hickman was assigned to survey the spawning grounds of the Meziadin River. This was the first of twenty two annual inspections Hickman made of the Meziadin system and other upper Nass tributaries until 1932 when, due to financial necessity, the provincial government discontinued spawning ground inspections. Hickman saw large numbers of sockeye salmon accumulated below the falls and examined many dead unspawned fish. In his 1908 report to the Commissioner of Fisheries for British Columbia, he expressed the opinion that the obstruction could be alleviated by the expenditure of a few thousand dollars. Hickman continued to report losses of large numbers of sockeye each year, and both he and Williams repeated their recommendations for remedial work. Even though both the provincial and Dominion fisheries managers in British Columbia supported the proposal, there was little response from Ottawa.

In the summer of 1912, Hickman was accompanied on a survey of Victoria Falls by John Pease Babcock, Assistant to the Commissioner of Fisheries for British Columbia.[9,10] After observing the situation at the falls, Babcock addressed the need for remedial measures. He had some knowledge of fish ladders, and in 1904 had designed and installed a fish ladder to move sockeye salmon over a dam on the Quesnel River, a tributary of the Fraser River. Based on his observations at Victoria Falls, he developed plans for a ladder over the difficult upper falls. Upon receipt of Babcock's report and recommendations, Commissioner W. J. Bowser sent them to J. D. Hazen, Minister of Marine and Fisheries in Ottawa, with an urgent request that work be undertaken during the coming winter. The report from Babcock, a recognized fisheries scientist, finally brought a response from Ottawa and the Minister agreed to fund the project at an estimated cost of $14,000. As the Department of Marine and Fisheries engineer was engaged in work on the Atlantic coast, Hazen authorized the province to build the fishway using Babcock's design with C. J. Gillingham, Road Superintendent, Stewart District in charge of construction.

During the autumn and winter of 1912–1913, materials and supplies were carried by pack horse over the Bear River Glacier to the head of Meziadin Lake. By this time the provincial government had constructed a pack horse trail, complete with bridges at stream crossings, from Stewart to Meziadin Lake. From the head of Meziadin Lake, the men and supplies were moved 15 miles by canoe down Meziadin Lake and River. Included in this shipment, in addition to tools and necessary supplies, were the two tons of blasting powder and four tons of cement needed for fish ladder construction.

Two log cabins were built at the work site to house the crew, and work on the fishway began in

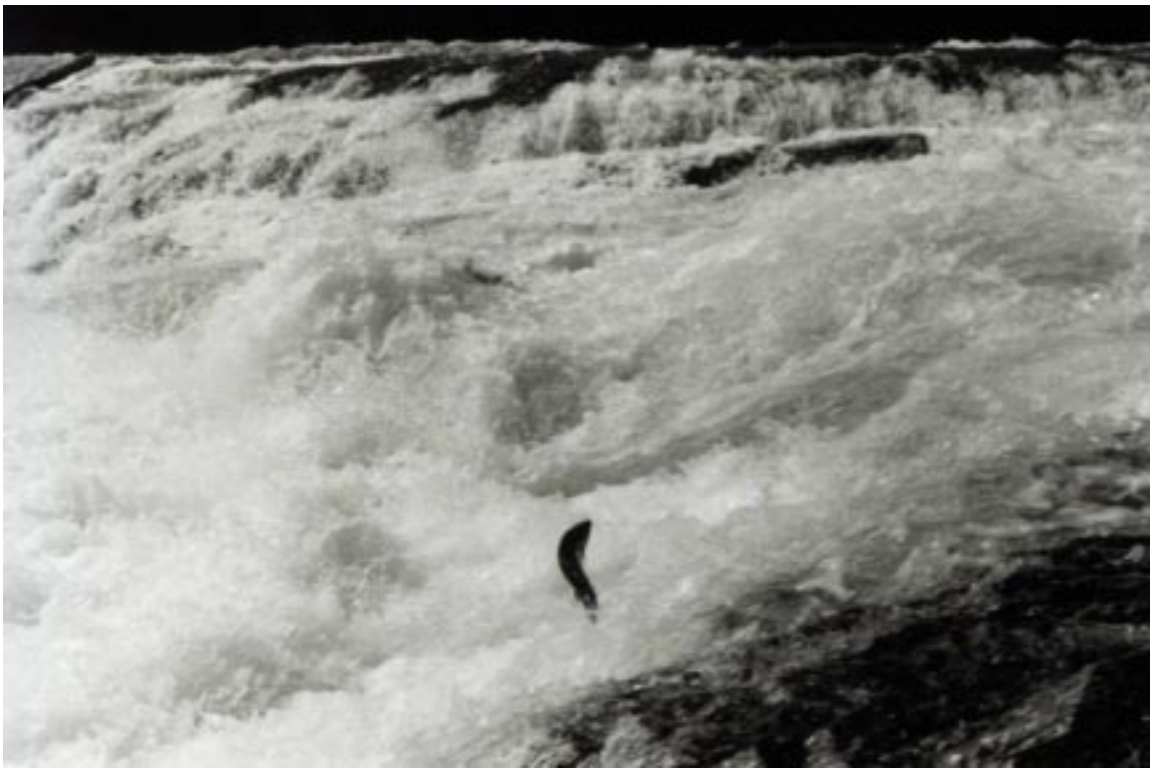
[4] Wilson Duff reported that "at an early time, perhaps at the beginning of the nineteenth century," the Nassgotin Band of the Tahltan displaced the Tsetsaut from the upper Nass and established a fishing village on Meziadin Lake. They held this village—"until about 1865, when they themselves were so reduced in wars with the Kitwancool and Niska that they withdrew to the Stikine, leaving most of the upper Nass in the possession of the Kitwancool." Wilson Duff, *Tsetsaut*. In *Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 6: Subarctic*, ed. June Helm. Smithsonian Institute, Washington. 1981. Also see *Histories, Territories, and Laws of the Kitwancool. Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir No. 4.* Duff, Wilson. Ed 1959. Note: The community of Gitanyow was formerly known as Kitwancool.

[5] Letter from C. Todd, Indian Agent to A.W. Vowell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Victoria. September 15, 1899. Public Archives of Canada. RG23, Vol 291, File 2235, Part 1. 2p.

[6] Memorandum from E.E. Prince to Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries re: Removal of Obstruction, Nass River. October 13, 1899. Public Archives of Canada RG 23, Vol 291, File 2235, Part 1. 1p.

[7] J.W.W. Moeran, *McCullagh of Aiyansh*. Marshall Brothers Limited. London 1923.

[8] James B. McCullagh, Report to the Inspector of Fisheries, Port Essington, B.C. 1905. Public Archives of Canada. RG23. Vol 291, File 2235, Part 2. 7p.



late 1912. Work at the falls continued through the spring and summer of 1913 and the fish ladder was completed on September 27, in time to assist the passage of some of the 1913 sockeye run over the falls.

The fish ladder was 126 feet long and twenty to thirty feet wide. It included five steps or pools, each with a rise of two feet, for a total elevation gain of ten feet. The pools were built with cross walls of reinforced concrete, in a channel created by blasting and removal of 2000 cubic yards of rock. A wing dam was built upstream from the ladder to prevent debris from blocking the pools, and a log cribbing was installed along the river bank adjacent to the ladder to prevent bank erosion. The project cost a total of $15,849.

Salmon arriving at the upper falls were able to easily pass upstream through the fish ladder but, in some years after construction, the fish were still severely impeded at the lower falls. This was especially a problem during years of low water flows. In years of higher water levels the fish encountered little difficulty. In 1914, Hickman recommended that work be done to relieve the obstruction at the lower falls, but no action was taken.

Inspector Hickman continued to monitor the annual salmon runs to Meziadin nearly every year until 1932, when the provincial government discontinued salmon surveys. He was usually accompanied by Dominion Fisheries Overseer J. Maxwell Collison and, after 1922, by Fisheries Overseer A. E. Young. From 1932 onward, inspections were made only by Dominion officers. While the fish ladder operated largely unattended, occasional repairs and debris removal were carried out and, in 1923, major repairs were undertaken, including replacement of the log cribbing along the river bank. Department of Marine and Fisheries Engineer J. McHugh reported an expenditure of $6,999.[12].

Although the Meziadin system was inspected in most years, there was little additional fisheries work on the upper Nass River during the 1930s or World War II. The Nass system came once again to the attention of the federal Department of Fisheries in 1955, when Northwest Power Industries Ltd. was granted authority by the provincial government to survey the Nass River for hydroelectric development. The electricity-generating potential of the Nass River had previously been studied in 1913 and 1929, but no power developments resulted from those surveys.[13]

[9] John Pease Babcock, a salmon fisheries expert from California, was recruited by the provincial government in 1901 to serve as Commissioner of Fisheries for British Columbia. He held this position until 1907 at which time the position became political with W.J. Bowser appointed as Commissioner. Babcock remained as Deputy Commissioner until 1911 and then, after a year back in California, he returned as Assistant to the Commissioner. He held that position until he retired in 1934. See John Pease Babcock biography in Cicely Lyons, *Salmon Our Heritage. The Story of a Province and an Industry*. 1969.

[10] An interesting sidelight to Hickman's 1912 survey is that he "discovered" another large lake tributary to the Nass River. Although this lake was obviously known to the first nations people, no such lake was on record or shown on available maps. Since he had seen sockeye salmon migrating up the Nass River above the confluence of the Meziadin River, however, Hickman had concluded that there must be other lakes suitable for sockeye spawning and rearing. Accompanied by two experienced woodsmen, Hickman travelled north up Hanna Creek, a tributary of Meziadin Lake. After ten days of hiking in continuous rain over rough terrain with no trails, they came upon a fifteen mile long glacier-fed lake. Upon arrival at the lake, they built a raft and surveyed the entire shoreline. Although the water in this lake is extremely silty, the outflow of clear water from several alluvial fans provides clean gravel well suited for spawning salmon and they located mature sockeye in several areas. In his annual report, Hickman stated: "As the lake has not heretofore been reported to the Government, I have the honour to name it Lake Bowser, after the Honourable the Commissioner of Fisheries, W.J. Bowser, K.C.". William J. Bowser was Commissioner of Fisheries for British Columbia during the period 1907-15 and Premier of British Columbia during 1915-16.

The new Meziadin Fishway built in 1966 (opposite)

Meziadin Falls (upper left)

Old fish ladders (bottom left)

In 1956, the Department of Fisheries responded by initiating major field studies of the Nass watershed. Fortunately, by this time the department had recruited a team of biologists, engineers, and technicians qualified to carry out the work. The Nass River trails had not been maintained for many years, but the availability of reliable bush planes had eliminated the need for long, slow expeditions on foot or horseback. However, for the surveys of the 1950s, equipment and supplies were restricted to items that could be fitted into or tied onto single-engine float planes.

The studies carried out from 1956 to 1959 included an assessment of salmon migration over Victoria Falls, which demonstrated that there were major losses of sockeye salmon in some years. Although the estimated rate of loss was only four percent of the run in 1958, losses were estimated at thirty eight percent in 1957 and forty five percent in 1959. In 1957, there was a relatively big run of 185,500 sockeye to the Meziadin River and 70,500 of these were killed at the falls. Losses would have been greater, however, if the old fish ladder had not been in operation.[14] Fortunately, the hydroelectric development proposal was abandoned. Had the development gone ahead, the salmon runs to the upper Nass would have been virtually destroyed.

With the threat of hydroelectric dams eliminated, plans were developed for a modern fishway encompassing both falls, but construction was delayed until the Stewart-Cassiar highway construction allowed road access to Meziadin Lake in 1965. A ten-mile access road was pushed through to the falls and the fishway was completed in 1966. This 670-foot-long fishway was built on the same side of the river as the old fish ladder and all signs of the old ladder were obliterated during construction. The fishway includes seventeen pools over the lower falls and thirteen pools over the upper falls, each with dimensions of eight by ten feet. The two sections are connected by five pools, each seventy five feet long. A concrete weir across the lower falls diverts the salmon to the fishway entrance. The total cost of this project was $850,000.[15]

The fishway has virtually eliminated salmon mortality at Victoria Falls. Salmon moving through the fishway have been counted every year since 1966, and in recent years, sockeye salmon escapements to the spawning grounds above the falls have been consistently large. From 1990 to 1999, an average of 238,000 sockeye salmon ascended the fishway each year.[16] By comparison, estimates made between 1957 and 1964, before the fishway was built, averaged only 103,000 sockeye salmon and many of those were killed at the falls.

The modern fishway can be reached by a short gravel road which leaves Highway 37 just north of the highway bridge across the Nass River. The annual migration of salmon through the fishway occurs mainly from July to September.

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[12] *Annual Report of the Resident Engineer for 1923*. J. McHugh, Resident Engineer to J.A. Motherwell, Chief Inspector of Fisheries for British Columbia, January 11, 1924. 6p.

[13] P.S. Bonney 1913. (See note 2) and F.W. Knewstubb, 1929. *Nass River. Preliminary Report on Power Possibilities*. B.C. Department of Lands, Water Rights Branch. Typescript Report. 7p.

