British Columbia HISTORY

Journal of the British Columbia Historical Federation | Vol.40 No. 4 | $5.00

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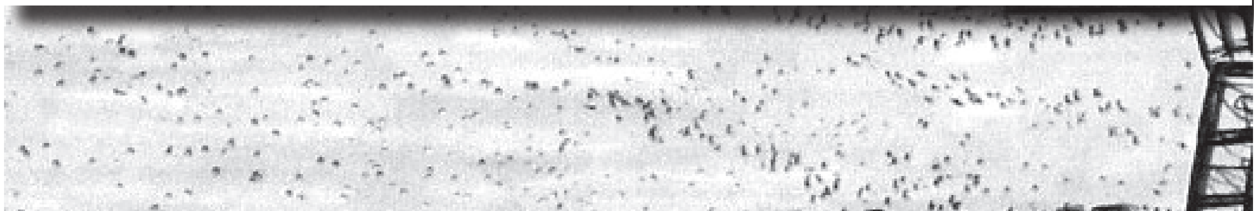

British Columbia History

Journal of the British Columbia Historical Federation Published four times a year.
ISSN: print 1710-7881 online 1710-792X

British Columbia History welcomes stories, studies, and news items dealing with any aspect of the history of British Columbia, and British Columbians.

Please submit manuscripts for publication to the Editor, *British Columbia History*,
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Book reviews for British Columbia History,
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Subscriptions: $18.00 per year
For addresses outside Canada add $10.00

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This publication is indexed in the Canadian Magazine Index, published by Micromedia.
ISSN: 1710-7881

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS and AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE

Production Mail Registration Number 1245716
Publications Mail Registration No. 09835
Member of the British Columbia Association of Magazine Publishers

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British Columbia Historical Federation

A charitable society under the Income Tax Act Organized 31 October 1922

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British Columbia HISTORY

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

W. KAYE LAMB Essay Scholarships
Deadline 15 May 2009
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 ($750) is for an essay written by a student in a first or second year course; the other ($1000) is for an essay written by a student in a third or fourth year course.

To apply for the scholarship all candidates must submit (1) a letter of application and (2) a letter of recommendation from the professor for whom the essay was written. First and second year course essays should be1,500-3,000 words; third and fourth year,1,500 to 5,000 words. All essays must be on a topic relating to the history of British Columbia. By entering the scholarship competition the student gives the editor of BC History the right to edit and publish the essay if it is deemed appropriate for the magazine.

Applications should be submitted to: Marie Elliott, Chair BC Historical Federation Scholarship Committee, PO Box 5254, Station B, Victoria, BC V8R 6N4

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 must be made to the British Columbia Historical Federation, Web Site Prize Committee, prior to ***31 December 2008****. 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*

Anne & Philip Yandle
Best Article Award
A Certificate of Merit and fifty dollars will be awarded annually to the author of the article, published in BC History, *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 of BC history.*

The St. Alice Hotel:
A Harrison Lake Hot Spot

By Fred Rogers

Fred Rogers is a Vancouver Island writer who has written numerous articles on BC history.

The historic St. Alice Hotel of Harrison Lake, BC constructed in 1885-6 had a charmed existence. Popular for its location and great trout fishing the resort attracted many prominent sportsmen, while Hollywood stars came north for the benefit of the hot, soothing mineral waters. But on Sunday morning July 19, 1920, the calm and serenity around the resort was shattered.

At 10.45 am someone noticed smoke and then flames eating through the shingle roof of the west front. The alarm was quickly raised and spread through the hotel. Staff responded by first clearing the hotel and then worked at saving everything possible of value. Mr. Watts, the manager and his wife along with the book-keeper Mr. Vinson and Mr. Wilson the clerk, risked their lives several times by saving personal goods of guests who had rooms on the third floor below the roof where the fire started. Some of the guests also rallied to the cause of rescue. Mr. Victor G. Haslam, a pioneer resident of the Springs, led a group of willing hands to help removing all the silver-ware and much of the contents of the dining room before the floor collapsed a half hour later. A group of strong men carried the piano out onto the front lawn from the east wing. Some men daringly threw belongings out from the third floor, and only escaped by sliding down the posts of the verandahs which encircled three sides of the building.

The only guests who lost belongings that day were away at the government fish hatchery about five miles distance on a fishing trip. They saw the great column of smoke and flames but were helpless, and could only watch the hotel burn to the ground. There was no road to the hatchery in 1920, and was only accessible by boat.

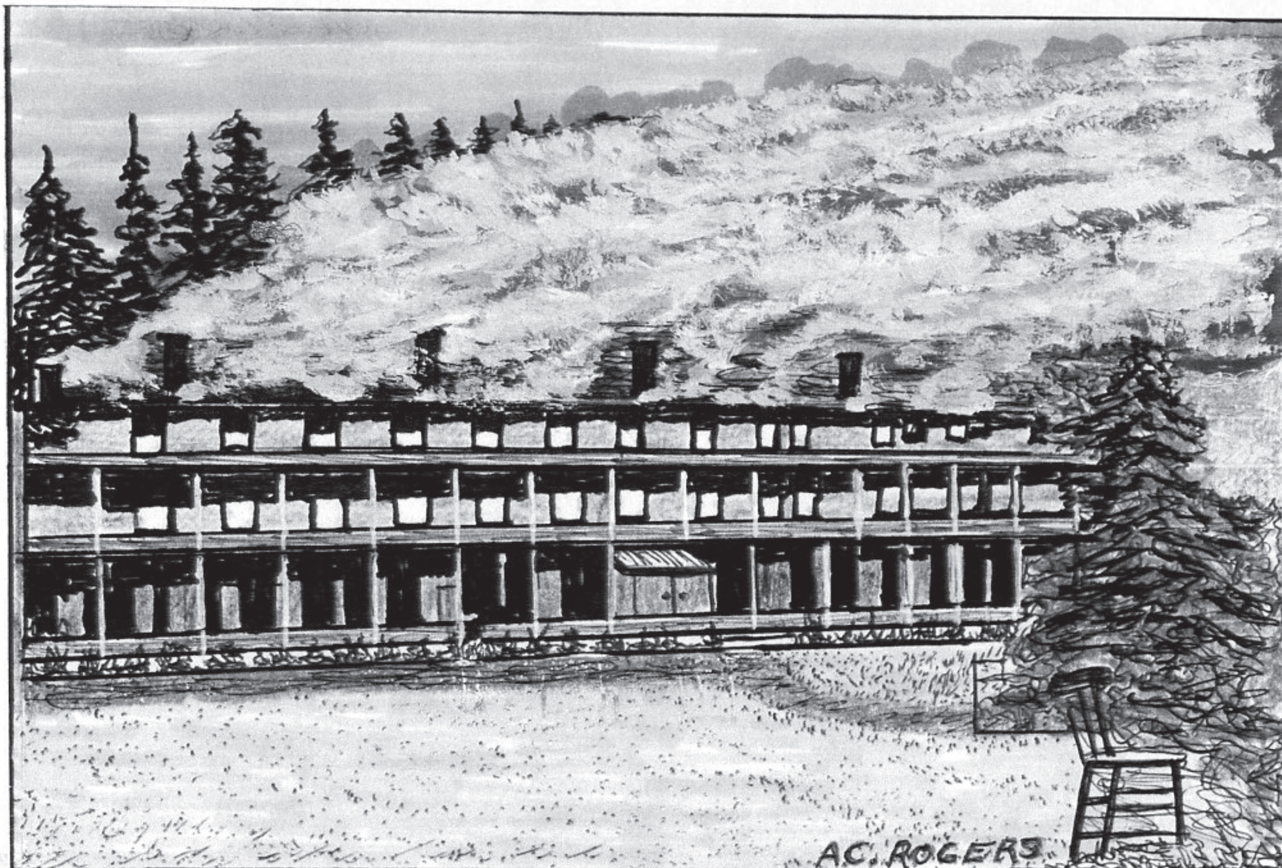
Mr. Con Jones, a well-known sporting promoter of Vancouver at that time had the most exciting experience of any guests. He was in the east wing, known as the bath wing taking a hot-mineral water bath when the fire started. Everything became very hot, even more than the bath's usual 165 degrees, and he had to make a hasty exit. While attired only in a robe, he raced to his room on the second floor to save his belongings where he was fortunately resisted by Mr. Vinson.,

Except for a couple of steam-powered fire engines pumping water from the lake there were practically no fire-fighting facilities near the hotel and the flames quickly consumed the old structure. At one point a few extra minutes were gained when a 2000 gallon storage tank full of mineral water on the roof fell over when its wooden supports burned away.

The great column of smoke and searing flames attracted a large crowd of both guests and nearby residents. News of the fire quickly spread to Agassiz, the nearest settlement to the Springs and just about everyone in the little town who had a motor car, raced the five miles to view the fire.

Hotel guests were now wondering where they were going to go and what to do with their belongings now scattered across the lawn. The situation was saved by Agassiz residents who gave

St. Alice Hotel 1912
BC Archives photo A09120



St. Alice Hotel burns. Drawing by the author

them transportation to the Agassiz hotels and other places of refuge until the afternoon arrival of the Canadian Pacific train from Vancouver.

Many of the guests arrived in Vancouver on the evening train and told of their frightful experiences to the *Vancouver Sun* reporters who met them at the train station. Most gave high praise to the hotel staff. Mr. Decohn from Washington State related how he was in the bathroom when he heard all the shouting and alarm. In his haste and excitement he put his trousers on the wrong way and had great difficulty descending the stairs. "I was certainly glad to escape the fire last night," he said.

Vancouver jewelry man, Walter H. Grassie had attended the hotel's grand opening, "It was a strange coincidence, " he said, "that I should be staying here 35 years later to see the place burn down" he continued "Great credit was due to the employees of the hotel for the way they checked all the rooms for guests who may not have been aware of great danger. The dining room girls and Chinese are worthy of praise for they got so much personal baggage to safety".

Mr. A. L. McLennan who had turned in the alarm recounted how he " was sitting on the verandah and saw the smoke around the comer of the roof. But there wasn't a chance of saving the building". He continued, "The staff behaved wonderfully, especially the girls who rushed from room to room warning the guests. People were swimming, playing croquet and amusing themselves when the fire started. My little daughter was greatly concerned over the fire and especially interested in the dining room. She kept saying "Do you think it will burn the dining-room, daddy'?"

Mr. McClennan's big British bull dog was with him when the fire started, and it followed him closely. "The dog seemed to know something dreadful was happening," he said, "but he took matters cooly as a true Britisher."

The total loss from the fire was estimated at about $50,000 though only half that sum insured. A new hotel was built to replace the old St Alice and it opened to great fanfare on May 24, 1926. •

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Vancouver Province, August 2, 1925

A Case Based Analysis of an Early Curriculum Revision

The Putnam Weir Report

Catherine Broom

The first set of major revisions to BC's high school curricula occurred during the 1930s. New curriculum guides released in 1930, 1933, and 1937 articulated a new philosophy of education, largely steeped in progressivism. These changes resulted from recommendations made in the Putman and Weir Report of 1925 and were largely enacted when Weir, one of the commissioners and a university professor, became Minister of Education during the 1930s. After describing some of the major changes recommended in the report, this paper will describe one particular school's attempt to implement new curricula in order to both present a portrait of a high school during the 1930s and 1940s as well as to highlight how effectively the first major revision of curricula was implemented.

Catherine Broom is at Simon Fraser University and "is fascinated with understanding the roots of the present through investigations of the past. She is currently conducting a historical study of BC's Ministry of Education curriculum guides for social studies, focused on citizenship education."

This is her second article examining the effects of the Putnam Weir Report on BC's schools.