[14] *Meziadin Falls Tagging Program - 1956*. Department of Fisheries, Canada. Typescript Report. August 1957. 7p. *Meziadin Falls Tagging Report - 1957*. Department of Fisheries, Canada. Typescript Report. June, 1958. 8p. *Meziadin Falls Tagging Report - 1958. Technical Report No. 2*. Department of Fisheries, Canada. August,1959. 9p.

[15] Kristopher Lam, *An Ex-Post Benefit Cost Analysis of the Meziadin Fishway*. Canadian Manuscript Report of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences No. 1643. 40p. 1982.

[16] Fisheries and Oceans Canada - Pacific Region. North Coast Web site (See Note 3).

Palmer's Cup

A Memento of Colonial Days

By Tom Wright

Tom Wright is a longtime resident of Saltspring Island, a former geologist and teacher, and Past President of the Salt Spring Island Historical Society. (Tom notes the different spellings of the name of the island reflect a controversy which has gone on for 150 years, and is still not resolved)

See the book reviews beginning on page 30 for further information on Lt. Palmer (Ed.)

Palmer's cup, which now sits upon my nearby shelf, provides an engaging link between today and that dynamic time nearly 150 years ago, when the roads of southern British Columbia were being laid out and constructed by Her Majesty's Royal Engineers. Here is the story of Lieutenant Henry Palmer and his silver cup.

In the Oregon Treaty of 1846, Great Britain and the United States agreed that the 49th Parallel should be the international boundary. The northward thrust of "manifest destiny" soon made the populating of British territory an imperative. The presence of Hudson's Bay Company traders alone was not enough.

Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Secretary of State for Colonies in London, carried on a lively correspondence on this matter with James Douglas, Governor of the Colony of Vancouver's Island, and determined to create a new mainland colony of British Columbia. His plan was to send a sizeable contingent of Royal Engineers to occupy, survey, build roads, and establish a capital city for the new colony. Colonists would follow. Bulwer-Lytton chose Colonel Richard Clement Moody of the Royal Engineers to head up his effort to colonize the territory, putting him in charge of the Columbia Detachment. James Douglas was named interim Governor of British Columbia in addition to his duties as Governor of Vancouver's Island and Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1858 the Fraser River gold rush had begun. Since Fort Victoria was the only port of entry by sailing ship or steamer, the hordes of miners (mostly from California) who inundated Fort Victoria had to find their own way across to the mainland. Others came across the unmarked border. This crisis situation vastly increased the urgency of Bulwer-Lytton's plan.

In his letters to Governor Douglas, Bulwer-Lytton referred to the "superior discipline and intelligence of this force" and expressed his expectation that "they will be far less likely than ordinary soldiers .□.□. to yield to the temptation to desertion offered by the goldfields." He was confident in their ability to "provide for themselves in a country without habitation."[1]

Colonel Moody was charged with giving "immediate attention to the improvement of the means of communication by land and water," and reporting upon "unificaton of British interests on the Pacific." He was also to report "upon the existence of all minerals, especially coal, and on the fisheries, timber, soil and agricultural prospects."[2]

In addition to Colonel Moody, the Columbia Detachment consisted of Captains J. M. Grant, R. M. Parsons, and H. R. Luard, Lieutenants A. R. Lempriere and H. S. Palmer, and Assistant Surgeon J. V. Seddall, along with 150 noncommissioned officers and men. Of the latter, thirty were married and allowed to bring their wives and children. Included were two men of the Royal Artillery and two Hussars, as the nucleus of either an artillery or cavalry corps should the need arise.

Lieutenant Henry Spencer Palmer, the main subject of this piece, was born in 1838, gazetted Lieutenant of Royal Engineers at the age of eighteen in 1856, and still only twenty in 1858. According to the London Times of 13 September 1858, "None but the most robust and skillful men among the Royal Engineers have been allowed to volunteer for this service, as the work they will be called upon to perform will not only be attended with some degree of hardship, but will also require a great amount of skill."[3]

A few days later, laden with telegraphic and photographic equipment, a printing press, portable boats and tools, the supply ship *Briseis* set sail, only to be burned at sea. A replacement supply ship, the *Euphrates*, sailed in January 1859. Three advance parties sailed by the shorter route via the Isthmus of Panama. These were Captain Parsons with twenty men, mostly surveyors; Captain Grant with twelve men, mainly carpenters; and Colonel Moody and his family accompanied by Captain W. D. Gossett. Gossett, a family friend, was to be treasurer of the Colony and to set up an assay office and a mint. The main body of the force, under Captain Henry Reynolds Luard, sailed in the three-masted clipper *Thames City* around Cape Horn. Captains Parsons and Grant, with their advance parties, were on hand at Fort Langley in time for the Ceremony of Inauguration of British Columbia on 19 November 1858. Colonel Moody and his family arrived in Victoria on the Asia on Christmas Day.

Meanwhile, the main party was still at sea. During the voyage from England, Lieutenant Palmer coedited (with 2nd Corporal Charles Sinnett) a weekly shipboard newspaper, *The Emigrant Soldier's Gazette*. Palmer also showed himself to be a good sport by performing a comedy turn with Captain Luard and Dr. Seddall one evening, as an entertainment for the troops. The unfortunate Dr. Seddall was able to play "Mrs. Bouncer" to Palmer and Luard's "Box and Cox" because his luxuriant beard had recently been shorn as a tribute to King Neptune as the *Thames City* crossed

the equator. *Thames City* docked at Vancouver Island 12 April 1859, after a stormy rounding of Cape Horn and six months at sea. The *Euphrates*, laden with stores, arrived a month later.

It should be noted that the Boundary Commission, another group largely made up of Royal Engineers under Lieutenant Colonel J. S. Hawkins and responsible for surveying and marking the 49th Parallel, though operating at the same time was not part of the Columbia Detachment.

Captain Grant quickly realized that the site chosen by Governor Douglas for British Columbia's new capital, Derby, was too close to the American border, and undefendable. Colonel Moody agreed to move to a better site on the north bank of the Fraser River, which he wanted to name Queensborough in honour of Queen Victoria. She later expressed the wish that it be renamed New Westminster. Thus began the busy and productive period from 1859 to 1863 during which the Royal Engineers, popularly known as the Sappers, explored, surveyed, and built the main roads of much of what we now know as the Lower Mainland. A network of roads into the Interior was also built, including the Cariboo Road, the Hope-Similkameen Road, the Douglas-Lillooet Road, and the North Road to Burrard Inlet. Maps were published, towns laid out, and churches and schools designed. A Lands and Works Department was formed, along with a Government Printing Office which printed the first *British Columbia Gazette*. Even a coat of arms and the first postage stamps were designed.

As well as acting as a police force to preserve law and order, the force made many other very real social and cultural contributions to the young colony. In the spring of 1859, Lieutenant Palmer travelled over and reported on the Harrison-Lillooet route. During that summer he surveyed the Dewdney Trail, a route from Hope to the new gold discovery at Rock Creek, travelling on as far as Fort Colville in Washington Territory. Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie (whose own father had been a Royal Engineer) travelled with him as far as Tulameen, on his way to the assizes at Kamloops. At Fort Colville Palmer met another explorer, Captain John Palliser, on his way to the coast.

The summer of 1860 found Lieutenant Palmer at Pemberton, at the head of Lillooet Lake, and in 1861 he and Captain Grant were engaged in surveying, blasting, bridging, levelling, and building the road up the Fraser and Thompson canyons. There they were visited by Lady Franklin and her companion, Miss Cracroft, on their western tour.

Probably Palmer's biggest challenge was in early 1862, when he explored and surveyed the route between Bella Coola and the Chilcotin, to Fort Alexandria on the Fraser River south of Quesnel.

A new route was needed to replace the near-impossible trails from Yale through Boston Bar to the new-found gold fields of the Cariboo. Supplies had to be brought in by mule train, a packer to each eight mules, and each mule carrying between 250 and 400 pounds. The gruelling trip took a full month from Yale to Quesnel, resulting in a price of a dollar per pound for transported flour. Lieutenant Palmer, now twenty four years old, arrived at Bella Coola aboard the HBC side-wheeler *Labouchere* in early July, 1862, accompanied by Sappers Edwards and Breakenridge and an observer from the Legislative Assembly, Lieutenant Colonel Foster.

On July 9 the party, along with a packer and eight horses, started up the Bella Coola River trail. Eight camps later he was still only sixteen miles (25 km) upstream. The baggage had to be carried by Indian canoe as far as Stuie, forty three miles (69 km) upstream, before the vegetation thinned and the trail improved enough to be able to load up the horses. Palmer described this country as "magnificent mountains with all the elements of grandeur imaginable, numberless waterfalls down their slope."[4] The trail was still such that it took six hours to travel eight miles (thirteen km) with the loaded horses. Palmer described the desperate circumstances of the Natives, almost wiped out by smallpox. "Sick men and women were left, with a blanket and two or three salmon, to die. Sick children were tied to trees, and hideously painted, naked grey-headed medicine men howled and gesticulated night and day in front of the lodges .□.□. Poor creatures, they are dying and rotting away by the score, and it is no uncommon occurrence to come across dead bodies lying in the bush."[5]

He had great admiration for the skill and canoemanship displayed by the Native people, but saw them as "extortionate, inconsistent, thieving rascals.□.□.□. The beggars have an insatiable affection for pannikins, knives, etc.□.□.□. one of them stole the inverting eyepiece of the theodolite. I hope to goodness he will be frightened when he sees the world upside down."[6] It is not surprising that scuffles ensued between the members of the party and the Natives. Only Palmer's brashness in facing down half a dozen Natives with muskets cocked and levelled, while himself unarmed, saved their lives.

On July 24 at the foot of the Great Slide, ninety

Lieutenant Henry Palmer R.E.
BC Archives HP003966

Mrs. Henry Spencer (Wright) Palmer
BC Archives HP003972

kilometres from Bella Coola, Palmer decided to abandon the horses and press ahead on foot. Understandably, he had great difficulty in persuading some of the local Chilcotins to help carry the baggage. From the foot of the Great Slide at an elevation of 2,230 feet (680 m), the trail zig-zagged up through the cliffs and hollows along the Hotnarko River to the dreaded Precipice, a crumbling mass of rock over 1,000 feet (300 m) in height. Scaling this, at mile seventy three (120 km) the weary travellers found themselves at an altitude of 3,840 feet (1170 m) on the high Chilcotin Plateau. The remaining 140 miles (225 km) as the crow flies—perhaps twice that with winding trails and detours—were relatively easy going, and Palmer's party reached Fort Alexandria on the Fraser River on 13 August 1862. His report on the route was, understandably, not encouraging.

Two years later in 1864, a road crew trying to cut another way through to the Cariboo from Bute Inlet, 170 miles (275 km) southeast of Bella Coola, was ambushed by Chilcotins, and 13 whites were killed. Perhaps Palmer was luckier than he realized. This route too was abandoned, and in fact never built. In the event Palmer's Bella Coola route was even worse than the Fraser Canyon route, and the road would not be put through to Bella Coola until 1955, nearly a century later. The remainder of the 1862 season Palmer spent in the Cariboo gold fields, mapping and laying out several townsites. In 1863 Palmer's crew were working on the Cariboo Road out of Spence's Bridge. The Cariboo Road completion sounded the death knell for the alternate Harrison-Lillooet route. Traffic dwindled away, and the town of Port Douglas, intended to perpetuate the memory of the Governor, was soon abandoned.

On Wednesday 8 July 1863, the Engineers on parade were told that for financial reasons their detachment was being disbanded. They could take their discharge in the Colony if they wished, along with a land grant of 150 acres. Governor Douglas had decided that the resources of the Colony were no longer adequate to finance the detachment. This decision was likely helped along by differences of opinion between the Governor and Colonel Moody. There is little doubt that much more could have been accomplished had the mandate of the Corps been extended, but the foundations of the Colony, soon to become a province, had been well and truly laid. The men had borne themselves according to the finest traditions of the British Army, and acquitted themselves well. It is hard to believe that so much was accomplished in so short a time. At the breakup of the Columbia Detachment, only twenty five or thirty of the Sappers returned to England with the seven career officers. Most decided to take up their 150-acre land grant, the Colony thereby gaining some of its most hardworking and desirable new settlers.

In disbanding, the Royal Engineers left many gifts behind them. Colonel Moody's house became Government House. The 2,000 volume Corps library, which had been personally selected by Bulwer-Lytton, was placed in the Mechanic's Institute, and later became the nucleus of the New Westminster Public Library. Furniture, bedding, and a large bath were left to the Royal Columbian Hospital built in 1862, then only a one-storey wooden structure. Dr. Seddall's instruments and medicines were also donated. The printing press and all maps and drawings were also left behind. Not least was the military reserve which had been put aside by Colonel Moody, a cherished gift to future citizens of Vancouver, now known as Stanley Park.

Lieutenant Palmer found some time between exploring, surveying, and road building to meet and court Mary Jane Wright, one of the daughters of Archdeacon Henry Press Wright, who had brought his family to the Colony in 1860. The last splendid social affair for the Engineers was the marriage of Lieutenant Henry Spencer Palmer to Miss Mary Jane Wright at the Church of the Holy Trinity in New Westminster. The ceremony was conducted by Archdeacon Charles T. Woods. In 1930, forty years after Lieutenant Palmer's death, his widow recollected the wedding, and that there was,

no proper carriage available in the district, so we had instead a wagon covered in a white duck tarpaulin in which I, the bride, and bridesmaids went to the ceremony. But even more exciting was our departure for the church. The only available conveyance was a high gig. It happened to be a very windy day and when my husband and I mounted

Notes and References

[1] letter from Bulwer-Lytton to James Douglas, *BC Archives*

[2] letter from Bulwer-Lytton to Colonel R. C. Moody, *BC Archives*.

[3] *London Times* September 13, 1858.

[4] letter from Lieutenant Palmer to Colonel Moody July 9,1862.

[5] *ibid*.

[6] *ibid*.

[7] *Daily Colonist* Nov 9, 1930.

[8] *British Columbian* Nov. 15, 1863.

Akigg, G.P.V. and Helen B. Akrigg. *British Columbia Chronicle 1847-1871*. (Vancouver, BC: Discovery Press 1977).

Hill, Beth, *Sappers* (Ganges: Horsdal & Schubart, 1987).

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and took our seats, my veil flew wildly in every direction, while the horse sped along the road.[7]

The reception was held in the Royal Engineers' Mess, and Sapper Haynes conducted the band as it played the newlyweds away to their honeymoon in Victoria.

The silver cup presented by Lieutenant Palmer to Archdeacon Woods has been handed down through the years in the Woods/Bentley/Witherspoon family and, as it is my good fortune to be married to Anne Irene (Witherspoon) Wright, I have been able to take photographs of it for this article. The cup contains a note written in 1953 by former B.C. archivist, the late Major Matthews, about Palmer, his wedding, and his return home.

The wording on the cup reads: "To the Rev. Charles T. Woods from Lieut. Henry Spencer Palmer R. E. October 7th 1863." The floral decoration is raised, so that it appears in inverse inside the cup, which weighs about 230 grams. The hallmark of a bear and the letters "V and Co" are accompanied by the words "Vanderslice and Co. S.F.Cal.," suggesting that the cup is made of American silver.

Not long after the honeymoon, at noon on 14 November 1863, the crowds gathered on the New Westminster docks to see off Colonel Moody and his family, along with Captains Grant, Parsons and Luard, on board the *Enterprise*. To the waving of handkerchiefs and hats, and five hearty cheers, the steamer cast off and got under way. Sapper Haynes and the R. E. Band were once more on hand to play.

A little before one o'clock the *Cameleon*, carrying Lieutenant Palmer and his bride, Dr. Seddall, and some fifteen of the Sappers,

came sweeping gracefully down within a cable of the levee, which was by this time lined with human beings. As she passed the Pioneer Wharf, the order was given to "man the rigging and give three cheers," when up shot a hundred "bluejackets" as if by magic and out rang three hearty cheers, such as only Her Majesty's seamen can give, in response to which the crowd on shore cheered most lustily. The excellent Royal Engineers' Band the while playing those beautiful and, under the circumstances, touching airs, "Home Again," "Auld Lang Syne," and "God Save the Queen." In every direction, from window and balcony was to be seen the waving of handkerchiefs and hats, accompanied by many a truant tear. But oh! the reaction. When all was over and the bustle and excitement consequent upon leave-taking had subsided, a feeling of sadness and gloom seemed to pervade the whole community.[8]

After his return to England Palmer was, in 1866, promoted to 2nd Captain. He surveyed the Sinai Peninsula for the Ordnance Survey in 1868. As a Major in 1873 he was astronomer in charge of a party observing the transit of Venus in New Zealand. A period as aide-de-camp to the Governor of Barbados was followed by similar duties in Hong Kong, where he also acted as engineer for the Admiralty. Promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in 1881, he was lent to the Japanese government in Yokohama. He returned to England in 1883 as Commanding Officer of the Royal Engineers, then as a Brevet Colonel he returned to Japan in 1885. He retired in 1887, remaining in Japan until his death in Tokyo in 1890. He was then only fifty two years old. ■

The wording on the cup reads, "To the Rev. Charles T. Woods from Lieut. Henry Spencer Palmer R. E. October 7th 1863."
Photo: Tom Wright

Token History

John McRae of Quesnel Forks

by Ronald Greene

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Marie Elliott, who has been a great help in preparing this article, generously sharing her research and interest in this part of British Columbia and directing us to some sources we wouldn't otherwise have been aware of. We visited Beverley Woodburn, Florence's daughter; Georgina Vernon, Maggie's daughter, and her daughter Elaine Price who were very helpful, confirming family relationships, lending us family photographs and giving us some family stories. We have used Les Hill's excellent rubbings of the tokens.

Quesnelle Forks has a history which dates back to 1859 when the first prospectors moved into the upper reaches of the Fraser River. By the end of the summer they had moved up the Quesnelle River to the point where the North and South Forks of the Quesnelle River met, which today are called the Cariboo and the Quesnel River respectively. In June 1860 Timoleon Love obtained a ferry licence to cross the river at this point, which was called Forks of the Quesnelle, or Quesnelle Forks. A competing ferry was established the same year by John Tow some 16 kilometers (ten miles) further down stream. Both ferries were made redundant when Thomas Barry and Sam Adler built a toll bridge across the South Fork River in March 1861. The community of Quesnelle Forks developed on the low lying gravel flats situated between the north and south forks of the river. The trail led further into the Cariboo to Keithley Creek and onto Williams Creek which was to become the site of the largest gold discovery of the period.

The community at Quesnelle Forks served as the supply point for much of the prospecting and mining activity in the area for many years. After the initial flurry of gold mining, when all the good claims were staked, and the easy gold extracted, activity settled back. Many of the white prospectors left the Cariboo but the Chinese who had been marginalized and restricted to the less profitable diggings, continued on. In the mid 1880's William Stephenson, the government agent, and John Barker, a blacksmith, were the only white residents listed at the Forks of Quesnelle in what was otherwise an entirely Chinese community. In 1891 there were only 212 Chinese and 66 whites resident in the entire Keithley Creek/ Quesnelle Forks area. A resurgence occurred in the early 1890's when money and better transportation became available to develop hydraulic mining. Hydraulic operations such as the Cariboo Hydraulic Mining Company developed at nearby Bullion required a high capital outlay, but recovered gold from very low concentrations. The Bullion operation depended upon miles of flume which brought the water to the mining site from far off lakes such as Polley Lake.

A townsite was plotted at Quesnelle Forks in 1893 and lots were sold 29 April 1895. We know where John McRae's business was located because a competing firm, Vieth & Borland, had complained that William Stephenson had promised that they would be allowed to buy the lot [lot one] they occupied and the adjoining lot [lot two] for potential expansion. Stephenson denied any such promise and when the lots were auctioned in 1895 the firm was outbid for lot two by John Hepburn who bought the lot for $125.00. The Vieth & Borland letter enclosed a small map showing that John McRae owned lot three. Quesnelle Forks was renamed Quesnel Forks in June 1900. A new section of wagon road built around this time to Barkerville from Quesnel via Jack of Clubs Lake diverted most of the traffic away from the Quesnel Forks route which relegated Quesnel Forks to a supply point for Bullion and Horsefly (Harper's Camp) and that part of the Cariboo. By September 1902 William Fleet Robertson, the Provincial Mineralogist, said that the community was well on its way to becoming a ghost town, there being only one hotel and bar, with a store in connection – this was John McRae's –and a branch store belonging to Vieth & Borland.

The population thus indicated is a sharp drop from the 300 estimated by the R.G. Dun and Company credit listing of January 1899, or the ninety names, including four Chinese names, listed in the 1901 *B.C. Directory*. The Dominion Census of 1901 lists 275 names, the majority of which were Chinese. The population would have peaked during the winter months when many of the miners left their claims and lived in Quesnel Forks over winter. In the summer of 1899 some sixty men were boarding at McRae's Hotel, forty of whom worked for the Gold Point Company.

Today Quesnel Forks is a ghost town, with a cemetery and only a few log cabins which have not collapsed. The hydraulic mining at the Bullion Pit some six kilometres (four miles) upstream on the Quesnel River washed so much gravel into the river that the river was forced higher and has washed away parts of what had been the townsite. Marie Elliott, author of *Gold and Grand Dreams, Cariboo East in the Early Years*, who has visited the site many times says it is a magical spot.

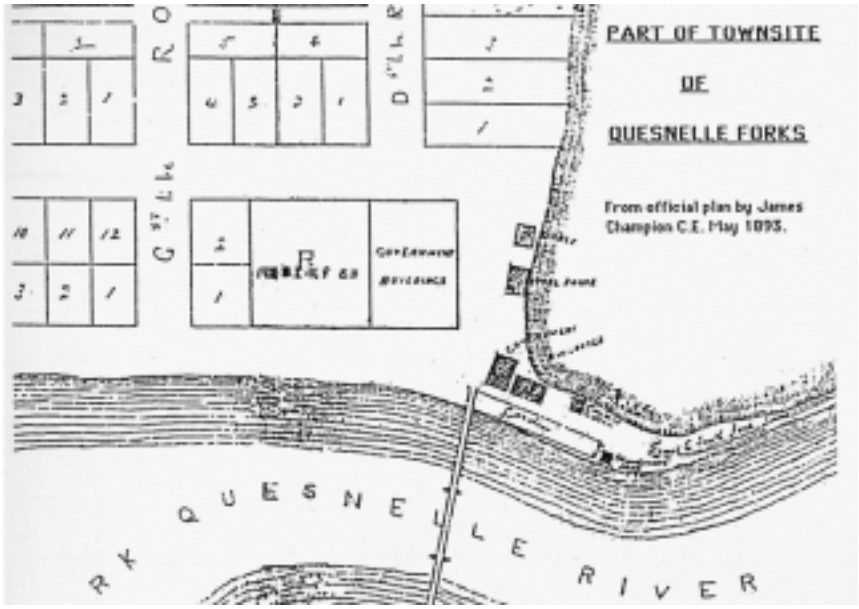
John McRae, hotelier and general merchant

John McRae was born 1 June 1860 in Skye, Ontario, which is three kilometres (two miles) north of Dunvegan, Kenyon Township, Glengarry County. This county is on the north side of the St. Lawrence, bordering on Quebec, which might explain why his marriage to Sarah Stewart, of Dunvegan, on 22 October 1890 took place in Montreal. McRae was the first son, and fifth child of Malcolm and Catherine McRae. In all he was to have one brother, Duncan, and six sisters. John and Sarah McRae moved to Vancouver

by May 1892 where their first daughter was born. The 1892 *B.C. Directory* lists two John McRae's, one a blacksmith, the other a clerk for Tye and Company, a hardware company which curiously was not listed. If our John McRae was either man, he more likely was the latter, although as he has been variously reported as six foot four inches or six foot six inches tall, he could well have been the blacksmith. When John McRae moved to Quesnelle Forks is not known for certain, we can only say that he had to be there by the date of the sale of the lots in April 1895. He is not listed in the R.G. Dun and Comapany credit listings prior to July 1895 and mention of his name appears for the first time in the Ashcroft newspaper, *The British Columbia Mining Journal*, in late June 1895, which mentions, "… Were it not that host John McRae has also imported a flock [of sheep], fresh meat might have run up to big figures." and his first advertisement followed a week later. This first ad was for McRae's Hotel, McRae & McRae, proprietors.

The other McRae in the partnership was Angus McRae, who came from Prince Edward Island and is believed not to be a relative. The partnership was dissolved as of 2 July 1897 and Angus returned to his freighting business , bringing some horses in from Oregon, running pack trains, and even operating a livery stable in Vancouver for a short period. Living the itinerant life of a packer, Angus has proven to be elusive target in our efforts to track him further. Angus may have been considered the senior partner of the pair as the style was A. & J. McRae in subsequent advertisements. In March 1896 A. & J. McRae advertised as a Hotel & General Store. In February 1896 it was noted that John McRae and family had returned to the Forks after a long trip to the coast, and that he had spent the last three weeks "putting up a new store house, with a fine hall above it for public meetings of business or pleasure." In the next month it was noted that, "McRae's hotel had added a wing and been otherwise improved, in anticipation of the spring trade, which the development work that will be done in this section warrants. The house will be in good shape to accommodate any one desiring quarters at the Forks."

Like many others who lived and worked in the mining districts John McRae dabbled in mining ventures. By April 1896 he signed an advertisement for the Black Bear Creek Mining Company, as secretary-treasurer. In May 1899 he applied to the government to purchase 160 acres at Poquette Creek which flows into Quesnel Lake. The reason given that the land was required, was "a hay ranch." William Fleet Robertson's



Partial plan of Quesnelle Forks, 1893

1902 report mentions that McRae et al had done 100 dollars worth of work on their Bear Creek quartz claim, which amounted to a five foot tunnel and a five foot pit but that prospects were uncertain. No work was being done on Poquette Creek, which the report called Coquette Creek, another name for the creek then, but no longer in use.