Putnam and Weir's (1925) main recommendations included the use of standardized testing in order to determine "efficiency" through seeing what students had learned and a concomitant decrease in reliance on (or even removal of) stressful grade 8 exams, the continuation of varied program options in order to meet the perceived varying needs and abilities of students but with a "common" core that all students had to take, the argument that high schools should become more open to all students and less focused on a small group of students mostly preparing for university, a stress on manual training and home economics instruction, the teaching of physical exercise and of hygiene study, and the introduction of guidance to aid students in choosing the "right" careers for them. Physical education was also mentioned as a way "to educate through play" (p. 47) in order to develop physical fitness and "character," the latter of which was stressed in 1930s curricula and was seen to develop "moral citizens" (p. 47). Further, the school system was to be paid for through a new income tax on all people, as opposed to what was considered an unfair tax on real property owners who had borne the burden of education.

The report also included "progressive"-like statements, echoing the 1916 American report (*The Social Studies in Secondary Education* [Nelson, 1994]), such as arguing for education to be based on the needs of the child and on "experiences" and on new classroom pedagogies such as projects, social recitation and silent reading. It mentioned Dewey and stated that "education is life" and that teachers should consider their students when instructing, and it used Thorndike's research to argue against the "Theory of Disciplines," which the report stated, was popular in BC, as well as arguing for the hiring of a psychologist. It also advocated junior high schools as a way of providing a more meaningful program to students of that age. The commissioners accepted the argument of new developmental psychologists that children past through various stages of development. Being, therefore, at a different stage of development by about the age of 13, they should be separated from elementary school children in their own schools.

These changes were reflected in the curriculum guides (Department of Education) released after the report. The first changes occurred in 1927, with the rearrangement of history curricula to move from ancient ages to more recent ones, a chronological sequence supported by progressivists in the United States. The second step occurred in 1930, with the establishment of the course of "Social Studies" and a new common core. In 1936 and 1937, a more detailed philosophical section set out aims in detail, illustrating Deweyian and Progressive language and a new way of presenting curricula. These new curricula implemented some fundamental shifts in education in BC, based in progressive philosophy, including a child centred approach to education, new middle schools, the removal of stressful grade 8 exams, and the implementation of a common program, health, physical exercise, and library studies. This paper will consider how these changes were implemented in one particular school, after describing the school first.

INTRODUCING THE SCHOOL

North Vancouver High School, the only high school in North Vancouver until the late 1950s, began on the second floor of an office building in 1910. In 1924, the school received its own building (Davis, p. 57). The structure was a simple, square box, with one central hallway joining two small wings. Illustrating the value given to physical exercise in the Putman Weir report, the first playing field was constructed in 1926. A vocational building, including facilities for a machine shop, carpentry, and industrial arts opened in 1947. The cost of the school and the addition of features over time illustrate that the community valued the school, and that the school slowly implemented—at least structurally—the changes enacted in the 1930s.

School Day Routine

The 1940-1 *Handbook for Students* explained that the school day began with warning bells at 8:50 and 8:55, and that there was a short recess of 10 minutes in the morning after second period. Lunch break occurred from noon to one, with afternoon classes occurring from 1:10 to 3:15. Another bell rang at 4:15 by which time all students had to vacate the school. One student's timetable from the 1930s illustrates that the subjects studied included English, Science, Social Studies, Latin, Health, Math, and French. Each class occurred 5 times a week. The schedule reflects the rapid implementation of "Health" and "Social Studies."

Student Body

Student numbers increased markedly in the first part of the twentieth century, as figure 1 illustrates.[1] The apparent drop in numbers during the 1930s resulted from the establishment of two junior high schools, as enacted by ministry policy, and not from an

actual drop in student numbers. The large increase in student numbers was caused by a number of factors. Barman (1984) mentions promotional materials in the UK and Europe as encouraging migration. Further, writers of North Vancouver histories, such as Davis (1990), describe aggressive realtors who self-interestedly promoted the North Shore. Jones (1980) explains that many came to British Columbia because of railroad company promotional literature and land speculation. Aside from these "pull" factors, "push" factors included difficult living conditions in the home country and a desire to hold onto one's class (Barman, 1984). Further, an interview transcript with former major James Dykeman, who attended North Vancouver High School after World War 2, records that students from England studied at the school due to the war and that many students came from the prairies because they were not able to make a living as farmers (North Vancouver Archives)

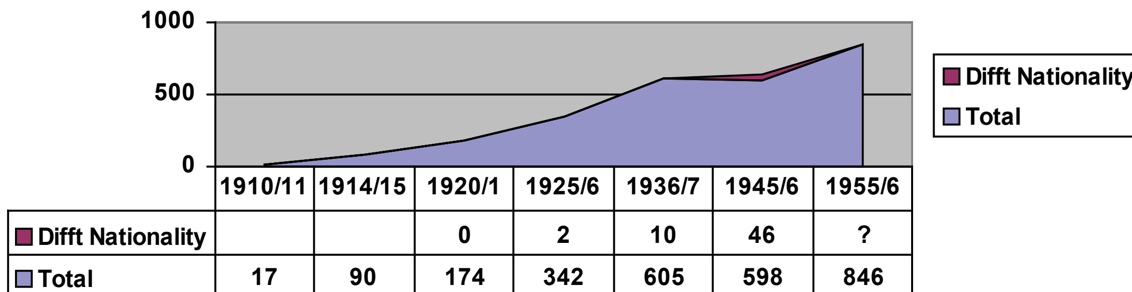
In figure 1, we can also see changes in the composition of the study body over time. The first mention of students of different nationalities is found in the Annual Report of 1925. In that report, "foreign nationalities" categories that could be chosen by the principal include: "Chinese, Japanese, Hindu, Orientals, Doukhobors, and other." The assumption seemed to have been that students born in BC, or from other parts of Canada or the UK were nationals. The principal marked North Vancouver High School as having, in the "other" category, one American and two Italians in 1925. Numbers increased in the 1930s. In 1937, it had 4 Japanese students and 6 Italians. By 1939, the school had 5 Japanese boys, 1 Italian girl, 2 Swedish girls, 1 Norwegian girl, and 3 American girls.

These numbers continued to increase in the 1940s, particularly with students from Europe, escaping from a Europe at war. Thus by 1940, the school had 20 'foreign' students: 3 girls from Norway,

1 These figures are compiled from the Principal's Annual Reports, 1910-1945, at North Vancouver Archives.

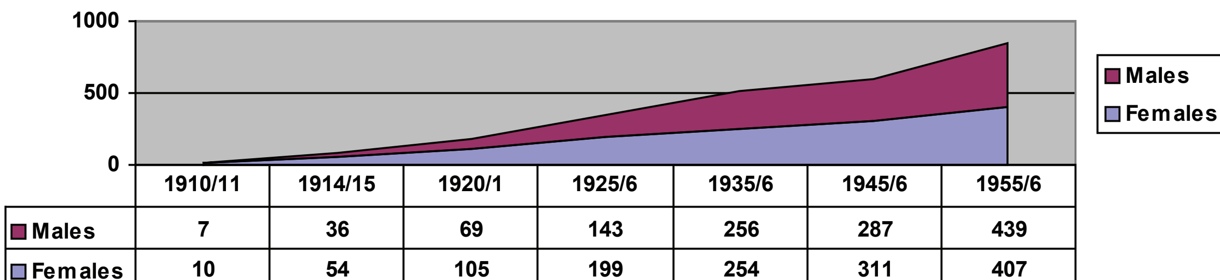
2 The figures in this table are compiled from the Principal's Annual Reports, 1910-1925, after which the reports stopped commenting on this area.

3 The book has no page numbers. The school itself closed shortly after due to declining student numbers (Vancouver Sun, 1978).



	1910/11	1914/15	1920/1	1925/6	1936/7	1945/6	1955/6
Difft Nationality			0	2	10	46	?
Total	17	90	174	342	605	598	846

Figure 1. Total Students Numbers at North Vancouver High School, 1910-1955.



	1910/11	1914/15	1920/1	1925/6	1935/6	1945/6	1955/6
Males	7	36	69	143	256	287	439
Females	10	54	105	199	254	311	407

Figure 2. Gender at North Vancouver High School

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5 girls from Japan, 1 girl from Sweden, 1 "Indian" girl (East or North American?), 1 Swiss girl, 1 Dutch girl, 1 Polish boy, 1 Belgian boy, 1 Hungarian boy, 3 American boys, 1 Italian girl, and 1 Russian girl. In 1944, the school had 11 Americans, 1 French student, 2 Germans, 6 Italians, 2 Russians, 16 Scandinavians, and 8 "all others." These figures illustrate that the school lacked a multicultural character early on, but they also seem to suggest an increasingly open high school admittance policy, as recommended in the Putman Weir report. Gender is illustrated in figure 2 below. Clearly, more females attended the high school until numbers were equalized in the 1930s. Male numbers again dropped in the 1940s and then finally surpassed girls in the 1950s. These numbers may have been affected by several factors including World War 1 and 2 and the common practice of sending girls from families with sufficient income to support them to high schools in order to train as teachers (Jackson and Gaskell, 1987).

IMPLEMENTATION

The Process of Implementation: Administrative policies and Accreditation Reports

According to Callahan (1962), administrators adopted business ideas to schools in United States at the turn of the century. They focused on making schooling more efficient through the application of Taylor's scientific management principles. As a result, they developed ways of measuring schools through the use of cost accounting and attempted to develop factory-styled schools such as platoon schools. Dunn (1980) makes clear that BC's school development was also based on efficiency principles but doesn't go into detail for particular principals.

One of North Vancouver School's longest serving principals, Mr. McDougall, principal from 1935 to 1961, does not appear to have been an efficiency guru. Besides earning a number of accomplishments including the Ferguson Memorial Award for Outstanding Contribution to Education, he was active in a number of organizations including president of the BCTF from 1941 to 1942 and in events at UBC. He also appears to have been popular with students, as one article portrays (McDougall, no date). He was described as believing in the active involvement of students in the government of the school, and of therefore working with students to establish a student council and a students' court. The later gave students real power to discipline other students: "The great emphasis, in all activities, is always on student management and supervision."

Further, he did not support expelling students, as he believed that they would then be problems in the community. Instead, he believed in giving students a second chance. The article further explains that he would go out of his way, such as by setting up jobs for students, who were in trouble at school. These students, in later years, would often come and visit him to thank him. He also advocated teaching students how to be good citizens and recommended that teachers not be "dictators," but rather give students a chance to express themselves. He was described as hating "mass produced graduates" and instead wanting to help "poorly balanced or handicapped young people fit into the general scheme of things." As well, he hated "stuffed shirts" and "meets students on their own ground." He was, in short, a "skilled negotiator with principles." School policies in early years, with regard to both teachers and students, do support an approach focused on giving students power in school management, although one with strict and clear rules. The former was a recommendation made in the 1930s curriculum guides.

The *Department of Education Inspector Reports*, from 1919 to 1931, are all very positive in tone about the work of the principal and the tone of the school. They describe harmony between the principal and teachers. They are "closely coordinated and well organized" with a "unity of purpose because of the harmonious relations between the staff, students, and school board." The principal is also described as eager and active in bringing in new school changes. For example, he gave "serious study" to the new Putman Weir Program and followed its "founding principles." In fact, the inspector reports that the principal created charts and gave such an excellent presentation supporting the new changes to "parents and rate payers" that they all voted to support changes. He also mentioned, with approval, that the school had facilities for the commercial course, manual training and home economics and had even rented a hall for P.E., "so that no essential part of the new course of study should be omitted." In the *Public Schools Report* of 1937 the school inspector for North Vancouver, William Gray, described the successful implementation of Junior High Schools, as legislated by the Ministry in the City of North Vancouver. Thus, two junior high schools with grades 7 to 9 were

implemented. However, the style of implementation was interesting, as Ridgeway for example, remained an elementary school with the junior high school on the top floor. Further, it shared its two specialist teachers in Home Economics and Industrial Arts with the other school, Queen Mary.