John McRae's family had moved to Quesnelle Forks by 1895. The family now consisted of three children, Katherine Margaret (Maggie), John Stewart and Mary Belle, all born in Vancouver. Twins were born at Quesnelle Forks on 10 May 1897, but the girl died on the eleventh and the boy on the twelfth. Neither child was named and neither birth nor death was registered. Not registering a birth was the norm for the McRae's as only Mary Belle's birth was registered at the time. The births for Maggie, John and Tena were not registered until they were adults and needed some proof of birth for a passport or other purpose. The births for the later children are still covered in the hundred year blackout period for the index. Proof of the twins' births was found in the *Bullion Mine Journal* and confirmed by entries in the family bible:

> *"Tuesday 11th May 1897. …Gabriel Rodoni, died this morning at 4.05, being attended by Ludworth, Schiefer, Morton and Hosking - Doctor Hearald had not returned from the Forks, where he was detained all night in attendance on Mrs McRae = Twins.*
>
> *He got to the mine about 6 a.m. …"*

Christina (Tena) was born the following year in Quesnelle Forks as was Joanna North (Annie) in 1902, although it was now called Quesnel Forks. The last two children were born in Vancouver, Harriet Ann (Etta) in January 1904 and Florence Nightingale, either Dec 1907 or Dec. 1908 depending upon her daughter or the family bible. Six of the nine children lived to become adults. Annie died in 1918 of heart

The McRae Family (c. 1903 before Etta and Florence were born) left to right: Christina, John, John (jr.), Mary, Maggie (at back), Annie held by Mrs Sarah McRae. *photo courtesy of Mrs Beverley Woodburn*

failure, age sixteen years.

Christmas of 1898 saw John McRae and another pair of hoteliers, the Helgeson Brothers host a lively Christmas party. McRae was the postmaster at Quesnelle Forks for seven months, from 1 April 1899 until 4 December 1899. There hadn't been a postmaster for the two years previously and there wasn't to be another until 1902. A note in the *Ashcroft Journal* in December 1899 told of John McRae and family passing through Ashcroft. He was said to be going to New York City for the winter and the family would spend a few months in Scotland. We have no confirmation that this trip actually took place and the members of the family to whom we spoke were unaware of any such trip. In accordance with the *Liquor Licence Act,1899*, John McRae applied for a licence to sell liquor from January 1900. A renewal request a year later described the hotel as being sixty feet long and forty feet wide, containing a bar room, sitting room, dining room, store room, kitchen and twenty bed rooms with a stable for twenty horses.

However, having a liquor licence was not a guarantee of success and Vieth & Borland and John McRae jointly complained to the Superintendent of the Provincial Police, F.S. Hussey, in January 1903 about what they felt was unfair competition from unlicensed Chinese merchants who were not at all particular as to the proper running of their places, allowing all forms of gambling, and opium smoking not to mention vice in other forms, etc. John McRae, wrote again in May 1905 that it was not fair that he should have to pay licence fee and sell smaller quantity of liquor than the Chinese sell and also to have to keep lodging for intoxicated men from "China stores" who do not keep lodgers.

The obvious bias against the Chinese was typical of the period. The *Liquor Licence Act, 1899* held specific restrictions not allowing licences to be issued or transferred to Natives, Chinese or Japanese. This Act was disallowed by the federal government 24 April 1900 and the replacement, The *Liquor Licence Act, 1900*, removed the formal restriction against the Chinese and Japanese. But the provincial politicians were able to introduce an amendment to the act in 1902 that restricted issuance of licences to persons on the provincial voters list which, of course, achieved the provincial government's intention as neither Chinese nor Japanese had the vote. However the 1902 amendment had the unfortunate side effect of prohibiting single women from holding licences which required an amendment in 1903 which excluded the women from the voters' list requirement.

This is not to say that John McRae was himself beyond reproach. He was far from that if we are to believe Al Stephenson in his 1907 letter to Superintendent Hussey. Al Stephenson was one of the sons of Government Agent, William Stephenson. His brother, "Gillie" was caught buying drinks on two occasions from one of the Chinese merchants, Quow Mow Lung, in a sting operation in July 1907 initiated as a result of McRae's complaints. Was Stephenson's letter of a month later accurate or just sour grapes? He complained of McRae serving Natives, selling drinks to men already so drunk they couldn't stand up, and running the bar wide open on Sundays. He also detailed an injustice to a Chinese member of the community who won at poker and then was assaulted

and robbed of his winnings in McRae's bar room.

John McRae appears to have been involved in mercantile partnership for a short while circa late 1902. The R.G. Dun and Company credit listing dated January 1903 mentions that McRae was operating a general store and hotel in Quesnel Forks, "also McRae & Fitzgerald, [a] general store [in] Harper's Camp."

By 1904 Mrs McRae and the children had moved back to Vancouver. Undoubtedly the opportunities in Vancouver to educate their children, or lack of them in Quesnel Forks, had much to do with this move. Perhaps family available to assist in emergencies was also a concern as Sarah had a sister, Christie, living in Vancouver. She was married to a William McRae — unrelated to John — who was to become the Chief of Police in Vancouver in 1916. Once the family was in Vancouver, John McRae seems to have stayed in Quesnel Forks for long periods of time each year. He continued to renew his Quesnel Forks liquor licence until November 1908 for the first half of 1909, but he opened a liquor store at 800 Powell Street, in Vancouver in 1908. George W. McAllister took over the hotel licence as of 1 April 1909. From 1909 McRae made semi-annual visits to Quesnel Forks, one in the spring, and the other in the fall. In May of 1909 he came up to Quesnel Forks for a month. When the hotel burnt down in March 1911 it, "…was run by George McAllister, and much sympathy will be felt for him in his loss." Applications, as well as renewals, for liquor licences had to be advertised and John McRae advertised in October 1913 for the granting of a licence for the Cariboo Hotel, situated at Quesnel Forks, Lot Three, First Street, so it appears that he had rebuilt the hotel on the same site and called it the Cariboo Hotel.

McRae ran his Powell Street liquor business until 1912, but from that year the city directories do not show any occupation for him until 1916, when he was the manager of the Highland Liquor Company , located at 758 Powell Street. According to the company records John McRae was not a shareholder in the Highland Liquor Company which went out of business when Prohibition was initiated in October 1917. John McRae was proud of his skill at blending scotch whiskey and a brand, "Long John," was said to be named after him.

We don't know what John McRae did during the period of 1913 to 1915. He may have been retired, or involved in developing some of his mining claims, but the *Reports of the Minister of Mines* are mute about him during the period. *The Ashcroft Journal* noted in November 1913 that a new steamboat for Quesnel Lake owned by John McRae and others had been shipped from its Vancouver shipyard.

The New Cariboo Goldfields Limited NPL was incorporated in October 1921. John McRae received a number of shares in exchange for the rights to a placer mine and he ended up with about one third of the issued shares. New Cariboo was succeeded by the Hemlock Creek Placer Gold Company, NPL by May 1922 a company of which John McRae was a director. The *Report of the Minister of Mines* for 1922 devotes a page to the company, but subsequent issues fail to mention the company.

Beverley Woodburn, Florence's daughter, has fond memories of her grandfather. She and her mother visited him often. He would "allow" Beverley to polish his boots, for which he paid her in large scotch mints. She was permitted entry into his den, but she had to be quiet there. He loved to play the bag-pipes, but realizing not everybody appreciated hearing the instrument, he would play the chanter so as not to bother his neighbours.

The Hemlock Creek company's annual reports list John McRae as a merchant until about 1930 when he became a "gentleman" which probably indicates that he was fully retired by then. His death certificate gave his occupation as an "Hotel and Store Operator" and the date he last worked at this occupation as 1918. John McRae passed away 5 May 1941at the age of eighty, his wife having predeceased him on 5 October 1938.

The Tokens

There are three denominations of McRae's tokens known, 25 Cents, 50 Cents and $1.00. They are made of German Silver, which we would call Nickel Silver today, and measure: twenty five millimetre, thirty one millimetre and thirty forty millimetre in diameter. While we do not know who made them they are of a style more reminiscent of Chicago token manufacturers, rather than Vancouver, or Seattle makers. Since the name Quesnel Forks was used, rather than Quesnelle Forks, we can assume that the tokens were issued after June 1900. One of the $1.00 tokens, Q9560e, has been counterstamped "VOID" which might indicate that John McRae had decided to redeem any outstanding tokens and discontinue their use. Since he leased the hotel from April 1909 we think it is safe to say that 1909 was the last year they were likely to have been used. All the tokens are rare. BCHF

Book Reviews

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Port Coquitlam; Where Rails Meet Rivers.
Madeira Park, Harbour Publishing,, 2000, 204 p., $39.95 hard cover.

Port Coquitlam; Where Rails Meet Rivers is an illustrated book describing the economic, political, and social development of the city in eight chapters. The author provides a brief description of both contemporary and historical figures/groups such as the Kwayhquitlum peoples and the work of the Royal Engineers who selected Mary Hill as a strategic vantage point during colonial times to protect the capital New Westminster from an American invasion. The most influential factor in the development of the PoCo was the building of the CPR and a south running spur from New Westminster in 1886 that led to the creation of Westminster Junction. It was at this junction that the city of Port Coquitlam emerged and grew.

The author provides great detail of Port Coquitlam being "a microcosm of the BC economy" with highlights including the award winning Colony Farms, known as the "best in the west" during the 1910s, the Essondale and Riverdale Institutions, and the CPR freight yards. More recently, PoCo has prospered with the Hollywood movie industry and T.V. series *X-Files*. Economic growth led to a population increase from 1,300 in 1913 to 3,232 in 1951.

Davis retraces this sudden growth to the completion of the Lougheed Highway in 1951. More people settled in affordable PoCo subdivisions given that the Lougheed Highway made commuting to Vancouver and nearby communities easier and faster. By 1961 the population was 8,111 and in 1996 it reached 46,682.

Socially, there have been many well-known meeting establishments for PoCo residents including the very popular Wild Duck Inn that was built in 1912. The May Day celebration tradition started as a one-day affair in 1923 and today, runs as a week long event. Port Coquitlam boasts more parkland acreage per capita than any other city in the Lower Mainland and the PoCo's Natural Trail, fifteen miles in length encircling the city offers local residents and visitors places to relax, enjoy or to be active in a beautiful setting.

Politically, the successful creation of and voting in PoCo in 1913 was only possible once it was legally separated from Coquitlam. From the myriad of important PoCo politicians, Jane Kilmer was worth mentioning since she was the first woman councillor in PoCo, who continues to be the longest serving alderman in BC history, having served for thirty-four years.

Port Coquitlam, like many cities, faced more than its share of calamities that included the 1918 influenza and the 1920 fire. The Dirty Thirties, the 1948 Fraser River flood, the 1961 Port Coquitlam River flood and typhoon Freda in 1962 were other significant struggles PoCo residents faced.

My biggest criticism of this book is the absence of maps illustrating the geography, demographic growth and even the ethnic diversity of PoCo. Three minor errors were found in the book. The first, on page 24, mentions the HBC Fort Langley moving in 1839 to a new site thirty-five kilometres upstream when it was only five. Additionally, on page 130 the author wrote "It was the first city in BC to complete its 1958 Centennial project (celebrating the hundredth anniversary of BC's union with Vancouver island as the colony of British Columbia)…" BC became a colony in that year and it joined Vancouver Island in 1866, not 1858. On the bottom of the page 176 the author leaves an incomplete sentence.

Chuck Davis does a great job making connections between the past and the present throughout the book. I really appreciated the format of the book and its layout that included a combination of sepia toned, black and white and colour photos, the historical footnotes (intriguing facts from the period) present in each chapter, and the historical and/or contemporary stories found in sidebars that can make you either chuckle or raise an eyebrow.

Werner Kaschel. *Werner Kaschel teaches social studies in the Surrey school system.*

Professing English; a life of Roy Daniells.
Sandra Djwa. University of Toronto Press, 2002. 474 p., illus. $55 hard cover.

Many years ago as a third year English major at UBC, I enrolled in a course on the works of the poet and essayist John Milton. My choice of the course had little to do with my interest in *Paradise Lost*, *Samson Agonistes* or *Areopagitica*. It had everything to do with the reputation of the instructor, Dr. Roy Daniells, and to my own desire to one day teach. I was not disappointed. Daniells' English classes were the best I experienced in all my years at the university, and as a bonus I was rewarded with a lifelong enjoyment of the works of Milton. As Sandra Djwa writes in *Professing English: A Life of Roy Daniells* , "he was emotionally involved with his subject, loved to teach, and genuinely wanted to know what his students thought. He asked probing questions and entertained answers (even foolish ones) kindly. Students went away from his classes, not just informed, but impelled by the urge to discover more."

As an educator and administrator, Roy Daniells had an enormous impact on the teaching of English in Canadian universities and, via the trickle-down effect, on the teaching of English in elementary and secondary schools. It was Daniells who pressed for consolidation of English as a university discipline. When he arrived at UBC in 1946, the English Department was merely a service department offering a combined general literary and composition course for all first year students and a literary survey course at the second year level. At the upper levels students could concentrate on Shakespeare or the Victorian poets, but the only Canadian literature studied was covered in a few weeks of "English Literature of the North American Continent." Daniells transformed the department by developing both a strong undergraduate program and an effective graduate program and enlisting faculty dedicated to both teaching and publishing. And he pushed not only for the study of Canadian writing but for the development of Canadian writers. His influence was felt by such luminaries as Margaret Laurence, Sinclair Ross, Adele Wiseman, and Margaret Atwood.

Unfortunately for the thousands of us whom he taught at the University of Toronto, the University of Manitoba and finally the University of BC–most of whom

did not go on to become academics–Ms Djwa's *Life of Roy Daniells* will be disappointing. While from time to time she does connect with Roy Daniells, the teacher, this aspect of the man appears to be secondary to her interest in his religious and sexual life and his eternal sparring with poet Earl Birney. I cannot fault her research. She has apparently unearthed every document he ever wrote, every letter he ever received, every reference to him in the works of others, and has interviewed all his associates and confidants. But in the end all this labour has resulted in a 400-page report, not a biography. Djwa fails to synthesize her findings, fails to direct the reader to the patterns and trends in Daniells' development as a teacher, administrator, scholar and writer–which aspects are, in the end, far more interesting than his sex life. And while she chronicles his religious conflicts in exhausting detail, in the end the reader is left perplexed as to what he finally believed and exactly how this influenced his career. It is good to get the facts of this man's contributions down on paper but we shall have to wait for someone else to produce his biography.

Betty Keller. *Betty Keller has written biographies of Ernest Thompson Seton, Pauline Johnson, Bertrand Sinclair, and others.*

The Biography of Major-General Henry Spencer Palmer, R.E., F.R.A.S. (1838-1893),
Compiled by Jiro Higuchi. [Yokohama, Jiro Higuchi] 2002. 224 p., illus. Second ed.

Lt. Henry Spencer Palmer, an officer in the Royal Engineers, served in British Columbia under Col. R. C. Moody from 1858 to 1863. He was attached to the Survey Dept. under Capt. R. M. Parsons, where his duties included several exploratory surveys, laying out trails, supervising and inspecting road construction. Following his return to Britain with the detachment, he had a number of postings, serving as a surveyor, engineer and astronomer with the Ordnance Survey, the survey of the Sinai, the Transit of Venus, and in other places. He was invited to Japan to advise on a waterworks for the city of Yokohama. In 1887 he retired from the Royal Engineers and established a successful practice in Yokohama as a civil engineer, and was awarded the Order of the Rising Sun. He died in Tokyo in February 1893.

The author is Palmer's grandson. In the first quarter of this biography, Higuchi has summarised Palmer's career "from his birth in 1838 to his arrival in Japan to superintend Yokohama Waterworks in 1885." The next three chapters deal with Palmer as a technical engineer, as a journalist, and as an astronomer and a natural scientist. The first is the longest section, dealing with the Yokohama waterworks, the Yokohama harbour works, and various other engineering projects with which Palmer was involved. Higuchi has gathered a considerable amount of information from government records, contemporary newspaper accounts, and other archival sources. Palmer wrote many articles for *The Times* as the Correspondent in Tokyo. In addition to numerous articles about the need for revision of the unfair treaties with the United States and seventeen European countries, he wrote about Japanese culture, religion, spas, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and many other subjects. He demonstrated his interest in nature during the voyage on the *Thames City* to British Columbia in 1858-59 in his articles in *The Emigrant Soldier's Gazette* and *Cape Horn Chronicle*.

The author published this biography in January 2002, with a second edition in March. Both are limited editions. In the first one all the plates are in colour, and there are numerous textual errors with pasted-on corrections. In the second edition the text has been reprinted incorporating the corrections, the plates are all in black and white, and two plates have been added, increasing the number of photographs to thirty-eight. Six of the photos are of Palmer, and another ten are of various family members, including his wife, Mary Jane Pearson Wright, the daughter of the Reverend Henry Press Wright, first archdeacon of British Columbia. Unfortunately the people in photographs are generally not identified beyond a name. There are only nine pages dealing with Palmer and his family, and six of those are copies of letters to his son and from one of his granddaughters. His widow returned to British Columbia, as did the youngest daughter and her family. Unfortunately there is no index.

Higuchi spent at least twenty years researching and writing about Palmer, from a translation of *Letters from the Land of the Rising Sun*, a history in various forms of the Yokohama Waterworks, a biography of Palmer in Japanese, and now this biography in English. This is an interesting story of a remarkable man. It is a great pity that Higuchi did not have an editor whose first language is English. The text is marred by the use of incorrect words, or twisted grammar to the point of being difficult to understand at times. There are many blocks of text that look like quotations. Frequently it is "the writer" giving us "the gist" of the article. Still, this book is worth reading for anyone interested in the people who explored and helped to settle this province in its colonial days.

Frances M. Woodward Frances Woodward is the Reference/Map Librarian at UBC's Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

Great Canadian Political Cartoons, 1915-1945.
Charles and Cynthia Hou. Vancouver, Moody's Lookout Press, 2002. 232 p ., illus. $39.95 paperback.

Political cartoons are a valuable source for historians. Long used by the print media either to inflame or to placate public emotions, the themes of political cartoons tend to be selected for their relevance to the interests of a specific audience. Presumably then, political cartoons found in newspapers and periodicals distributed in Canadian urban centres can be seen as reflecting issues that their readership felt affected the circumstances of day to day living. In this reflection, historians find evidence of contemporary attitudes and concerns.

In *Great Canadian Political Cartoons 1915-1945* Charles and Cynthia Hou have provided a superb collection of more than 250 political cartoons drawn from 95 different publications across Canada. Each cartoon is supplemented with a brief contextual explanation. The range of subjects they have addressed provides a survey of current events in the era they selected. The book is structured chronologically rather than topi-

cally, and the reader is soon aware of the continuity of specific issues like labour struggle, political patronage, and Canadian-American relations in the images presented. As a gauge of public interest, these cartoons provide a unique window through which to examine popular culture, and would benefit any study of Canada in the war-inter-war-war period.

As primary documents these cartoons represent particular moments in Canadian history from distinct viewpoints. This was well negotiated by the authors, and the content of the book is indicative of the diversity of the Canadian political spectrum. Rather than providing a linear narrative designed to take the reader from somewhere to somewhere, *Great Canadian Political Cartoons* offers readers the opportunity to examine contemporary social commentary from the vantage point of the future. In other words, even though the reader may be aware of how events like the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 or Mackenzie King's visit to Hitler in 1937 played out, he or she may be unaware of the level of controversy and blatant animosity these incidents roused. Thus the reader is afforded a more layered view of the past.

Like any historical source, political cartoons need to be viewed in a larger framework for their significance to be properly realized. There are some small editing errors in the book; for instance, on page one Britain's declaration of war on Germany is dated to August of 1915 rather than 1914. However, it is in the cartoons themselves rather than the commentary about them that the true value of this book lies. In that context, *Great Canadian Political Cartoons* is a thought provoking archaeology of political criticism in popular media.

Tim Percival. Tim Percival is a graduate student in history at the University of Victoria.

Heritage Hall: Biography of a Building.
Marian Gilmour & Gail Buente. Vancouver: Heritage Hall Preservation Society, 2002. 104 pp., Illus.. $21.95 paperback.

Tackling a book about a single building or structure is no easy task. Unless the subject is of exceptional interest one can quickly run out of significant material, and all too often such books descend to vanity press or promotional fluff. Surprisingly, this well-produced book about Heritage Hall avoids these pitfalls, and comes up a winner.

The building itself is a stunner, one of the Grande Dames of the Edwardian era. When the Great Western Boom ended up bust, Postal Station C was marooned in a part of Mount Pleasant that never lived up to its touted potential. For years it sat isolated, so out-of-odds with its setting that for years there were rumours that Ottawa had mistakenly sent out building plans for a larger city. Started in 1914 just before the outbreak of the First World War, it was finished two years later, despite wartime shortages of labour and material. It served for years as a post office, then as other federal offices—including the RCMP Forensic Laboratory—until 1976, when it was abandoned. Sitting vacant, it was about to be sold off as surplus, until a group of volunteer societies, with assistance from the City of Vancouver, launched a heroic effort to rescue the building for community use. Led through many unexpected difficulties by the Main Source Management Society and its first chairman, UBC architecture professor Wolfgang Gerson, these groups were ultimately successful Opening day for the grand room on the main floor was 20 November 1983, although the roof still leaked and much work remained to be done. Those of us who remember how long it took to rehabilitate this grand structure will appreciate every one of the stories about delays, setbacks and lack of money. How fortunate for the citizens of Vancouver that this army of volunteers persisted, and that this landmark heritage building is still available for community use today.

Of course it is the stories of the people involved who bring the book alive. This publication was co-written and edited by the manager of Heritage Hall, Marian Gilmour, who brings a wry sense of humour to the many anecdotes and personal histories. A personal favourite of mine was the entry on the 1988 Tamanhous Theatre production of Haunted House Hamlet - "an experience not to be forgotten for those who worked in the building, acted in the performance or attended the show." Amen!

Although I had a few quibbles with the factual information (especially in the sidebar about the original architect, A.C. Hope), and I missed having an index, I can recommend this book as a testament to what can be achieved by dedicated volunteers with a passion for their community. The book is available through the Heritage Hall Preservation Society. Just look for that red roof on Main Street.

Donald Luxton. Donald Luxton is a heritage consultant in Vancouver and co-author of *Lions Gate* (Talon Books, 1999) and editor of *Building the West* (Talon Books, 2003).

On to the Sunset: The lifetime adventures of a spirited pioneer.
Calgary, Fifth House Ltd., 2002. 166 p., $15.95 paperback.

Albert McCarty, a Methodist minister and the original narrator of this book was born in 1870. An Irish immigrant, he led the difficult and enterprising life of a pioneer in the new world until his death at age eighty-seven. Stories McCarty told about himself and other early Canadian settlers were recorded by his youngest daughter and were originally published in 1953. Ethel Burnett Tibbits (founder of *The Marpole-Richmond Review*) presents those tales in this second publication.She allows the reader to travel with McCarty "back over the long trail whence he had come" while detailing "pictures of his colourful past."

The spirit of the citizens of this country is engagingly captured in a series of vignettes that portray the harshness, loneliness, humour, and diligence that were necessary to survival in Canada during the first part of the twentieth century. Two-thirds of the book chronicles early life in Ontario and the prairies. Those anecdotes include "memories of his mother doing her week's washing for a family of ten children at the brook; rough stones serving in lieu of the not-yet-discovered washboard." Another recollection is that of a thirteen-year-old girl who loses her way while tending the cows on an Ontario homestead. After fourteen harrowing autumn days and nights in the

bush with only her dog for company, the exhausted child finds her way home. One of the more amusing tales is that of the preacher who resorts to fisticuffs with some bullies and the "record has it that more souls were saved after this display of ministerial fistic prowess than were harvested in a single season before." The final four chapters detail the fortunes of McCarty and his family after they settled in BC in 1909. Included are accounts of the rise and fall of the fortunes of the McCarty Grain Company in Vancouver on what was then Westminster Highway, and a short stint at running a logging company on Narrows Arm. "A calamitous blaze" burned the timber on the wood lot and the company's equipment. At age fifty-nine, the staunch McCarty reportedly said, "Come Mother, let's . . . get some supper—and some sleep. Tomorrow we'll go back to town—and start over." His final venture, McCarty & Son, grew to a fleet of five trucks which delivered sawdust and coal throughout the Vancouver area. This book is an interesting remembrance of pioneering days in this country and this province.

Sheryl Salloum. *Sheryl Salloum is a Vancouver writer who used to teach school in 100 Mile House.*

The Geography of Memory: Recovering Stories of a Landscape's First People.

Eileen Delehanty Pearkes. Nelson, BC: Kutenai House Press, 2002. 95p. illus., maps $19.95 paperback (Available from Kutenai House Press, #6, 373 Baker St., Nelson, V1L 4H6 or via email: khpedit@uniserve.com)

After arriving in Nelson in 1994, Ms Pearkes' curiosity about the Kootenay region and its (invisible) indigenous peoples was aroused. Her quest to satiate this curiosity took five years. During that time she became familiar with the landscape, interviewed both elders and oldtimers and conducted research in various archives. This publication is a chronicle of that quest. As Pearkes states, the book "is neither a history, nor an ethnography, nor a series of nature essays, but a combination of all three." It is the story of the (Arrow) Lakes Natives or Sinixt who were declared "extinct" in 1956.

Pearkes' queries spurred her growing belief "that landscape has a narrative of its own, that places speak with a wordless certainty of the past." Thus her prose weaves the fabric of the landscape and its inhabitants together so tightly that they are inseparable. Artifacts provide one link to understanding, even when 140 (92%) of the total 152 sites recorded on the Arrow Lakes have been destroyed. However, by piecing together what evidence is available together with an analysis of weaving, hunting-gathering traditions, oral history and snippets of written documentation, the author has managed to craft a fascinating story of the Sinixt whose traditional territory was not inhibited by an international boundary.