The district, which apparently had no facilities for grade 7 and 8 students to have separate schools, continued to run its elementary schools up to grade 8, with the addition of classes in Home Economics and Industrial Arts. Students continuing onto high school were then some how accommodated by North Vancouver High School which, as the only high school in the area and situated in the city, accepted students from both the city and district. Thus, attempts to implement Ministry mandates did occur.

The report also mentions that courses at North Vancouver High School were "now organized on a subject basis, with a greater chance for optional courses" (p. J58). As well, Home Economics and Industrial Arts were added to grade 9 and 10 but not yet to the senior grades, and the senior matriculation class was large at 38 students. By this time, the school had 561 students, with 15 "divisions." These appear to have been roughly equivalent to grade levels, although on occasion two grades were found in the same division. A study of documents at the archives further clarifies that students were of mixed ages in these 'classes,' and that some of these classes were very big. The average attendance of students, or size of each division, ranged from 30 to 40 students. Some had in excess of 40 students. The school had 17 teachers, roughly one teacher for each division, plus specialist teachers. The school had 10 male teachers and 7 female, but the male teachers were paid more than the females. The range of salaries for females ranged from $1,200 to $1,880, and that of males from $1,200 to $2,250.

Another set of documents can be used to analyze how "progressivism" was adopted by North Vancouver High School. Principals were required to fill out *Accreditation Reports* to prove that the school met the government's criteria before receiving accredited status, which allowed students to be exempt from government exams. The categories that the report included were: firstly, *time allotments*, where the school had to prove that it followed the required time allotments for subjects, especially for the new health course and to state that competitive events did not cut into the regular P.E. and Health schedule. Next was *testing and promotion,* where schools had to describe how progress was recorded, how promotion occurred, and what testing was used. Thirdly, under *guidance,* the school had to explain when guidance was given and how manners were taught. This was followed by a description of *social organization*, or what clubs were offered at the school. What subjects were taught and how provision was made for the individual needs of students followed under the section *provision for individuals' needs.* Under the *building and special equipment* category, schools had to explain what facilities they had for teaching P.E., the qualifications of the P.E. teacher, whether there was a 'cadet corps" that all boys were part of, and what technical equipment the school had. The school also had to describe the *library* and librarian. Tenth, under *teaching load,* the school had to show that no teachers taught more than 35 periods a week. Finally, under the *training and qualifications of principal and staff,* the school had to illustrate that all staff met ministry requirements. Thus, we can learn both what the government considered "progressivism" to look like in a school and how North Vancouver School was described, keeping in mind the purpose of the documents.

In the 1941/2 *Accrediting of High Schools* Report, the principal stated that the school followed the necessary time units and that health was taught following these time units. He stated that competitive events did not cut into the regular class schedule. Under the second category, he wrote that progress was recorded by units mastered and subjective exams, which involved essay style questions prepared by teachers, were given twice a year. These tested students' learning of concepts presented in class. He also mentioned that students were promoted by subject and not by grade and that students did not have to repeat junior high school classes. Guidance was given once a week and counsellors were able to give individual interviews to students. The teachers and the principal dealt with "deviations" in behaviour with the help of the students' council, as described below. As well, the school had a number of clubs with "pupil officers" at which minutes were kept. He listed the courses offered at the school and the numbers of students taking university entrance course (411) and those taking courses leading to high school graduation only (188). He explained that provision was made for "special needs" by offering "exceptional students" an extra subject each year, encouraging "non academic types" to enter the Commercial Studies or the Technical Studies programs, having the librarian train students in "effective study," and "segregating

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Department of Education. *Aims and*

remedial reading groups" from other students.

Further, the principal explained that they rented a gym, followed the necessary time allotments, gave students P.E. classes outside if possible, and placed greater stress on intra rather than inter competitions. As well, all boys were described as being part of the cadet corps for which they put in enough time to get extra credit. He also described books and magazines found at the library, what the library was like, the certification of the librarian, and stated that all students went once a day to the library and that it had science books. Finally, he mentioned that all teachers' schedules were in accord with Department of Education prescriptions. In short, the principal worked actively to demonstrate that the school met the government's accreditation criteria. The process seems to have been a long one, as Accrediting reports are found for the years 1937, 1940, 1943, 1955, and 1958.

Curriculum Change

Courses taken, 1910-1925, prior to Progressive Changes

A form created for the principal to fill out his Annual Report on had the following categories in 1911:

(a) English, which included reading, writing, grammar, communication, rhetoric, and English literature; (b) History, which included British, Canadian, Roman, and Greek History and Geography; (c) Math, or Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, and Trigonometry; (d) Science, with the branches of Chemistry, Physical Science, Nature Study, and Botany; (e) Classics, which included Latin, Greek, French, and German; (f) Drawing; (g) Commercial Studies, under which were Book Keeping, Stenography, Typewriting, and Business Forms, Letters and Laws; and (h) Manual Training and Domestic Science.

In short, we see a *Classic, Academic Program* focused on subjects (a) through (f), a *Commercial or Business Program* under (g), and the beginnings of a *Vocational Focus* under (h). Figure 3 illustrates which courses were actually studied at North Vancouver High School. It provides a summary of general areas studied and not of particular courses studied in each division, as these different slightly.

Students primarily took the Academic Program, with boys most probably preparing for university and girls for teaching careers. Commercial Studies was not introduced until 1920, most likely as the school did not have the numbers of students or the budget to support teachers in that area until then, or as students were more interested professional careers. Nevertheless, the fact that it was introduced after the Academic Program makes it clear that the latter was considered the most important, or primary function, of this early high school, as even more academic courses were added with school expansion. Jackson and Gaskell's (1987) argument that Commercial Studies became "women's work" does seem to be supported by the school's records, for we find that in 1920, 8 boys and 27 girls took this program. In 1925, 37 boys and 70 girls took Commercial Studies. Changes to Ministry curricula, with the addition of Home Economics and Industrial Arts, were also reflected in the high school fairly quickly and, so, the school's courses offered mirrored those emanating from the Ministry.

Courses taken, 1934-39.

Changes occurred in the 1930s with the development of new curricula based on the Putman-Weir

Date	Courses.
1910/11	Only the Academic program was taken. Courses included: English (reading and writing), Math (Arithmetic, Algebra, and Geometry), Classics (Latin and French), and Drawing. A few students took Science (Physical Science and Botany).
1914/15	Only the Academic program was taken. The courses were the same as those taken in 1910/11, with the addition of History and Geography.
1920/1	4 divisions took the Academic program, with students taking more Science and French. Students also took Manual Training if a boy and Domestic Sciences if a girl. 2 divisions took the Commercial Studies program, which began the year before. They studied English, Canadian History, Commercial courses, and Manual Training or Domestic Sciences.
1924/5	7 divisions took the Academic Program, with the addition of Chemistry and Physics. 3 divisions took the Commercial Studies Program.

Figure 3. Courses taken at North Vancouver High School, 1910/11-1925.

Philosophy of Education in BC, 1937. Retrieved October 1, 2005 from www.mala.bc.ca/homeroom

Department of Education. *Junior High School Programme of Studies—Social Studies.* Retrieved October 1, 2005 from www.mala.bc.ca/homeroom

Department of Education. 1937 *Programme of Studies for Character Education.* Retrieved October 1, 2005 from www.mala.bc.ca/homeroom

Department of Education. *Teacher's Guide—Programme of Course Study for Public Schools.* Retrieved October 1, 2005 from www.mala.bc.ca/homeroom

Department of Education. *Teacher's Guide— The Programme of the Intermediate School.* Retrieved October 1, 2005 from www.mala.bc.ca/homeroom

Department of Education. *The Regulations and Courses of Study for Provincial Normal Schools, 1928-1929* Retrieved October 1, 2005 from www.mala.bc.ca/homeroom

Dewey, John. (1916). *Democracy and Education.* New York: The Free Press.

Dunn, Timothy. (1980). "The Rise of Mass Public Schooling in British Columbia 1900-1929." *Schooling and Society in 20th Century British Columbia,* pp. 23-51. Edited by J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited.

Evans, R. (2004). *The Social Studies Wars.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia.

Field, Richard. (2005). "John Dewey: 1985-1952." Retrieved October 21st, 2005 from www.utm.edu/research/iep/d/dewey.htm

Fleming, Thomas. (1995).

report. Figure 4 below illustrates how these changes were reflected in North Vancouver High School.

Date	Courses.
1934/5	The Academic Program continued to be the main program taken. Courses remained: English (reading, writing, spelling, composition, English literature and English Grammar), Math (Arithmetic, Algebra, and Geometry), Classics (Latin and French), Geography, Drawing, Science (General Science, Chemistry, and Physics). The Commercial Program continued to be offered, but with low enrolment. The courses were Book Keeping, Shorthand, Typing, Business Arithmetic, and Business English. Social Studies, Physical Education, and Health Classes were present. No Home Economics or Industrial Arts classes were offered.
1936/7	The courses remained the same, except for the removal of Reading from the English course. Accounting and Secretarial Practice were added to the Commercial Program.
1937/8	The courses remained the same with the addition of Junior Business and Music Appreciation. Most students still took the Academic Program. The new Vocational Courses of Mechanical Drawing and Auto Mechanics made their first appearance.
1938/9	All Academic classes remained the same, less the removal of Writing and Spelling from the English course. Woodwork and Home Economics were offered, as was General Business and Law. All three had little enrolment.

Figure 4. Courses Taken at North Vancouver High School, 1934-1939.

The table above makes clear that the courses recommended and enacted in the 1930s—Social Studies, Health, and Physical Fitness—were added quickly to the courses offered at North Vancouver High School, although vocational style courses took longer to implement. Further, the addition of Secretarial Practice to the Commercial Program illustrates its clear transition from a program training middle class "clerks" in the nineteenth century to a female-focused, less prestigious program (Jackson and Gaskell, 1987). However, few students took the new courses or the programs focused on Commercial or Vocational Studies. The majority remained in the Academic Program, which showed no change except for the substitution of History and Geography for Social Studies.

Courses taken, 1940s

Little change occurred in the courses taken or offered in the 1940s, except for the addition of a few, new optional courses and of Cadet Work and Citizenship (Red Cross/First Aid), as figure 5 illustrates.

Increased vocational courses continued to be offered, although few students took them.

Philosophic Change in Daily School Life

The *Student Handbook of 1940-1* describes a number of extracurricular activities at the school, illustrating an active student body (pp. 8-25). In the first place, a student council planned a number of social events throughout the year, including mixers ("modern and old time dancing and games," p. 8), separate boys' and girls' banquets with "sing songs, speakers, toasts and entertainments," (p. 8) a school dance, grad banquet, and clubs concert. A spring school play was also put on and was apparently a moneymaker for the school. Students could join one of 34 possible clubs including the students' council, debating, drama, journalism, orchestra, dancing, opera, chess, camera, first aid, poster, business, archery, science, skating, and fine arts clubs. Some clubs were service oriented. For example, the junior Hi-Y Boys Club "patrolled," ran the lost and found, and organized music during lunch. The Hi-Y Girls

Date	Courses.
1940/1	Courses remained the same, with the addition of Journalism, Dramatics, Biology, and German.
1941/2	Cadet Work and Citizenship (Red Cross and First Aid) were added, as were Library and Guidance. The Commercial Program remained, with Typing, Shorthand, and Junior Book Keeping being the main courses offered. The report also commented that "the school is organized on a subject timetable."
1942/3	Courses remained the same, with few students taking Home Economics or Industrial Arts. More students were taking Science courses.
1943/44	Courses remained the same with the addition of more "Vocational Style" courses such as Wood Work, Metal Work, and Industrial Arts, but few students took these options.

Figure 5. Courses Taken at North Vancouver High School, 1940-1944.

"Junior High Schools and Middle Schools." *Education Canada*. Vol. 35, no. 3: 30-37, 48-49.

Fleming, Thomas. (1996). "Setting Standards in the West: Conway" *Canadian Journal of Education* Vol. 23, Issue.3: 294-317.

Fleming, Thomas. (1989). "The Imperial Age and After: Patterns of British Columbia School Leadership and the Institution of the Superintendancy, 1849-1988."

Handbook for Students. (1940-1). North Vancouver High School. North Vancouver Archives.

Handbook for Students. (1943-4). North Vancouver High School. North Vancouver Archives.

Handbook for Students. (1945-6). North Vancouver High School. North Vancouver Archives.

Jackson, N. & J. Gaskell (1987). "White Collar Vocationalism." *Curriculum Inquiry* Vol. 17, No. 2: 177-201.

Jeffers, J. (1884). *History of Canada*. Toronto: Canada Publishing Co.

Jenkins, R. (1918). *Canadian Civics BC Edition*. Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd.

Jones, David. (1980). " 'All Us Common People' and Education in the Depression." *Canadian Journal of Education* Vol. 5, No. 4: 41-56.

Jones, David. (1980). "The Zeitgeist of Western Settlement: Education and the Myth of The Land." *Schooling and Society in 20th Century British Columbia*, pp. 71-98. Edited By J. Wilson & D. Jones. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd.

Club and the Girls League decorated the rooms for mixers, held teas and sales and participated in other school events such as the penny carnival and clubs' concert to raise money. "May Day" and sports day celebrations also occurred, even a "goon day" was held—a practical joke day where, for example, a teacher's car was placed on the second floor balcony (Dykeman interview).

Further, a host of sports clubs was available in order to "produce as many keen and enthusiastic sportsmen as possible," (p. 21) including badminton, tennis, ping-pong, girls' track, boys' track, soccer, Canadian football and English rugby. As well, regular assemblies were held at school, at which different groups of students would present skits on their clubs and necessary information was given to students. The 1943-44 handbook added that the assemblies consisted of "school business, announcements, entertainment, and guest speakers" (p. 7). Another method of building school spirit was through the use of a House System. All students were divided into houses, and they could earn points for their houses through a number of school activities such as sports, debating and drama. The school appears to have aimed at developing students' "character," and also to have included many school activities and clubs, as recommended in 1937 curricula.

Discipline

Detailed stories of corporal punishment are found in the teachers' meeting minutes of some elementary schools (*Minutes of Teachers' Meetings*). students over the course of a school year. The main problem seems to have been "tardiness."[2] The larger number of corporal punishments in 1913-15 are most probably due to one or two students in first division, as other divisions had low numbers.

Department of Education Inspector Reports on the school commented, in 1919, that discipline, methods, and progress were "very good" and that many students were taking the matriculation program. In 1923, he wrote that the principal, who taught well, also supervised teachers, that teachers were given courses matched to their interests, and that the teachers and students worked closely together. He also stated that the general standing and school tone were "commendable." Discipline was "good" in the 1924 report. His positive comments continued in 1928 when he described the principal and teachers as "earnest, conscientious, and well trained," whose "chief interest" was the students. The school tone was "pleasing" and there was "harmony among staff."

There were, further, systems for dealing with discipline at the school, by the principal and by students themselves. Student handbooks of the early 1940s (*Handbook for Students*, 1940-1 and 1943-44) explain that students who were in need of discipline were given a "ticket" for violating rules by "traffic officials," who were other students. They then had to attend a "Students' Court" held at lunch times on Monday, where they would receive a sentence that they would have to carry out. This sentence involved doing odd jobs around the school, for if found "guilty," they were usually sent to the janitor.

Year	Total Enrolment	Corporal Punishment	Lates	Truancy	Suspension	Expulsion
1910/11	17	1	39	0	0	0
1911/12	33	0	59	0	0	0
1912/13	48	1	50	0	0	0
1913/14	61	12	23	0	1	0
1914/15	90	18	46	0	1	0
1920/1	174	8	174	4	1	0
1925/6	342	1	332	3	2	0

Figure 6. Total Number of Punishments Administered Yearly, 1910-1925.

However, punishment at North Vancouver High School does not appear to have been as much of an issue in the early years, as students were the "selected," academic-minded few who stayed in school because their families could afford it or because they were able to receive good marks on difficult entrance exams. Particularly in the early days of the school, as school records summarized in figure 6 illustrate, few punishments were administered to This court was matched to society: it was a "judicial system" or "law enforcing committee," that would "cope with law breakers" in "supreme court." The 1943 student handbook elaborated that students could attend a "Court of Appeal" if they thought they were innocent. Further, the school newspaper in 1938, the *Nova High News*, went so far as to publish the names of students who had been disciplined and to describe the "poor" class that had the largest number

Lupul, M.R. (1970). "Education in Western Canada Before 1873." *Canadian Education : A History*, pp. 241-264. Edited by J. D. Wilson and R. M. Stamp. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall.

Mann, Jean. (1980). "G. M. Weir and H. B. King: Progressive Education or Education for the Progressive State." *Schooling and Society in 20th Century British Columbia*, pp. 91-118. Edited by J. D. Wilson and D. C. Jones. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises.

Matters, D. (1980). "The Boys' Industrial School" Education for Juvenile Offenders." In *Schooling and Society in Twentieth Century British Columbia*, pp. 53-70. Eds. J.D. Wilson and D.C. Jones. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd.

McDougall. (No date). Typed manuscript at the North Vancouver Archives.

McKay, R. (1997). Character education: Take a closer look. *Canadian Social Studies* 32 (1): 4-5.

Minutes of Teachers' Meetings. (1914-15). Lynn Valley School. North Vancouver Archives.

Mraz, M. (2004). Harold Rugg and the Foundations of Social Studies. *International Journal of Social Education* 19 (1): 1-7.

Nelson, M. (Ed.) (1994). *The Social Studies in Secondary Education*. "Report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. National Association."

North Vancouver Annuals. (1929 and 1942). North Vancouver Archives.

North Vancouver Secondary School Policy Book of 1978-9. North Vancouver High School, at the North Vancouver Archives.

Nova High News. (1938). North Vancouver Archives

Typing instruction in the business class ***City of Vancouver Archives Photo Bu P562.4***

of discipline cases.

The number of "laws" listed were far fewer than ones one would find in a student's school guide today, although far more proscriptive and strict in ways that are not considered important today. For example, students had to attend school ("compulsory") and were not allowed to leave school even if sick, unless they went to the office first. As well, they had to eat lunch in their classrooms or outside and to throw their garbage out in the correct place. They had to attend Students' Court if they lost the key to their lockers. They could not keep their "suitcases" on top of their lockers; these were to be kept in their homerooms. As well, the girls and boys had separate hallways they had to go to during free time. They were not allowed to "loiter," "run" or "whistle." If they were late, they were sent to the office to receive a late slip, for which offence they would have to attend the court. Further, if they behaved badly, they were sent to the office.

The *Student Handbook for 1945* added an after school detention from 3:20 to 4:00 for lates. Students were also not allowed to walk on the lawn or to stay in the school after 4:15, and they had to wait for the streetcar at a specific place, and not in the middle of the road. In class, students were expected to "sit down, get to work, and not talk" once the bell had rung, and they were not allowed to leave their books on or in desks after class. The 1943-44 *Student Handbook* added that students had to return their inkbottles to their proper places at the end of the period and were not to touch windows or radiators or chew gum.

This description of student life illustrates a school focused on maintaining good student conduct. It established clear consequences for not following rules. The student handbook seems to portray, a "traditional school," not one Putman and Weir tried to establish, as it concentrated on setting out guidelines that students were expected to conform to and consequences for not following those rules. Further, the rules were proscriptive: "sit down, get to work, and not talk" does not seem to support a child-centred, nurturing approach. It supports Sutherland's (1980) findings that schooling remained formalistic, despite the report and the attempt to implement changes, although the involvement of students in school discipline and the large number of clubs does illustrate an active student body and the attempt to develop "character."

An early record of *Teachers' Duties* at the Archives also supports the comments above: teachers' duties were to supervise their homerooms and their areas of the school, to complete their supervision reports and attendance sheets, to enforce school rules, such as, by standing out in the hallway once the bell had gone to monitor students' behaviour better, to ensure students marched in file to the sewing room, manual training room, and science room, to conduct students out during a fire drill, and to stay in the classroom until all students had left.

CONCLUSION

As a result of governmental pressure, particularly school inspector visits and school accreditation

Parent Teacher Resolution No. 7. (1922). North Vancouver Archives.

Parent Teacher Association Notice. (1956). North Vancouver Archives.

Pedersen, K.G. & Fleming, T. (1983). "Education Under Siege: Academic Freedom and the Cult of Efficiency." *Journal of Business Studies*. Vol 14: 13-40.

Pitsula, J. (2001). Unlikely allies: Hilda Neatby, Michel Foucault, and the Critique Of Progressive Education. *Canadian Journal of Education* 26 (2): 383-400.

Principal's Annual Reports, 1911-1925. North Vancouver Archives.

Putman, J. H. & Weir, G. M. (1925). Survey of the School System. Victoria, BC: Province of British Columbia.

Smith, B. *et al*. (1995). Social studies and the birth of the NCSS. *Social Education* 59 (November/December): 393-8.

Snyder, J., Bolin, F., & Zumwalt, K. (1989). "Curriculum Implementation." SFU

The Social Studies in Secondary Education: A Reprint of the Seminal 1916 Report with Annotations and Commentaries. pp. 2-68. Bloomington, In: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/ Social Science Educ.

Stallones, J. (2003-2004). Paul Hanna and 'Expanding Communities.' *International Journal of Social Education* 18 (2): 33-46.

Sutherland, Neil. (1980). "Social Policy, 'Deviant' Children, and the Public Health Apparatus in British Columbia Between the Wars." *The Journal of Educational Thought*. Vol. 14, No. 2: 80-91.

reports, the school quickly added the courses of Social Studies, Health, and Physical Exercise and more slowly added vocational style courses, most probably as the principal worked actively to support new changes, as the school inspector reports state. Thus, the school quickly and clearly made the structural changes required. However, the successful implementation of new courses cannot be simply assumed, as most students continued to take academic courses. This is further supported by the student's schedule described above, which includes Health class, but no Vocational Studies. As well, the rules listed for the 1940s were traditional in nature, not progressive or child centred, although they certainly aimed to develop students' good "character" as advocated in the new curricula of the 1930s. If we also add that teachers continued to teach in the formalistic manner in which they themselves were taught (Sutherland, 1986) and that the government felt the need to offer teachers summer programs, we could conclude that, while the structural changes demanded by the Ministry were implemented, older patterns and traditions in school life remained. Structure was more easily changed than lived philosophy.