This publication exemplifies thoughtful attention to detail. The six chapters to this small monograph each begin with an illustration of a stone artifact as a reminder of the landscape's link to its first inhabitants. Pictograph images wallpapered on some pages also illustrate another link to this bygone era. Each chapter includes a detailed, colour map of the Upper Columbia Basin locates trail routes and five regional maps indicate sites of seasonal or year-round villages, fisheries, pictographs and burials. Archival and contemporary photographs, plus sidenotes of short quotations from a variety of sources complement the descriptive text. Detailed line drawings of tools, dwellings, traps and the subtle use of background colour adds to the charm of this book e.g. purple for the myth, "Mountain Goat and the Origin of Huckleberry" or light ochre for a description of canoe construction.

Additional information is supplied in appendices: Some Common Wild Food Plants of the Sinixt/Arrow Lakes Indians including common names, botanical terms and Sinixt dialect; Pre-historical and Historical Timeline, 10,000 b.p. (before present) - 1989; a handy, basic bibliography; a list of Credits (endnotes); and a simple index.

The Geography of Memory is an excellent example of what can be achieved with persistent prodding. This monograph is skillfully crafted by a sensitive writer who collaborated with cartographers, graphic artists and a sympathetic publisher. Indeed, it provides a template worthy of emulation.

R.J. (Ron) Welwood. Ron Welwood is a former President of the British Columbia Historical Federation.

Chasing the Comet; a Scottish-Canadian life.

Patricia Koretchuk. Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2002. 241 p., illus. $29.95 paperback.

This book is part of the Life Writing Series, a most commendable project sponsored by Wilfrid Laurier University Press to promote autobiographical accounts of lives in Canada. *Chasing the Comet* tells such a story, adding to the reservoir of social histories which will enrich our knowledge of Canada and its people.

Chasing the Comet tells the life story of David Caldow, raised in the Galloway region of Scotland, who never forgot his Scottish origins nor the sage advice of his father. His love of animals and good farming practices learnt as a boy in Scotland were to serve him well during his life in Canada.

The story tells of David's life in Canada from his arrival in Quebec, over the years working his way west, and ultimately living and working in British Columbia, explaining to us his work experiences en route. David showed a sympathy for the underdog throughout his life, most notably when he was relating the story of his life in a smelter town, where he worked for a short time. The incredibly bad working conditions are well described—how the "Europeans" got the worst and most dangerous jobs whilst the British subjects had the preferred jobs at the smelter. It was not long before David left to travel west again, determined to work out of doors in fresh air after experiencing the pollution of the smelter town.

Reference is made to some of the men looking for work who went "stooking", but unfortunately the author does not explain what it means. Anyone who lived on the prairies before the arrival of the combine knows it meant standing up six to eight sheaves of grain, supporting each other in a tent-shaped "stook", to aid the drying of the sheaves—but how many readers today would know this? Providing such details would have improved the book.

David's involvement with the clear-

ing of land and farming in the Salmon Arm area and horse breeding in the Kamloops region during the Depression years provides a good description of the hard times. But David and others, through hard work and inventiveness, eked out a living during the "dirty thirties".

David Caldow's history of working at the Colony Farms in Coquitlam and other locations such as Tranquille near Kamloops will be of special interest to residents of British Columbia. Shortly after the Second World War, while managing the farm at Tranquille, he hired some Japanese as farm labourers, and learned about the level of racism which existed at that time against the Japanese. His working experience brought him in contact with a wide variety of people, including a fellow Scot, Andrew Houstoun, President of McLennan, McFeely & Prior Ltd., for whom he worked at his farm at Hatzic, B.C. This relationship was more than employer/employee, but one of mutual respect and confidence.

After retirement, when David was contacted by the Canadian International Development Agency to be a farm consultant in Tanzania, he and his wife started another interesting adventure. Following two productive and happy years in Tanzania, they returned to British Columbia because of his wife's ill health. David credited his honesty, knowledge of farming, and his attitude to others and to life, all to his father. We would say he was a man with old-time standards - never in debt and proud of it.

The format of the book is attractively set out. Each chapter is introduced with a photo (unfortunately not identified, although the reader can often guess the subject) with an appropriate quotation from Robert Burns under it. The book is written very much in the first person, with many quotations of David speaking; however, the unfortunate result too often makes David Caldow come across as a know-it-all and a braggart, which may be a great disservice to the man. The author could have given the book better balance by obtaining comments from some of his conntemporaries. A nagging inaccuracy was the continued spelling of "whiskey" (which is correct for American or Irish whiskies) when writing about Scotch whisky.

My picayune complaints aside, the book is an easy read, and a worthwhile contribution to the Wilfrid Laurier University Press's admirable undertaking in their Life Writing Series.

Ron Sutherland. *Ron Sutherland is a strong supporter of the Centre for Scottish Studies at Simon Fraser University.*

The Journey; the Overlanders' quest for gold.
Bill Gallaher. Victoria, Horsdal & Schubart, TouchWood Editions, 2002. $17.95 paperback.

The long, daring walk of the Overlanders across Canada's trackless expanses to reach the Barkerville gold fields in 1862 involved hardships that defy a twenty-first century reader's belief. An authentic account of these hardships and horrors is a major part of *The Journey*, a tough, suspensful narrative.

Here, as in his B.C. bestseller *The Promise*, Gallaher uses the technique of historic storytelling that he has so effectively developed: from the archival journals and memoirs of those who survived the 1862 trek into British Columbia's wilderness, he has selected one central character to serve as the special focus of his exercise in "creative fiction". The story's horrific scenes of Overlanders dying of thirst on a trackless, waterless prairie, of nighttime shelters suddenly breached by Native invaders, and of heavily laden and manned river rafts sucked into the oblivion of rapids are all seen through the eyes of Catherine Schubert.

Gallaher has made a skilful choice of this character as his story's focal point. Catherine Schubert, as the only woman who accompanied the expedition, met with strong opposition from most of the Overlanders. No man of that tough, resolute band could have foreseen her steely determination or the major pioneer role that she would play in B.C. history. A tense, well-wrought drama (with an unexpected outcome) is built upon the conflict between Catherine and one opponent especially—the misogynistic James Sellar. One of the author's sources for this episode is an unpublished diary of Sellar himself, preserved in British Columbia's Provincial Archives.

Is this sort of storytelling truly B.C. history, or is it fiction? Bill Gallaher's capativating tale deftly conceals the author's mediculous scholarship; yet bibliography and extensive footnotes provide a glimpse of Gallaher's method, in which every event (and even most of the dialaogue) emerges from journals, memoirs and letters of those who were actually there, among the Overlanders. It's history, all right!

And yet *The Journey* is history so vividly told and so richly charactered that I wonder how long it will be before some Canadian filmmaker eyes its cinematic potential.

Philip Teece. *Philip Teece, a retired Victoria librarian, admits that much of his own insight into B.C. history has been acquired through 20 years of listening to Bill Gallaher's wonderful folk music about our colourful past.*

Voyages of Hope; the saga of the bride ships.
Peter Johnson. Victoria, TouchWood Editions, 2002. 228 p. $17.95 paperback.

In 1862 the same thought occurred to three different groups: the Columbia Mission Society and the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society, both based in London, and the Female Immigration Committee, newly founded in Victoria. These worthy folk agreed in expanding Jane Austen's universally acknowledged truth, that a single man, in possession of a good fortune, or no fortune at all, and especially if he is carousing about the west coast of North America in search of a fortune, must be in want of a wife. Shipping a supply of young Englishwomen to the colony would bring order and family life to the rowdy frontier, while rescuing the women from poverty and/or degradation.

Five "bride-ships" sailed to Victoria. But the women aboard the *Marcella* were all spoken for; the wives and fiancees of Colonel Moody's Royal Engineers. The twenty females travelling on the *Seaman's Bride* jumped ship in San Francisco; they were convicted prostitutes deported from Australia. At last the waiting bachelors were rewarded with the arrival of the *Tynemouth* and later the *Robert Lowe* and the *Alpha*. Pe-

ter Johnson pays most attention to the voyage of the *Tynemouth*; a tall tale featuring innocent maidens lured by false advertising; a less than shipshape vessel; a motley crew who mutinied three times between Dartmouth and Esquimalt; grim chaperons, the termagant Mrs. Robb and the tyrant Reverend Mr. Scott, who kept the girls cordoned off from whatever society or exercise the ship might have offered and refused to allow them to go ashore at their one stop, the Falklands; several epic storms; a young doctor despite whom one of the brides died from possibly smallpox or probably food poisoning; an arrival marred by communications gone astray, lacking a welcoming committee or facilities, and only rescued from fiasco by the gallantry of Her Majesty's Navy.

Once the *Tynemouth* sets sail, Johnson lets his narrative rip and roar, but he takes a while to leave the dock, bogged down in purple promises of "miners and murderers, of racism and respectability, of family and faith", and comparison of the brides to Milton's Satan, on a "a pilgrimage through chaos". He offers more than we need to know of English social history, including gratuitous speculation on the relationship between Charles Dickens and Angela Burdett-Coutts, benefactress of the Columbia Mission. His racy style stumbles over some anachronisms as the girls tell each other, "We'll be fine" and the calm rounding of Cape Horn is "a piece of cake". We witness the organizing meeting of the Columbia Mission Society bride-ships project, through the person of Eden Colville of the Hudson's Bay Company. As he reacts and observes the scene, we come to know Colville quite well, we think, but when the meeting adjourns, Johnson abandons him, never to tell us what he thought of the project's outcome, or what became of the daughters whose future he worried about.

We can find Colville readily enough in the pages of Peter C. Newman's *Caesars of the Wilderness*, where he is not at all the wide-eyed social climber Johnson depicts.

The Saga of the Bride Ships needs no such padding. We know from Johnson's previous book, *Glyphs and Gallows*, that he is capable of following the evidence of the past wherever it leads, using his personal experience and informed imagination to cast light on history's puzzles. The thrill of discovery which drove his investigation of the rock art of Clo-oose and the wreck of the *John Bright* is missing from this book. His interest in individual lives is hampered by suspicion of the motives of the missionaries and philanthropists who organized the brideships. He does not even trust the feminists. Social control or social change? Yet, when he traces the subsequent lives of the women, he finds that more of them than we thought possible were rewarded with "adventure and material wealth", "flexibility and freedom of choice" and "richer lives" than they could have enjoyed in their homeland.

Voyages of Hope is an entertaining introduction to a little known chapter in B.C.'s herstory.

***Phyllis Reeve** Phyllis Reeve has a small book business and reads a lot of history.*

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

Noteworthy Books

***At Home With the Bella Coola Indians; T.F. McIlwraith's field letters, 1922-4**. Ed. John Barker and Douglas Cole. UBC Press, 2003.*

***The Canadian Rockies; early travels and explorations**. Esther Fraser. Calgary, Fifth House, 2002.*

***Cis dideen kat (When the Plumes Rise): the way of the Lake Babine Nation**. Jo-Anne Fiske with the assistance of Betty Patrick. UBC Press, 2000.*

***Dynamite Stories**. Judith Williams. Vancouver, New Star Books, 2003.*

***Eskimo Architecture; dwelling and structure in the early historic period**. Molly Lee and Gregory A. Reinhardt. University of Alaska Press, 2003.*

***Fields of Fire; the Canadians in Normandy**. Terry Copp. University of Toronto Press, 2003.*

***Game in the Garden; a human history of wildlife in Western Canada to 1940**. George Colpitts, UBC Press, 2002.*

***The Lake O'Hara Art of J.E.H. MacDonald and Hiker's Guide**. Lisa Christensen. Calgary, Fifth House, 2003.*

***Lost World; rewriting prehistory - how new science is tracing America's ice age mariners**. Tom Koppel. New York, Atria Books, 2003.*

***A Man Called Moses; the curiouslife of Wellington Delaney Moses**. Bill Gallaher. TouchWood Editions, 2003.*

***Northwest Native Arts, Creative Colors 1-2**. Robert E. Stanley. Surrey, Hancock House, 2003.*

***Sutebusuton: a Japanese villlage on the British Columbia coast**. Mitsuo Yesaki. Vancouver, 2003.*

***Tlingit; their art and culture**.David Hancock. Surrey, Hancock House, 2003.*

***Trademarks and Salmon Art: a brand new perspective. A collective study on British Columbian salmon can labels, ca. 1890-1950**. Richmond, Gulf of Georgia Cannery Society, 2002.*

***"Whispers from the Shedrons"; a history of thoroughbred racing in Richmond**. A collection of memoirs and writings gathered by Gerry Gilbert, Jack Lowe, Geraldine (Dody) Wray.*

BCHF

WebSite Forays

Christopher Garrish

St. Paul's Anglican Church
100 Chapel Street
J.C.M. Keith, Architect
1931 (top)

Provincial Liquor Store
25 Cavan Street
L.W. Hargreaves
1949 (bottom)

The clickable map from the Nanaimo Virtual Walking tour

For this edition of Web Site Forays, I have decided to take a walk on the virtual side. In doing this, I have been greatly aided by a decision taken by the City of Nanaimo in November of last year to add a new feature to their web site; the *Virtual Heritage Walk* **(www.city.nanaimo.bc.ca/d_heritage/#)**. This new site allows visitors to tour selected buildings in the city's downtown core "in a virtual, 360 degree image setting." The Walk is, indeed, as the City tells us, an "innovative on-line application" that compliments the existing heritage building database also accessible through Nanaimo's homepage. The idea for the Walk came out of a discussion between the City and Enviroscopics, a local company (who also put the walk together) about developing an on-line, interactive version of Nanaimo's popular Heritage Walk brochure. The inspiration came from 360-degree interior images taken of the sanctuary in St. Andrews United Church (a heritage building located just outside of Nanaimo's downtown commercial core, and not yet a part of the Virtual Walk) that Enviroscopics had taken.