Interestingly, however, *The North Vancouver Secondary School Policy Book of 1978*[3] describes discipline at the school with a focus on similar themes of good conduct, lateness, and attendance. However, the tone of the Policy Book is quite different as it includes "progressive" or "child focused" language, for the purpose of the school is stated as that of developing every child to his or her "fullest potential," as both an individual and a participant in society through academic classes, counselling, and "allied activities," or clubs. Teachers were encouraged to foster a desire to learn in students through an open and inquiring approach that also developed a sense of worth in the student. As well, they were expected to "provide a learning situation best suited to each individual to develop his or her own abilities with reference to course content." Students were to be actively involved in this through, for example, choice in course selection and work experience. They were also to be active in labs and projects and to learn how to raise questions on their own. Unlike the 1940s statement that students had to sit and listen when class started; in the 1970s, "students should not be expected to sit like dish cloths to absorb moisture (information)." The school, further, provided more support for students through counselling and a learning assistance centre. Progressive-based philosophy, articulated in the Putman Weir Report of 1925 and in the curriculum guides of the 1930s, was now present in school documents. •

Sutherland, Neil. (1986). "The Triumph of Formalism: Elementary Schooling in Vancouver from the 1920s to the 1960s." *BC Studies* Vol 69-70 (Spring-Summer): 175-210.

Teachers' Duties. (No Date). North Vancouver Archives.

Thomas, J. & M. Arcus. (1988). "Factors Influencing Home Economics." *Canadian HomeEconomics Journal* Vol. 38 No. 2: 88-95.

Tompkins, G. (1985). "The Social Studies in Canada." In *A Canadian Social Studies*, pp. Eds. J. Parsons et al. Edmonton: Faculty of Education Publication Services.

Tomkins, G. (1986). *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall.

Van Brummelen, H. (1983). "Shifting Perspectives: Early British Columbia Textbooks from 1872 to 1925." *BC Studies 60:* 1-28.

Vancouver Sun. (March 2nd, 1978). "Student Drop Could Close School." North Vancouver Archives.

Watras, J. (2003-2004). Relativism and Indoctrination: The Critical Reception of the Commission on the Social Studies, 1926-1941. *International Journal of Social Education* 18 (2): 47-61.

Watras. J. (2002). Debating the Curriculum: Social Studies or History, 1892-1937. *Social Studies* 93 (6): 245-251.

Whelan, M. (1997). A Particularly Lucid Lens: The Committee of Ten and the Social Studies Committee in Historical Context. *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 12: 256-68.

Whelan, M. (1991). James Harvey Robinson, the New History, and the 1916 Social Studies Report. *The History Teacher* 24 (2): 191-202.

Wilson, D. (1980). "The Historiography of British Columbia Educational History." In *Schooling and Society in Twentieth Century British Columbia*, pp. 7-22. Eds. J.D. Wilson and D.C. Jones. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd.

Wilson, J.D. (1970). "Education in Upper Canada: Sixty Years of Change." *Canadian Education: A History*, pp. 190-213. Edited by J. D. Wilson and R. M. Stamp. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall.

Woodcock, G. (1990). *British Columbia A History of the Province*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.

Chinese Cemeteries and Grave Markers in B.C.

A Research Guide

By Judy Maxwell

The Ching/Qing Ming Festival is celebrated on the 9th day of the 9th month of the Chinese lunar calendar. On this day, which usually falls on the 4th or 5th of April in the western calendar, Chinese families visit the graves of their ancestors with offerings. Given the significance of this festival, a brief history and guide to research material on early Chinese cemeteries and grave markers in British Columbia, is of interest. This paper summarizes the story of Chinese settlement in BC, explains the significance of Qing Ming and burial locales, and. provides an alphabetical list of BC's Chinese cemeteries with contacts/ custodial organizations for further investigation. This bibliographic research paper will provide valuable insights and appreciation for Chinese ancestor worship, especially during Qing Ming.

TRADITIONAL CHINESE BURIALS

Most Chinese who came to British Columbia in the early days of the Fraser Valley gold rush (1858-1860s) and during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (early 1880s) were migrant workers who planned to return to China after making their fortunes. These young men -- few women came -- were a hardy and healthy people, however, when serious illness struck or a terrible accident occurred it was imperative that the debilitated return home to die rather than pass away in a foreign country. The Chinese believed that if people died in a distant land their restless souls would wander until their bodies were buried in their home village where close relatives could care for their graves and comfort the departed. For those who unexpectedly died in this strange land of Canada, the responsibility of caring for the remains fell on the shoulders of various Chinese clan and community organizations. Had the Chinese intended to stay in British Columbia or Canada, they might not have sent their bones back home

When the Chinese first arrived in British Columbia to search for gold, they were few in number and there was no community support. As their numbers increased, Chinatowns as well as clan associations and community organizations sprang up and took charge of the deceased. After seven years of rest in British Columbia graves, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) disinterred the sojourner's bones, cleaned and dried them in preparation for shipping, and then, in many cases, stored the bones at an interim location until sufficient bones were assembled for a mass shipment. As author David Lai explained in his article on the Chinese cemeteries of Victoria, "Crates of bones from Chinese communities across Canada were sent to Victoria and stored in a wooden 'bone house' in Chinatown until the quantity was large enough to warrant a shipment in bulk." (p. 32) The first collective shipment to China was sent in 1909. These shipments continued every seven years until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. The People's Republic of China, established in 1949, isolated itself from the capitalist world and refused to accept any more bone shipments. This permanently changed the dynamics of burials and homeland.

Burial sites are of great importance to the Chinese. Ancestor Worship is a Confucian-influenced practice that honours the conduct, sacrifices and memories of one's deceased relatives. It includes visiting the deceased at their graves and offerings provisions for their journey in the afterlife. Honouring one's ancestors begins with proper positioning of a gravesite and coffin and finding the right site is determined according to the concepts of *Feng Shui*, geomancy or harmony with nature. *Feng shui*, which literally means wind and water, is an understanding of man and his environment, the link between the *Yin* and *Yang* worlds. The fortunes of succeeding generations are believed to depend on the *feng shui* of their ancestors' graves. If the spirits are comfortable, their descendants may become wealthy. In other words, correct cemetery site choices will result in good fortune for the family whereas poor decisions will produce misfortune. The surrounding landforms of a Chinese burial site must incorporate both *Yin* and *Yang* characteristics. A good site would have a south-facing opening so that the life-giving force of the sun would always have access. The presence of a winding body of water, symbolizing wealth and affluence, is also considered most auspicious. 'Unseen forces' must also be considered, for example: "a plain capable of holding 10,000 horsemen." These are but a few of the many intricate and precise *feng shui* elements to consider when selecting a cemetery site. Typical Chinese grave markers in British Columbia were usually stone and were marked with the name, birth, home origin and status in Chinese. In the 1920s, many Chinese began including pictures of the deceased on the tombstones.

According to Chinese traditional customs, people must visit the graves of ancestors, relatives or close friends during the Qing Ming Festival. The festival marks the middle of spring and above all, is a

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Headstone at Harling Point, Victoria, BC 1976

sacred day of the dead. The special occasion, which dates back over one thousand years, celebrates the rebirth of nature. Qing Ming is also known as "Remembrance of Ancestors Day," Clear Brightness Festival, the Festival for Tending Graves, Grave Sweeping Day and Tomb Sweeping Day. Whatever name is given to the day, it is a time to remember and honour one's ancestors.

Since many of these Chinese pioneers did not have relatives close by, various regional and clan associations took on the responsibility of looking after Chinese graves. These organizations would arrange group trips during the Qing Ming and Chongyang Festivals to tidy graves and to make offerings to the spirits of the dead by such means as lighting joss sticks and candles, burning paper money, and providing food. Qing Ming festivals honour all Chinese graves, marked and unmarked. The custom is still filially observed.

In some cases the Chinese had to share a cemetery with whites who disliked being buried next to a "Chinaman." Often, the Chinese were segregated to a small section of a cemetery; sometimes they were fortunate enough to have their own separate cemetery. When this was the case, the Chinese took great care in choosing a site for interment. British Columbia has numerous Chinese cemeteries and grave markers, dating back to the late nineteenth century when the Chinese trekked through the Fraser Valley for gold, worked on the railway through the Fraser Canyon and Kootenays, and worked in the cities. Scatterings of cemeteries and grave markers can be found in Nanaimo, Ashcroft, Likely, Kamloops, Barkerville, Richfield, Stanley, Quesnelle Forks, Wild Horse Creek, Cumberland (including Courtenay), Prince George, Prince Rupert, New Westminster and Vancouver.

Most of the Chinese cemeteries in British Columbia have become heritage sites. They have been discovered as historically and genealogically valuable, and have become very popular for tours and festivals. And almost all have undergone, or are undergoing, heritage renovations. The evolution of Chinese cemeteries is fascinating to trace and incredibly interesting to research. Now that attitudes have completely changed regarding the Chinese and values have been 'restructured,' it is noteworthy that local, provincial and national museums and archives retain information on BC's Chinese cemeteries and rituals. This Chinese pioneer history has become a significant part of British Columbia's, and Canada's, heritage.

INVENTORY OF SOURCE MATERIAL

LIST OF CEMETERIES - in alphabetical order by location

Ashcroft_ has a cemetery that was developed (and is still maintained) by the Canadian Pacific Railway. Few Chinese pioneers are buried at this site. While some are buried in unmarked graves, most Chinese graves collapsed after disinterment. Lloyd Wong, a local historian, says few records exist although the City office and the Kamloops Chinese Cemetery Heritage Society have some records.

Barkerville and Quesnelle Forks Cemeteries The curator of Barkerville, Bill Quackenbush, has found very little information on Chinese burials. The local library/archives has some information, but it is open by appointment only. There is only one historic grave photograph. The Cemetery has not identified Chinese graves, there is little funerary information, and no one has excavated Barkerville's Chinese cemetery. Many of the original burials were exhumed and sent back to China before the Pacific War. Only four buried Chinese remain, one being Bill Hong. More Chinese were buried at Richfield and Stanley and the Anglican and Methodist Churches kept some records which are now located in their archives on the University of British Columbia campus. Stanley and Quesnelle Forks have segregated cemeteries.

Cumberland, a bustling coal mining community, originated in 1888. An influx of Chinese labourers transformed it into the home to one of the largest Chinese settlements on the continent. A separate Chinese cemetery in the Village of Cumberland (just 15 minutes from Courtenay) includes Chinese

pioneers from both Cumberland and Courtenay. All cemetery burial records are housed in the Cumberland Museum and date back to the turn of the twentieth century. The Museum also has photographs of graves and ceremonies.

Fort Steele Heritage Town (Wild Horse Creek) According to Laura Pasacreta, an archaeologist and expert on the Chinese cemetery in the Fort Steele Heritage Town, Wild Horse Creek, under the jurisdiction of Fort Steele Heritage Town, is probably the best-preserved and most authentic Chinese cemetery in British Columbia. (See Bibliography.)

Kamloops *The Chinese Cemetery in Kamloops* is an excellent resource based on the research completed by Barry Weaver, a student at Cariboo College. It describes the history of the Chinese who came during the gold rush and CPR days, burials and many of their practices such as *feng shui.* George Chung of the Chinese Freemasons Association reports that the City of Kamloops is the major archival resource for Chinese pioneers buried there. The continuing work of restoring the cemetery has received much local publicity.

Kelowna Approximately forty Chinese who died from about 1900 on, and mainly in the 1920s, are buried in a segregated section of Memorial Park cemetery. Many of these pioneers came to Kelowna as Canadian Pacific Railway workers, and later worked in agriculture. This pioneer section covers 1.5 acres of the 10-acre site, and is both an active cemetery and a historic site. In 2000, the City of Kelowna put together a restoration plan for it with the help of funding from the BC 2000 Community Spirit Grant, a Millennium Partnership Grant, and the Asian Community. About 150 damaged and weather-worn grave markers for Chinese and Japanese who lived in Kelowna between 1900 and 1960 were replaced. According to Denis Radford, Manager of the Kelowna Cemetery, each original marker had three lines indicating: the province and village of the origin as well as the name of the deceased. New granite markers were inscribed and re-laid in the same way as the originals. The restoration project also upgraded the cemetery's grounds with the building of curbing and retaining walls, the installation of rock footpaths, the removal of overgrown vegetation, and the construction of the Pavilion of Eternal Rest. The Kelowna Memorial Cemetery, City of Kelowna and the Kelowna Museum have a list of those interred, some early historical documentation and photographs. Only the City has the formal details about the restoration project, while the Museum has retained *before* and *after* photographs of the cemetery site.

Likely has two small cemeteries with Chinese buried in the pioneer section. The Likely Cemetery Society (which operates the Quesnelle Forks Cemetery) and the Cedar Point Park Museum both have some historical documents and newsletters with information on the Chinese buried. *Gold and Grand Dreams* by Marie Elliott has some information on the Chinese pioneers.

Nanaimo has six historic cemeteries, four of which include Chinese graves: the Nanaimo Public Cemetery, the Garden Memorial to Chinese Pioneers, and the Chinese Cemeteries at 1598 Townsite Road and 10 Wallace Street. What is now the Garden Memorial was an active cemetery from the 1890s to 1924 when the cemetery on Townsite Road was established. The City's Heritage Register says that about 1890 the coal company donated the plot at the corner of Stewart Avenue and St. George Street for the burial of Chinese bodies until the bones could be returned to China. In 1976, the Nanaimo Chinese community presented the site to the city as the Garden Memorial to Chinese Pioneers. The standing stone on the altar was found on the site and is inscribed, "All Past Friends' Graves." This was the first garden in Canada to commemorate the contribution made by the Chinese and their Canadian-born children to this country. The Chinese Cemetery at 1598 Townsite Road is presently active. The City's Heritage Register indicates that in 1924 "all Chinese from Chemainus to Qualicum gave $2 for new burial grounds on Townsite Road. Ed Lee, Chuck Wong and Davey Thom looked after the site for many years. In 1984, 3.4 acres were given to the City of Nanaimo in exchange for upkeep of the entire area. The Cemetery is now integrated, not restricted to Chinese only. An altar, incinerator and shrine have been added." Most Chinese pioneers were buried at one or the other of these locations. Almost all records from these cemeteries can be found at the Nanaimo Community Archives.

New Westminster Fraser Cemetery, which dates back to 1869, has Chinese burials intermixed with non-Chinese. All records can be obtained through the New Westminster City Hall, the New Westminster Museum

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and Archives, as well as the cemetery office located at the cemetery. Archie and Dale Miller, cemetery historians, are extremely knowledgeable and give regular cemetery tours.

Prince George Author Lily Chow, who provided a tremendous amount of information on deceased Chinese pioneers and their gravestones, explained that in the centre of each stone the name of the deceased is inscribed or carved. If the deceased was a man, the stone had the word *gong* carved below his name; if the deceased was a woman, *nushi* or *shi* was carved below her name. Some markers included the name of the home village. Almost two years ago, Ms Chow organized and led a project to commemorate the unknown Chinese buried in Prince George's cemetery. In Chinese cemeteries, it is common to have a marker for "wandering souls", those who died and were buried in unmarked graves, as well as those without descendents to look after their graves. Dignitaries from three levels of governments, the Chinese Consul-General, as well as local and out-of-town Chinese organizational representatives attended the ceremony dedicating a memorial that includes a brief history of the Chinese people who had lived and contributed to the growth and development of Prince George.

Prince Rupert Fairview Cemetery is the only burial ground in Prince Rupert. It has three different sections set aside for Chinese. A listing of all the Chinese buried there can be accessed by courtesy of Michelle Montemurro, Engineering Clerk for the City of Prince Rupert. The City has extensive records of Chinese burials back to 1911. Some original logbooks have been retained, however, most of the older records are simply the names of those buried in the cemetery and their location. There is no additional information for those buried between 1911 and the mid-1970s — that is, how they died, where they died, next of kin, etc. The City has little information for burials between the 1930s and 1950s because records have either been misplaced or destroyed due to water damage or fire. The city, however, has some information from copies of burial permits issued by government agents from the mid-1940s to the mid-1980s. A few of these permits have attached information sheets with particulars such as birth dates, cause of death, etc. After the late 1970s, the city kept more detailed records, but the most informative records begin after 1980 when a new form required more information for burials. The city of Prince Rupert keeps master copies of all records, as well as index cards as a back-up system, maps, and a new database — a fairly recent creation by Ms. Montemurro. Other copies of information, although not complete or up-to-date, can be found at the BC Archives.

Vancouver Mountain View Cemetery is one of the oldest cemeteries in the Vancouver metropolitan area. It began operations in 1887 at the original Old Cemetery site on Fraser Street between 33rd and 37th Avenues. After numerous additions over the years, it now occupies 105 acres. The Old Cemetery has a separate section for Chinese and Japanese. The cemetery has an extensive listing of all the Chinese who were buried and disinterred, however, the only particulars of each person are name, age, and date of death. Their records are shared with the City of Vancouver but Mountain View retains the original documents. Glen Hodges, the Cemetery Manager,, who kindly took me on a tour of the cemetery, gave me access to various historical documents about the burials of pioneer Chinese

Victoria: Harling Point is the oldest Chinese cemetery in Canada. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association bought the site in 1902 and opened it the next year. One of the few spots in North America to fulfill the "harmonious" criteria of *feng shui*, Harling Point has an interesting history of the Chinese interred and disinterred. Its first grave markers simply bear the names, "Chinaman #1," "Chinaman #2," and so on. The cemetery, which had a centennial commemoration in 2003, recently underwent a $2 million restoration. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (almost all records are in Chinese), the Municipality of Oak Bay, the City of Victoria, the BC Archives, and the City of Victoria Archives, the Old Cemetery Society, and such secondary sources as articles by David Lai have information about it.

Ross Bay Cemetery is surprisingly on the top-10 list of Victoria attractions. While it is neither the oldest not the largest cemetery in the province, it is one of the most significant. Set in picturesque Ross Bay, its design and pastoral setting are considered among the best examples of a Victorian-era romantic cemetery. First opened for business in 1873, the cemetery comprises eleven tranquil hectares and approximately 28,000 interments. The first Chinese interment was in March 1873. Before that, Chinese were buried in the Old Burying Ground — now Pioneer Square. Chinese

grave markers can be found in sections K, L, and N (see attached map). Records of burials can be found in many different locations. Originally, various churches maintained these records and, it is uncertain if they recorded any Chinese burials. Records for the Ross Bay Cemetery are housed at the Victoria Parks office in Beacon Hill Park. All records have been microfilmed and are available through the Victoria City Archives and the Old Cemeteries Society.

ORGANIZATIONS

The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association of Victoria, the **Vancouver Chinese Benevolent Association**, the Vancouver **Chinese Freemasons**, the **Chinese Cultural Centre of Vancouver**, the **Dart Coon Club**, and the **Chinese Canadian Research Collection** at the University of British Columbia Special Collections Library all have some historical information on Chinese buried in Vancouver and Victoria. The Vancouver and Victoria branches of the Chinese Benevolent Association were the first Chinese organizations to spearhead the collection of Chinese gravesites and bones from their communities for returning bones back to China. The Vancouver Chinese Benevolent Association in 2000-01 published a booklet, in Chinese, on the Chinese buried in Vancouver. Most of their historical documents are in Chinese only, and the City of Vancouver has copies of almost all of their documents and photographs.

The Old Cemetery Society (OCS) in Victoria is a non-profit society whose goal is to "encourage the research, preservation and appreciation of Greater Victoria's twenty heritage cemeteries" (http://www.oldcem.bc.ca/menu_pages/about.html). More than three hundred members, most of whom are volunteers, catalogue, clean, and restore monuments, computerize burial records, conduct historical research and give tours. The OCS has a full set of Victoria's burial records, approximately 29,000 entries. The OCS also hosts tours of the Victoria Chinese and non-Chinese cemeteries. The Tour Coordinator, Tom Pound, regularly offers tours of the Chinese cemeteries, and according to OCS Historian, Leona Taylor, Alderman Charlayne Thornton-Joe, a Chinese-Canadian who is very familiar with Chinese burial customs and rituals, also provides expert tours. Ms. Thornton-Joe is one of the key personalities in the National Film Board's documentary *From Harling Point*.

BC Heritage and Parks Canada had designated many of Chinese cemeteries as heritage sites and lists them on its web site. . Further information about heritage designation, tours and historical documents can be obtained by contacting these sites (See bibliography).

ARCHIVAL RESOURCES

Archives Association of British Columbia has a listing of all community archives online: "Guide to Archival Repositories in BC" at http://aabc.bc.ca/aabc/bcguide.html. This is an excellent resource for finding all significant pioneer Chinese communities where there are cemeteries.

British Columbia Archives has municipal and provincial information on all cemeteries in British Columbia. Most of their information has been copied from original documents stored in local cemeteries and/or Museum Archives. Most of it, including old photographs, is available on line, (www.bcarchives.ca) but some of the older information is only available by visiting the Archives in person.

Vancouver City Archives has copies of many of Mountain View Cemetery's historical records and such original documents as minutes from City Council meetings regarding the burial of Chinese in Vancouver, a letter written by a lawyer to the City in 1890 regarding a Chinese cemetery, and photographs of grave markers from the *Chang Family* (part of the Sam Kee Company fonds). A number of photographs are only accessible on site.

Victoria City Archives has copies of municipal cemetery records, and some original documents and photographs. All of Ross Bay cemetery records have been microfilmed and are available. It is not possible to search online for place of origin although this can be done in person at the Archives. Nonetheless, it is searchable on line by first and last name and year of burial. A researcher with a specific name (i.e. Wong), can find all the entries for that name, assuming they were entered correctly to begin with, which many were not. A better, more tedious method is to search by year only, that is, by scrolling down through the entries and selecting the relevant ones. Chinese burials are usually fairly evident — either because of the deceased's Chinese name or place of origin — although from time to time entries are confusing.

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What Frankie Said: The Trial of Frankie Russell

By Lani Russwurm

Lani Russwurm has recently completed the MA program in history at Simon Fraser and is currently currently working on a book on the policing of interwar Vancouver.

Bring out the rubber-tired buggy
Bring out the rubber-tired hack
I'm taking my man to the graveyard,
But I ain't gonna bring him back
Lord he was my man, and he done me wrong

Bring out a thousand policemen
Bring 'em around today
And lock me down in the dungeon cell and throw that key away
I shot my man, he was doing me wrong

Frankie and Johnny, Trad. American folk song, arr. Jimmie Rodgers

Unlike her namesake in the song, Frankie Russell did not shoot her man. That was the jury's conclusion after expert testimony in the coroner's inquest showed it was in fact possible for a man the size of Bob Tait to shoot himself in the head with a sawed-off shotgun.[1] Once that was settled, the courts were called upon to determine whether she had shot the man at the helm of the Vancouver City Police Department, Chief Constable Malcolm MacLennan.

Described in the papers as a "white woman of the underworld," Frankie was the "paramour" of Bob Tait, a black man who initiated a shoot-out with the police on the evening of 20 March 1917.[2] The gruesome drama began when Frankie's landlord and his hireling broke into her apartment demanding rent. It ended as a murder-suicide that left MacLennan, Tait, and an eight year-old boy dead and a police detective blinded in one eye. Frankie was charged as Tait's accomplice because police claimed there must have been more than one person firing from inside the apartment based on the sound of the gunfire when their chief was shot. Frankie's testimony, unlike those of her police accusers, withstood a vigorous cross-examination and she was acquitted.