The Walk is set-up to present visitors with an interactive map of the Nanaimo harbour front (incorporating such streets as Commercial, Bastion, and Front, Cameron Road and Victoria Crescent). From here, it is possible to select views of heritage buildings, 360-degree street level panorama's at six different intersections which in turn will begin you upon a tour of route "connections" (ie. Railroad, Coal and Harbour). After a couple of hours of exploring the site, my spatial appreciation for downtown Nanaimo was exponentially improved but, and I hate to admit it, I did encounter some useability issues with the interactive map. This is not necessarily a knock against the Virtual Walk, and may simply be a reflection of my ability to follow directions, but I found that there appeared to be a few "active" links (especially within the Legend) that didn't necessarily take you anywhere. There were a few other minor quibbles that I had, but these should not dissuade anyone from taking a lovely walk through our Harbour City.

In terms of buildings that can be visited, there is a surprising selection. There are obvious inclusions, such as the Old Hudson's Bay Bastion originally built in 1853 and now Nanaimo's oldest structure and its most historic landmark. To quote the site, the Bastion is "the last surviving structure from the Hudson's Bay Company colonization of the Nanaimo area, and the last remaining fortified tower structure of the many that the Company built on the West Coast." What I found particularly interesting was that the Bastion has survived several moves over the years until it finally came to rest at its present location in 1974.

A more unique and interesting structure (more so for its use) is the Provincial Liquor Store located on Cavan Street. Built after the end of the Second World War, the store is explained as a modernistic building constructed of cast-in-place concrete, with only minimal detailing. The architect that designed the store was Wilfrid Hargreaves, who had followed the railway boom west to British Columbia. In 1930 he became the Assistant Chief Architect for the B.C. Department of Public Works, the position he held when the Liquor Store was built in 1949.

All in all, the future of the *Virtual Walk* is full of promise. Usually the only obstacle to improving on this sort of a site is the limits of technology and, of course, finances. As it stands now, however, the buildings detailed on the Walk were compiled and posted to City's web site on a shoestring budget of a mere thirty-three hundred dollars. The Walk is also currently in the midst of a four-month update that will significantly enhance the tour by adding an additional seventeen outdoor panoramic shots, and about eight indoor panoramic shots. The new and improved site should be live, barring any unforseen problems, by early October.

For those interested in what a budget ten times the size of Nanaimo's can produce in this field, visit; **www.virtualcanberra.gov.au**

BCHF

Archives & Archivists

Edited By Frances Gundry

Fire Insurance Plans and British Columbia Rare Books and Special Collections University of British Columbia Library

Fire insurance plans are among the most popular maps in collections. Some of the plans, especially the iso metric (three-dimensional) views, are very attractive, but much more significant is the amount of information provided by the plans. They are of great research value across many disciplines, such as urban development, historical archaeology, historical architecture, social geography, and industrial history. Today these plans are heavily used by developers for environmental site assessment.

UBC Library's Rare Books and Special Collections (RBSC) has probably the largest collection of plans for British Columbia municipalities. The newly published *Catalogue of Canadian Fire Insurance Plans 1875-1975* by the Association of Canadian Map Libraries and Archives will enable us to locate plans not available here.[1]

Fire insurance plans are detailed large-scale maps of cities, smaller municipalities, and industrial sites. The maps were compiled by the fire underwriters to assist their agents in assessing and controlling the risks of fire. Various symbols and colours are used to indicate such things as the shape and size of a building, the type of construction used, the existence of fire protection facilities, and the use of the building (e.g. restaurant, hotel, laundry, store, dwelling, etc.). The plans were first drawn using a scale of fifty feet to the inch (relative scale 1:600). Later this scale was reduced to 100 feet to the inch (1:1,200), especially in residential areas, and then to 200 feet to the inch (1:2,400). The plans were updated with paste-on revisions printed and distributed by the Plan Department. Often insurance agents made their own changes by hand. When there were sufficient changes on a sheet, the Plan Department reprinted the sheet with corrections. Hence a volume of twenty sheets originally printed in 1935 may have revisions up to 1950.

The earliest plans in British Columbia were five plans issued in 1885 by the Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, the predominant fire insurance cartography company in the United States (the name Sanborn is synonymous with fire insurance plans in the U.S.A.): Granville (the proper name for "Gastown", which became Vancouver); Nanaimo; New Westminster; Victoria and Yale. The 1889 the Dakin Publishing Company of San Francisco published a plan of Vancouver. In 2002 we were fortunate to acquire the sole surviving copy.[2] About 1895 Charles E. Goad began publishing plans for places in British Columbia. In 1917 the Chas. E. Goad Co. sold its Canadian interests, and the British Columbia Insurance Underwriters (which went through various amalgamations and name changes over the years) produced plans for British Columbia until 1965 when the various regional associations amalgamated as the Canadian Underwriters' Association. In 1974 the Insurers' Advisory Organization (I.A.O.) took over production of Canadian plans. The following year production was discontinued.

UBC Library had acquired a number of plans from various sources over the years before the I.A.O. Pacific Region office donated their records, working plans, community inspection reports and layout of water supply, and unused stock in 1974. About the same time were acquired a small collection of B. C. plans from the I.A.O's head office in Toronto. Shortly after that we acquired a set of Canadian plans including more B. C. plans from the Phelps Publishing Company in London, Ontario, that had come from the I.A.O. head office when its inventory was dispersed in 1975.

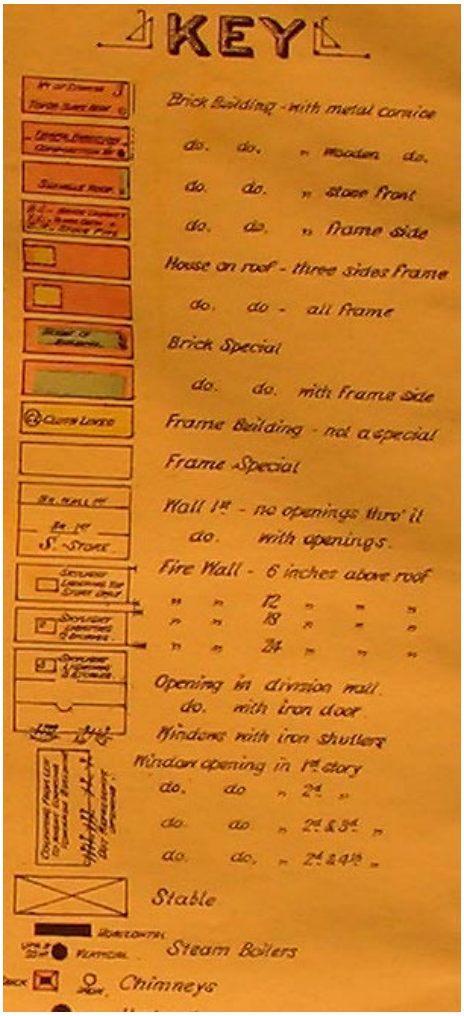
The plans range from fifteen volumes covering the city of Vancouver to single sheet plans, for such places as Boston Bar, Matsqui, and Westbank. It is interesting to note towns that have shrunk, or even disappeared. Wells required six sheets in 1938-1940. If plans were being made today, it would probably require no more that one sheet. In 1899 Sandon appeared on one sheet, but in 1901 a second sheet was added. The

Frances Woodward is the Reference Librarian / Map Librarian, Rare Books and Special Collections University of British Columbia Library

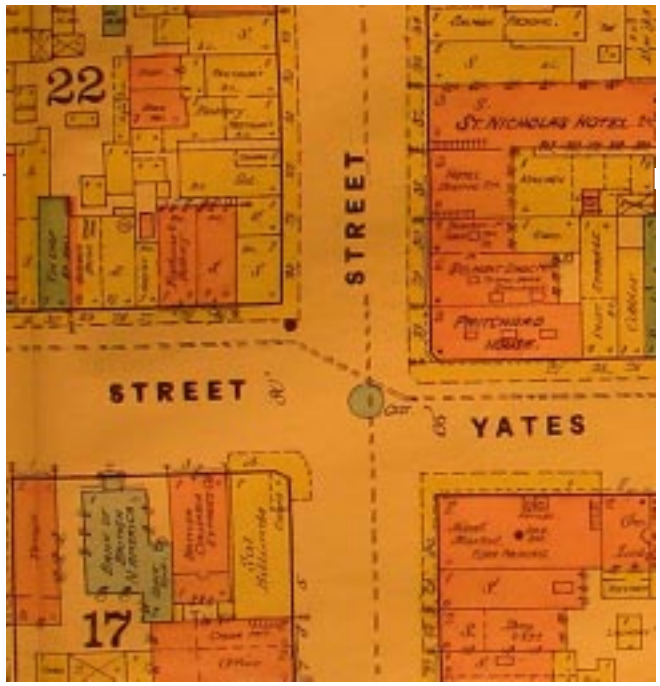
Notes and References

[1] The Association of Canadian Map Libraries and Archives has just published *Catalogue of Canadian Fire Insurance Plans 1875-1975* (Occasional Papers of the Association of Canadian Map Libraries and Archives, No. 6). Ottawa: ACMLA, 2002. ISBN 0-9695062-7-9.

[2] Few Dakin plans survive. Many were probably lost in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake.



The key to the 1885 Sanborn plan of Victoria, BC



A portion of the 1885 Sanborn plan of Victoria, BC

two sheets were revised in 1913. Now it is almost a ghost town.

We are reminded of how recent urbanization is in the Lower Mainland. When the Underwriters surveyed Burnaby in 1927, it was divided into five volumes with provision for about fifty to sixty five sheets each. Of the five, key plans only were published for two, and a third had only two sheets. By 1950 there were still a total of only thirty nine sheets between the five volumes. Most of the development was in the northwest quadrant and along the Kingsway / BC Electric Railway corridor. In 1964 the plan of Burnaby was reduced to two volumes, with a total of 131 sheets, which did not include residential areas. There was no fire insurance plan for Surrey. A plan of Crescent Beach was issued in 1940, and one of Cloverdale in 1943, with two sheets each.

The single-sheet plan of Granville in 1885 gives us a picture of Vancouver less than a year before its incorporation, showing the business area in "Gastown", Hastings Sawmill Co., and the Coal Harbour Fishery. The 1889 Dakin plan of Vancouver in twenty one sheets testifies to the growth of the city in its first four years. The 1925 plan of Vancouver Harbour (Vancouver, volume A), is interesting with its piers, and industries, and lovely views, such as the B. C. Sugar Refinery. Barkerville remains much as it was in the gold rush era. The series of plans of salmon canneries (Fraser River 1897, North Coast 1915, and both 1924) are as interesting for social history as industrial, e.g. housing for the various ethnic groups involved in the fishing industry. On other plans we find the cheese factory in Armstrong, the fruit packers in Vernon, the smelter in Trail, and so on. It is a pity these plans are no longer being made. Numerical data in computer files do not provide the same visual images.

Finding fire insurance plans in RBSC

Historical maps in Rare Books and Special Collections are catalogued, and may be found in the Library's online catalogue at **www.library.ubc.ca/home/catalogue/welcome.html.** There is an online *Guide to Fire Insurance Plans of British Columbia Cities issued in Multiple Volumes* at **www.library.ubc.ca/spcoll/fireins/titlepg.html**. This guide describes the boundaries of each volume by street, and lists the date of each edition or revision. The plans or maps, including the volumes in the *Guide* are all fully described in the online catalogue. The easiest way to find the plans is to search the subject "**insurance fire a**". The result will be a list of all the plans in alphabetical order by place, from Abbotsford to Zeballos.

Cartographic archives have *fonds* or collection level entries in the online catalogue, such as the Insurers' Advisory Organization. These entries are for the collection as a whole, and refer users to the inventory of the collection to find the maps in that collection. If there is an online inventory of the maps in a collection, such as the I.A.O., there is a link from the entry to the inventory, which is available on the RBSC website **www.library.ubc.ca/spcoll/cartog.html.** Rare Books and Special Collections is located in the Main Library of the University of British Columbia. BCHF

Miscellany

The King's Oath or Chicken Oath

by Ronald Greene

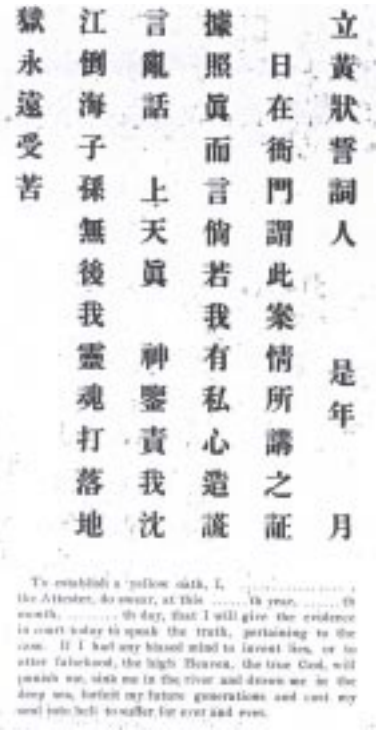
I ran across this topic while reading Superintendent of Provincial Police Correspondence Inward (GR-0055) dating from 1891 to 1910, some 8.8 metres of records in all. It was one of those occasionally-encountered items that calls out for closer study.