Bob Tait's shooting spree was the most sensational murder case the city had ever seen. For the reform-minded middle class, the tragedy perfectly illustrated the nature and consequences of drug addiction and highlighted the danger they claimed it posed to white society.[3] As such, the case helped set the stage for the racialized drug panic that swept the city in the early 1920s, which resulted in a dramatic escalation of Canada's drug war and was coupled with the movement that ended Chinese immigration in 1923.[4] For neighbourhood residents, the incident endured as a staple of local folklore[5] and has been memorialized with a tile mosaic embedded in the sidewalk on the corner of East Georgia Street and Jackson Avenue. MacLennan is the only Vancouver chief constable with an entry in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* and is one of the most notable line-of-duty deaths in the annals of Vancouver police history.[6] For historians who have written about the case, its significance is not just that MacLennan was the city's top-ranking lawman, but also that he was an early advocate for treating drug addiction as an illness, making it somewhat ironic that he was murdered by an addict. The incident thus plays in local historiography as a watershed moment in the origins of the east side's complex drug problems that have confounded scores of policy-makers and police ever since.[7] But Frankie Russell's testimony – the version of events the jury found most credible – suggests that Tait's drug use was only one and not necessarily the most decisive factor guiding his behaviour that night.

Frankie Russell met Bob Tait when she was destitute and sick after her husband had sold everything they owned and was then sent to prison. She did not feel she could turn to her family in the Fraser Valley and so Tait took care of her for six months until she was back on her feet.[8] Neither were strangers to the police. Tait came from Detroit and had his first brush with the Vancouver police in 1914 when he and another woman were stopped by Constable Quirk. Tait hit Quirk over the head with a bag containing opium and the two ran off. After warning them to stop, Quirk shot at them and hit Tait in the thumb. On other occasions, Tait and Frankie were charged with drug possession and being inmates in a disorderly house. Several other charges populated Frankie's criminal record, including vagrancy, keeping a disorderly house, theft, and drunkenness. In 1916, the pair was given the choice of leaving New Westminster or being sent to prison for living off the avails of crime.[9]

Back in Vancouver's East End, Frankie and another man, a white man posing as her husband, rented an apartment above a Chinese grocery store at 522 East Georgia Street. Possibly she doubted the landlord would rent to a mixed-race couple if she and Tait attempted to rent it. In any case, it was Tait in the apartment with Frankie when her landlord, Frank King, and his agent, Hector McKinnon, kicked in their door the evening of 20 March 1917. The commotion woke Frankie and she came out of the bedroom to investigate. She recognized King, but when McKinnon refused to identify himself, she mistakenly

Photo from the March 21, 1917 Vancouver Province

assumed he was a bailiff. McKinnon did most of the talking and demanded that Frankie hand over the $20 in arrears she owed or immediately vacate the premises. Frankie was on a rent strike and had been refusing to pay King until he fixed her roof. Rainwater was causing her wallpaper to peel and once spoiled her groceries. But this evening Frankie simply told the intruders she did not have the rent. They refused to give her more time to raise the money so Frankie went into the bedroom and woke Bob Tait, who was sick and injured. She asked if he had any money she could borrow, and he replied that he did not.[10]

From inside the bedroom, Tait overheard the men aggressively interrogating Frankie. He hollered out that if McKinnon just served the eviction papers, he and Frankie would leave. McKinnon's response to Tait was that he was going to "kick his face in." Frankie informed McKinnon that he was talking to a sick man. He did not give a damn, he told her. Then Tait came out of the bedroom wielding a shotgun. McKinnon reached into his pocket, but Tait warned him not to try anything. King finally spoke up, saying that he would not leave. McKinnon persuaded King otherwise and the two men finally left.[11]

The encounter left Tait angry and frustrated. He had been sick for several days and was in pain from an injury he sustained falling down the stairs in an opium den while gathering information for the police. After the men left he further aggravated his agitation with drugs and alcohol. That night Tait consumed more intoxicants – namely cocaine, morphine, heroin, and whiskey – than Frankie had ever before witnessed in the two years she had known him.[12] Yet Tait's rage did not become murderous until he heard the voice of a police officer he knew from his work as an informant.[13] In exchange for acting as a "stool pigeon," Tait had been given immunity from drug-related charges.[14] For reasons only alluded to in newspaper accounts, Tait's relationship with the police was anything but amicable.

The landlord and McKinnon returned to the apartment with Constable Johnston. Tait refused to open the door, or to allow Frankie to open it, and shouted that he knew they did not have a warrant because they had not been gone long enough. Johnston called for back-up, and Detectives John Cameron and Ernest Russell came to negotiate with Tait. Russell had known Frankie and Bob Tait for more than two years. He knocked and told Tait through the door that he wished to speak with him. "I was long

Notes

1 *Vancouver World,* 27 March 1917.

2 *Vancouver World,* 21 March 1917.

3 For example, the incident is used to illustrate "dope fiend" tactics in Emily F. Murphy, *The Black Candle* Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1922.

4 Catherine Carstairs, "Hop Heads and Hypes': Drug Use, Regulation and Resistance in Canada, 1920-1961" Phd diss., University of Toronto, 2000, 27, 33.

5 Daphne Marlatt and Carole Itter, *Opening Doors: Vancouver's East End,* Victoria, BC: Aural History Program, Provincal Archives of British Columbia, 1979, 57.

6 Greg Marquis, "Malcolm Bruce MacLennan, (1867-1917)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online,* University of Toronto/ Université Laval, 2000, http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=41681; Joe Swan. *A Century of Service: The Vancouver Police, 1886-1986* Vancouver: Vancouver Police Historical Society and Centennial Museum, 1986, 41, 43.

7 See, for example, Shawn Blore, "Bad Addresses," *Vancouver Magazine* 31, no. 8, November 1998, 60.

8 *Vancouver Daily Sun,* 5 May 1917.

9 *Vancouver World,* 21 March 1917.

10 *Vancouver Daily Sun,* 5 May 1917.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 *The British Columbian,* 21 March 1917.

14 *Vancouver World,* 21 March 1917.

15 *Daily News-Advertiser,* 3 May 1917.

16 *Daily Province*, 21 March 1917.

17 *Vancouver World,* 21 March 1917.

18 *Vancouver Daily Sun,* 5 May 1917.
19 *Daily News-Advertiser,* 3 May 1917.

20 *Vancouver World,* 21 March 1917.

21 *Daily Province,* 21 May 1917; *The British Columbian,* 21 March 1917.

22 *Daily Province,* 21 May 1917.

23 *Vancouver Daily Sun,* 5 May 1917.

24 Ibid.

25 *Daily News-Advertiser,* 4 May 1917.

26 *Vancouver Daily Sun,* 4 May 1917.

27 *Daily News-Advertiser,* 18 April 1917.

28 *Daily News-Advertiser,* 6 May 1917.

29 Ibid.

30 Angus McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity: Policing Sexual Boundaries, 1870-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 120.

31 In testimony that was ruled inadmissible because of how it was obtained, police stated that Frankie told them during her interrogation that Tait said it was not MacLennan that he wanted to get, but Detectives McLaughlin and Ricci. *Vancouver Daily Sun,* 4 May 1917.

32 Austin Phillips, in Marlatt, and Itter, _ *Opening Doors* _, 142.

33 See, for example, Staff Sergeant Joe Swan, Ret., *The Police Murders: True Stories from the Vancouver Police Archives* (Vancouver: West Ender Books, n.d. [1988]), chapter four.

34 *Daily News-Advertiser,* 6 May 1917.

enough a stool pigeon and was crossed and double crossed," Tait retorted. "I will go under before I go with you, Russell." The detective persisted: "C'mon Bob, open the door, I want to talk to you. I never double-crossed you." Tait responded with a shotgun blast through the door, hitting Cameron in the face just below his eye.[15] The others were bloodied by the spray of glass shards from the door. Johnston and Russell managed to carry Cameron out to safety. Detective Russell ran to the store on the corner to call for reinforcements. He came out and saw eight year-old George Robb collapse to the sidewalk from a bullet probably intended for the detective. He rushed over, wrapped the boy in his arms, and carried him to the safety of a neighbouring house. George Robb was rushed to the hospital where doctors pronounced him dead from the bullet that had pierced his lung.[16]

The first of many reinforcements to arrive was a party led by Chief Malcolm MacLennan, Deputy Chief McRae, and Inspector Jackson. They smashed down the door with an axe and entered the apartment. MacLennan went ahead of the other men and into the room next to the one in which Tait was stationed.[17] Police and Tait exchanged gunfire[18] until Chief MacLennan was shot in the head and died instantly.[19] The other men retreated from the apartment to avoid the same fate.[20]

With MacLennan's passing, Deputy Chief McRae was now in charge and needed a plan. Several proposals were made on how to proceed. The fire department had begun assembling sulphur pots in the store below using garbage cans to try and smoke the couple out. McRae contacted the army to see about having a squad of soldiers sent over from Hastings Park to stage a military assault. The Seaforth Highlanders regiment offered to bring over a machine gun and riddle the house with bullets.[21] Constable Ed Murphy, a returned soldier and grenadier, offered to make several hand grenades and lead a bombing expedition into the building. But the most dramatic proposal seriously contemplated by the police was to blow the building up with dynamite. Explosives were sent for, but because MacLennan's body was still in the apartment, McRae decided they should begin with a barrage of gunfire. An ample supply of guns and ammunition had already arrived at the scene and McRae, Inspector Scott, and Constable Berry set up in an empty apartment across the street. Through a window facing the room in which they believed Tait was holed up, they riddled the apartment with bullets for about twenty minutes. Two officers then returned to the apartment and retrieved MacLennan's body.[22]

Inside the apartment, meanwhile, Frankie was terrified by Tait's death-dealing rampage. Her attempts to calm him down had failed and when he thought she was trying to escape, he slapped her and thereafter would not let her out of his sight. He warned Frankie that if she thought she was "going out to that bunch of cowards, she had another guess coming." Tait told her his plan was to kill her and then himself. Frankie begged him to consider the consequences. There would be no consequences, Tait replied, because once he was dead, "he would be beyond the officers' revenge." As for Frankie, Tait rationalized killing her because, he said, the police would "try and take it out on [her] if they got the chance." For the remainder of the ordeal, Frankie lay frozen with fear in a bundle of blankets on the floor. One of the bullets whizzing above her head perforated her hair. Another mangled her hair ribbon and eventually she lost consciousness. She awoke to find Tait's limp body sprawled on top of her. He had shot himself in the head, possibly believing he had killed Frankie.[23]

Frankie called out that Tait was dead. Inspector Scott shouted for her to "come out or I'll shoot through the door, and then blow you up." She freed herself, came out and surrendered to the police, who whisked her into a car and drove her to the police station before the crowd that had amassed outside realized she was in custody. According to press reports, this was a wise move because there was talk in the crowd about lynching Frankie and Bob Tait if they managed to survive.[24]

Frankie was charged as an accomplice in the murder of Chief MacLennan and held for three days before being allowed to see a lawyer.[25] The key evidence against her was the police claim that the gunfire from within the apartment could not have come from only one person. Specifically, the shotgun used to kill the chief constable required two hands to operate and police reported hearing simultaneous shots from a revolver during the affray. Frankie denied doing any of the shooting or even that she knew how to use a gun.