Let us first look very quickly at oaths in general.[1] Although they are rooted in earlier tradition, testimonial oaths were instituted by Constantine in the 4th century and later incorporated in the Code of Justinian from which they were adapted, primarily through canon law, to all of European Christendom. During superstitious times, a person swearing a false oath could expect the swift and certain vengeance of an omnipotent god. But in time, as people grew less superstitious, the oath was felt more to have an effect on the mind and emotions of the witness.

At common law, initially only Christians were deemed to possess the belief necessary to be sworn as witnesses. Others were not considered competent to testify. But with the development of international trade, the exclusion of non-Christians was no longer to England's advantage.[2] In time Jews were allowed to testify, and in the mid seventeenth century it was held that Jews who swore on the old Testament had invoked sufficient obligations to tell the truth.[3] By 1744 a similar competence to sworn testimony had been extended to other non-Christians. It was still held that only those who believed in a god were competent, so atheists were still excluded.

Some Christian groups, such as the Quakers and Moravians, objected to swearing. Over a period of 140 years, starting with the greater religious tolerance of William and Mary and ending in an Act of 1838, they gained the right to *affirm*, a declaration—without reference to divine authority—that the witness will tell the truth. The English *Oaths Act* of 1888 finally eliminated the discrimination against atheists. Generally the Statutes of Canada and British Columbia say very little on the form that an oath should take.[4]

By the end of the eighteenth century, a policy of swearing a witness by the particular method deemed most binding on his conscience had led to judicial approval of some rather bizarre forms of oath. One Chinese oath



立黃狀誓詞人　　是年　月
日在衙門謂此案情所講之証
據照眞而言倘若我有私心遮蔽
言亂話　上天眞　神鑒責我沈
江倒海子孫無後我靈魂打落地
獄永遠受苦

The Yellow Oath[11] (left) was similar in intent to the Chicken Oath
BC Archives, GR0055, Box 79, File 7 [Provincial Police, Superintendent, Correspondence Inward]

included breaking a saucer or snuffing a candle at the witness box with the exclamation that, should he not speak the truth, his soul would similarly shatter or be extinguished.[5] Hindus could assent to the interpretation of the customary English oath by touching the hand or foot of a Brahmin priest. But perhaps the most bizarre oath was that called the "Chicken Oath."

The Case of *Rex v. Ah Wooey*[6]

Ah Wooey was tried at the Westminster Assize (New Westminster) in October 1901 for being an accessory to murder.[7] Upon the witness Chong Fon Fi, who was not a Christian, being called to the stand for the Crown, it was proposed to swear him in the manner generally in use in the British Columbia Courts: by writing his name on a piece of white paper and burning it, at the same time declaring that he would tell the truth. The consumption of the paper by fire signified his fate should he fail to tell the truth. Charles Wilson, K.C., a Vancouver lawyer acting for the defendant, objected to the proposed form of oath—the "Paper Oath"—and believed that there was another form of greater solemnity that would be more binding on the witness's conscience. He said that in British Columbia it was called the "Chicken Oath," and asked that it be administered. Justice Archer Martin questioned the two interpreters in court, and after they examined the witness they reported that the oath known to the Chinese as the King's Oath and to the whites as the Chicken Oath was the more binding.[8] The court then instructed the witness to be sworn using the King's Oath. After consultation, the wording of the yellow document was modified.[9] Lampman's report gives the following translation:

King's oath made by _____
(Witness signs his name here)
(Recites charge against accused and proceeds)

Being a true witness, I shall enjoy happiness and my sons and grandsons will prosper forever.

If I falsely accuse (prisoner) I shall die on the street, Heaven will punish me, earth will destroy me, I shall forever suffer adversity and all my offspring will be exterminated. In burning this oath I humbly submit myself to the will of Heaven which has brilliant eyes to see.

The 27th year of the reign of Kwang Su,[10] the 16th day, the 9th moon. (witness signs here also)

The witness having signed his name twice, and a cock having been procured, the Court and jury then adjourned to a convenient place outside the building where the full ceremony of administering the oath took place. Near a block of wood, punk sticks—at least three—and a pair of Chinese candles were stuck in the ground and lit. The oath was then read out loud by the witness, after which he wrapped it in joss paper, as used in religious ceremonies, then laid the cock on the wooden block and chopped its head off. Finally, he set fire to the oath using the candles and held it until it was consumed by flames. Several Chinese witnesses were thusly sworn.

While this trial provided the last reported use of the Chicken Oath in British Columbia, it was not the first use. In 1895 Simon Leiser & Co. submitted an invoice for several chickens and a knife supplied to H. A. Simpson for a trial at Union, BC. The government authorities held that the police had not made a Crown prosecution and that Mr. Simpson was acting on behalf of the prosecuting Chinese. The government therefore declined to pay the bill.[12]

And Ah Wooey's fate? He was acquitted.

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Notes and References

[1] A much fuller discussion of the history is given in the *Report on Oaths and Affirmations* (1990) by the Law Reform Commission of Ireland. The report is available from the Internet at www.lawreform.ie/publications/data/volume8/lrc_59.html

[2] Heidi Rees, "Oaths and Affirmations," *Fillmore Riley Report 48* (Spring 2000). Available at www.fillmoreriley.com/ne/pdfs/spring%202000.pdf

[3] *Report on Oaths*, p. 6.

[4] A survey of nine relevant acts from 1866 through 1985.

[5] *Report on Oaths*, p. 7, gives an English case from the 20th century concerning a Chinese gang fight in which the last witness stood ankle deep in smashed crockery. In personal correspondence, Lily Chow explained that the breaking of the saucer was equivalent to destroying unity or togetherness in the family, as round symbolizes union. The snuffing of the candle represented taking the breath of life away, there being an old Chinese saying that when life is over it is like the burning candle extinguishes its flame.

[6] Peter Secord Lampman, for the Law Society of British Columbia, *The British Columbia Reports* IX, 569-570 (1903). Lampman incorrectly gives the date as October 26, 1902.

[7] *British Columbian*, October 21, 26, 28, and 29, 1901, p. 1 in each case. Ah Quong was accused of killing three fellow Chinese in Ladner in June 1901, and Ah Wooey was charged as an accessory to the murders. With eye witnesses to the murders, Ah Quong's counsel said it would have been the height of folly to attempt to deny that his client killed his countrymen, but stated that his defence would be insanity. The jury found Ah Quong guilty.

[8] The term *King* was used by the Chinese in a religious sense, and referred more to a higher being or authority, in the sense of Almighty, King of Heaven, King of Kings.

[9] *British Columbian*, Oct. 26, 1901, p. 1.

[10] Kwang Su was the Emperor at the time (Guang Sui would be the pronunciation in Mandarin).

[11] Per Lily Chow, the significance of the Yellow Oath, which was printed on yellow paper, was that yellow was the Imperial colour and thus the colour symbolized official status or importance. When asked if the translation of the Yellow Oath was reasonable, Ms. Chow replied that it was, except that the phrase "forfeit my future generations" does not nearly convey the impact of the original Chinese, as the phrase "is one of the darkest and most wicked curses in [the] Chinese language. It means that the subject (or witness here) will have NO descendants in future, (children and grandchildren in the Chinese wording here) if he/she gives false evidence." Also, the chicken being beheaded symbolizes the highest form of Chinese punishment, which was beheading. The implication being "that if they were found guilty of the crime or gave false evidence the end result would be just like the chicken with its head being chopped."

[12] Various parts of this affair were found in GR0055, box 14, file 9; box 33, file L; box 34, file S; box 79, file 7.

History Gathering Moss?

By Phylis Reeve

Twenty-plus years ago, while researching the history of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, I recorded a detail of the Club's contribution to the 1914-18 war effort: "A splendid opportunity to do something distinctive came when a letter was received from the president of the University Women's Club of Toronto, asking that our club co-operate with them in securing moss, to be used in surgical dressing, instead of absorbent cotton. Advised by a botanist that the required moss grows abundantly on Lulu Island, the University Women seized on this as a manageable contribution of real use which they, because of geographical accident, were particularly able to undertake. They were delighted when the Girl Guides of Mission, B.C. offered to assist in the moss gathering."

Recently the *Guardian Weekly* (May 15-21 2003) reported the opening of a pavilion at Kew Gardens, which would explore the use of sphagnum moss to treat wounds in the trenches. The *Guardian* added parenthetically that the moss was later shown to contain the penicillium microbe.

Chagrined that I might have dismissed as quaint a point which I should have investigated and explained, I found that my available printed sources considered the moss as a semi-folk remedy which seemed to work. So I turned to the Internet, which directed me to the relevant papers by A. Belanger et al (1988) and R. Tahvonen (1993), published six to eleven years after I wrote the Club's book.

I felt better, but once again realized that one never ever completely finishes every detail of any piece of historical writing.

Voices From the Grave: Cemeteries Online

Langley's Cemeteries

As markers of our heritage, cemeteries serve as important sources of information for genealogists, historians and family members. The Langley Centennial Museum website has sections on the development of cemetery and monument design, and a virtual tour of the Township of Langley's two oldest cemeteries, Fort Langley Cemetery and Murrayville Cemetery, through an exploration of some of their most unique and beautiful grave markers. There is also a database of over 10,000 records for the researcher.

www.langleymuseum.org/heritage_cemetery_intro.asp

Mountain View Cemetery

Vancouver's Mountain View Cemetery, established by the City in 1886 has recently gone online. Some of the website's features include a full listing of burials, a list of notable people buried at the cemetery, including three Victoria Cross winners, and a preview of the master plan for the future of the cemetery. Visit them at **www.city.vancouver.bc.ca/commsvcs/**

Timms Photographic Collection Online

Special Collections at the Vancouver Public Library, with the support of an Industry Canada grant, has recently added 1500 new images to the Historical Photographs Database. These images are from the collection of Philip Timms, a wonderful photographer of Vancouver from its earliest days.

To find out more about the history of Vancouver see: Vancouver's Golden Years, 1900-1910. Photographs by Philip Timms, at: **http://collections.ic.gc.ca/vancouver/index.html**. You can also view more information about the Historical photographs collections in Special Collections at: **www.vpl.ca/branches/LibrarySquare/spe/photos/photoagree.html**

Denise Dunbar Librarian, Special Collections, Vancouver Public Library

Nelson Museum Returns

The Nelson Museum, Archives and Art Gallery is looking "Forward to the Past". The Nelson Museum building was re-opened to the public August 15th, following a fire on May 4th which claimed a unique Forest Service vessel and necessitated packaging, relocation and decontamination of the Museum and Archives collection.

The "Forward to the Past" exhibition chronicles in stunning text and photos, the history of Nelson's Museum and the devastating fire. A poignant selection of the Museum's artifacts is on display. Curator, Shawn Lamb, avows boxes containing the major collection will be unpacked when the Museum gets the go ahead from municipal and regional voters in an Oct. 18th Referendum. The Referendum will set the schedule for up-grading several recreational facilities in the City, and as a consequence the Museum, Archives and Art Gallery would be re-located to Nelson's distinctively Heritage City Hall.

Along with a new beginning for the Museum and Gallery, August 15 saw the Opening of "Pressing Words and Binding Books" featuring the type sculpture and book binding artistry of Peter Bartl and Jane Merks, and the launch of an ambitious technological experiment, The Virtual Museum of the Kootenays'. The Museum may be operating at less than capacity, but on-line visitors can interact with and explore Kootenay history at: **http://kootenaymuseum.ca**

Welcome New Members

Ladysmith & District Historical Socieity
c/o 781 Colonia Drive
Ladysmith, BC V9G 1N2

Quesnelle Forks Museum & Historical Society
Box 77 Likely, BC V0L 1N0
http://www.wlake.com/hicks/hicks

Delta Museum and Archives
4858 Delta Street,
Delta, BC V4K 2T8

Metchosin School Museum Society
4475 Happy Valley Road
Victoria, B. C. V9C 3Z3

The Riondel & Area Historical Society
Box 201 Riondel, BC
V0B 2B0

Sea Island Heritage Society
4191 Ferguson Road
Richmond, BC V7B 1P3
http://seaisland1.home-stead.com

Sandon Historical Society
Box 52 New Denver, BC
V0G 1S0

South Peace Historical Society
c/o 900 Alaska Avenue
Dawson Creek, BC V1G 4T6