Police testimonials contradicted each other and were individually inconsistent. Frankie's lawyer, for example, pointed out that Inspector Jackson testified that he was certain the first shot came from a rifle, but at the preliminary hearing was positive it came from a revolver. The number of shots fired had also changed

Mosaic on East Georgia Street near the scene of the crime

in his second testimony. One of the jurors commented that Inspector Anderson's description of the gunfire would have meant there were three shooters, which no one claimed was the case.[26]

Other evidence presented against Frankie simply was not convincing. Frank King, the landlord, told the court he had seen a revolver protruding from Frankie's pocket during his initial visit. McKinnon, his agent, did not corroborate this claim, nor did King mention this in his earlier testimonies. Inspector Jackson found a Chinese man serving a sentence at the Oakalla prison farm to testify that he had seen Frankie with a revolver on previous occasions. Constable Laurancy Harris, a matron at the city jail, said that Frankie told her she was innocent, but on earlier occasions had said she knew how to use a gun and that "if the 'Dicks' were not careful they would 'get it.'" During her cross-examination, Harris admitted that Frankie was never charged with uttering the threats and was unable to say if any other police took note of the threats.[27] None of this evidence was sufficient or credible enough to implicate Frankie in the shootings in the minds of the jury. The police also failed to connect any of the guns or ammunition to her. Consequently, Frankie Russell was acquitted.[28]

The climate created by the murder of Chief MacLennan was not conducive to criticism of the police. The judge instructed the jury to consider what was going through the minds of police after Detective Cameron had been shot and the boy killed: "Was it the number of the shots fired, the spaces that elapsed between the firing of the shots and what kind of shots they were or how soon they could get Tait?" The prosecution suggested that discrepancies in police testimonies indicated they were not concocted. Even Frankie's lawyer never questioned the honesty of the police despite their testimonies.[29] But police witnesses did not qualify their remarks during the trial; they all stated they were certain Frankie Russell participated in the shooting spree because of the sound of the gunfire. If those testimonies were not honestly mistaken, a reasonable conclusion is that the police wanted to see Frankie sent to the gallows for reasons of revenge, not justice, just as Tait predicted when he explained his murder-suicide plan to Frankie.

According to historian Angus McLaren, the

most common motive for British Columbian men to commit murder in the early decades of the twentieth-century was to defend against "challenges to their manhood."[30] McLaren excludes murders that resulted from run-ins with the law from his generalization, but background details only touched on in newspaper accounts make it seem likely that Tait felt emasculated in his relationship with the police. Although details of the "crosses and double-crosses" Tait claimed he had been subjected to while an informant for Detective Russell and other officers are unknown, all accounts indicate he was triggered by Russell's voice outside the door.[31] It is very likely he believed the police were setting him up to be sent to prison, and thus circumventing the agreement they made for his work as an informant.

Whatever powerlessness accompanied Tait's station in life was exacerbated when he was pressed into service as a police stool pigeon. Austin Phillips, a blues singer who came to Vancouver in the 1930s and busked in illicit East End gambling dens and bootlegging joints, described how well someone "on the bum" was treated in the area then-known as Hogan's Alley:

that is, unless he was considered an informer or something, a stool pigeon. Then he wasn't liked, he wasn't welcome around that part. Even the police didn't like him. They'd use him till he was no more value to them, then if the crowds want to get him let them get him, he's served their purpose. But that's the way it run, off and on, like the fish in the sea: the big ones eat the little ones, if they could have them.[32]

To the extent Phillips' impression can accurately be extended back to 1917, it raises the possibility that Bob Tait's flight down the opium den stairs while working as a police informant was not an accident and that becoming a pariah was the price he paid to stay out of prison. His decision to take up arms that night may have been morally indefensible, but it was a way to re-assert his manliness. From Tait's perspective, the only source of power that had not been taken from him probably seemed to be the arsenal he kept in the apartment for hunting. Tait's course of action was motivated by desperation, not the drugs he took, his race, or criminal propensity, as historians and contemporary newspapers have variously implied.[33]

In choosing the tragic course he did, Tait conveyed in the strongest possible terms that any faith he may have once had that any legal recourse existed for someone like him had been exhausted. Certainly the lack of an eviction notice or police warrant at the outset of the conflict would have affirmed any such belief, as does the spurious charges brought against Frankie Russell. Meanwhile, the only consequence the landlord faced for initiating the conflict by illegally breaking into the apartment and threatening violence was a verbal reprimand from the judge.[34] As an early chapter in Vancouver's drug history, the murder of Malcolm MacLennan tells us more about the desperate circumstances confronting those excluded from "respectable society" because of some combination of race, class, gender, and addiction than it does about anti-social behaviour or ill-health brought on by drug use. •

Macdonald & Company, Bankers

Token History

By Ronald Greene

This is the story of the first bank in Canada west of the Great Lakes. The founder, Alexander Davidson Macdonald, came north from California in 1858 during the first gold rush, a time that saw sleepy Victoria grow from a small community of several hundred people to a booming tent city of several thousands. He appears to have scouted around a bit and noted the absence of any banking house in Victoria or on the mainland. The only institution then offering any bank-like services was Wells Fargo which was shipping gold to San Francisco and offering drafts for sale.

Macdonald, the son of a Colonel in the British Army, was born in Inverness, Scotland in 1831.[1] Coming to the New World to seek his fortune he obtained some banking experience, working in a bank which belonged to his uncle in New Orleans. In 1855 Macdonald moved to California where he met with moderate success in business in Placer County, northeast of Sacramento. In California Macdonald met and married Agnes Branks. The Branks family had moved from New Zealand to California in 1849. There were four children, Agnes, Jennie, Robert and Katie, the latter two born in California.

By March 1859 Macdonald had settled upon opening a bank in Victoria and building a saw mill at Port Douglas. The Colonist article also mentioned that he had some 50 ounces of coarse gold from Bridge River.[2] The bank was established near the foot of Yates Street at No. 12 by March 10th. The Bank of British North America [Bank of B.N.A.], a chartered bank based in England, opened a branch several months later on July 1, 1859. That bank was a very conservative operation, more intent on becoming the bankers for the colony than buying gold and did not compete either with Wells Fargo which had 80% of the gold market or Macdonald who had the rest of the business. The Bank of B.N.A., did, however, issue banknotes, the first issued in Victoria, and due to the bank's solid nature these well-printed attractive banknotes gained a good circulation and largely overcame the reluctance of the resident Americans to handling paper money. In time, banknotes came to be preferred over the much heavier and less convenient gold.

The Macdonalds were a handsome couple and he was said to have a winning personality and quickly became a respected and successful member of the community. He was one of the directors of Alfred Waddington's Bute Inlet Wagon Road Company Ltd., and the treasurer of the St. Andrews and Caledonian Society. The couple built a large home on Michigan Street called Springfield which survived until the early 1960's when it was torn down and replaced by what may still be Victoria's tallest building. Mr. Branks died in 1861, and when his wife died in 1863, Macdonald was named as her executor. Following the death of their parents, the three younger Branks children moved to Victoria. Jennie was to marry Israel Wood Powell, and Katie married Forbes Vernon, both prominent early British Columbians. Robert returned to California where he died c. 1890, unmarried.

Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Davidson Macdonald.
BC Archives photo HP-30007

Matters took a turn for the worse for Macdonald when the Bank of British Columbia, another British chartered bank, opened in mid 1862. This bank was considerably more aggressive than the Bank of B.N.A. and took a major share in the gold trade, cutting Macdonald & Company out of the field. By 1863 the Bank of B.N.A. had also gotten into the gold trade, but they may have made some arrangement with Macdonald as his bank was using their vault and carrying their banknotes. By 1863 Macdonald had opened a branch at Richfield. In September 1863 the bank issued its own notes in denominations of $1, $5 and $10. Most of the those issued appear to have been put into circulation in Richfield.[3] These notes were brought to the attention of the government by the manager of the Bank of British Columbia in November 1863 by letter which stated,

"I have the honour to inform you that a Note has been presented at this Bank of payment, purporting to be a $1

Bank Note issued at Williams' Creek by 'Macdonald and Co., Bankers' and dated Victoria (V.I.) … I would respectfully wish to point out to his Excellency that the issue of Bank Notes by private Bankers whatever their Capital may be, is detrimental to the interests of Chartered Banks, and is fraught with the greatest danger to the whole Community. I consider it my duty to lay the matter respectfully before His Excellency, and I will be glad to learn what steps can be taken to put a stop to so dangerous a precedent…"

In response to this letter the Government [of Vancouver Island] ultimately took action, passing two bills on July 7, 1864, "The Bank Note Act, 1864" and "The Banking Act, 1864." The latter required banks to publish certain information on a regular basis and would not have been a problem for Macdonald & Company, but the former would restrict the issue of notes to chartered banks after March 1, 1865. According to Reid, Macdonald had decided to proceed to London to organize a joint stock bank and obtain a royal charter. In the meantime he proceeded to Richfield for the fall clean-up. While he was there an event took place in Victoria which changed the course of his life.

In the evening of September 22, 1864 the staff were preparing a shipment of notes and gold coins to take to the Cariboo for use by the bank at the mines. Their work was finished too late to take the money over to the Bank of B.N.A. where large quantities of cash were usually placed. This shipment totalled $30,000, consisting of $15,000 in sovereigns, $10,000 in Bank of B.N.A. notes, a few $5 U.S. gold pieces, and a few Macdonald and Co. notes. It was placed Macdonald's safe in their fire-proof vault. The staff, when they locked this safe, had forgotten how to remove a metal slide that would prevent the safe lock from being picked. Later that night the premises were broken into and the shipment was stolen. The burglary was discovered on the morning of the 23rd by the janitor who immediately called the manager, John Waddell. The *British Colonist*[4] made much of the fact that a ladder was found that just reached the floor from the skylight, that a rough key that fitted the vault was left behind and that another safe which contained no money was ignored, all signs of an inside job. A young clerk, Josiah Barnett, was arrested but later released. Despite a reward of $3,000 being offered, the case was never solved. However, subsequent events reported years later strongly point to John Waddell, the manager, as the thief.[5]

When the news of the burglary reached Richfield, Macdonald withstood a run on the bank by redeeming $40,000 of the $63,124 in notes outstanding. He redeemed more notes on his way back to Victoria. On the night of December 22nd Waddell secretly rowed Macdonald out to meet a steamer heading south. Macdonald claimed to have fled to avoid threats on his life, debtors' prison and to make an attempt to obtain backing in San Francisco for his bank which was nominally solvent. Macdonald was unable to raise more capital and was never to return to Victoria. His remaining assets were ordered sold by the Bankruptcy Court.[6] Only $31,544 were estimated as recoverable from his listed assets of $104,516 which left a shortfall of almost $49,000.[7]

Macdonald later settled and worked in San Francisco. He and his wife had two daughters and three sons. He passed away January 30, 1901[8] and she died in 1924. Of the children little information was found, but the last to live in San Francisco was gone by 1924. The destruction of records by the fire which followed the great earthquake of 1906 has complicated tracing them. •

Notes

1 Robie L. Reid, 'The First Bank in Western Canada', *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. VII, No. 4, December 1926, p. 295

2 *Victoria Gazette* (advertisement) March 10, 1859, and the *British Colonist*, March 12, 1859.

3 In addition to the Bank of BC's statement two of the three known counter-signers of the bank notes worked for the bank in Richfield. The third counter-signer was the traveler for the bank. No notes are known signed by anyone in Victoria, except Macdonald himself. He signed all known issued notes.

4 *British Colonist*, September 24, 1864

5 Captain John Waddell, was involved in a murder and insurance fraud in the sinking of the vessel *Explorer* off Tobermory, Ontario in 1867. He was later drowned under suspicious circumstances in 1870.

6 Justice Needham, Vancouver Island Supreme Court, Notes of Proceedings, Bankruptcy. [B.C. Archives, old system C/AA/30.3M/B, p. 47, several dates during 1865]

7 *British Colonist*, December 24, 1864

8 *San Francisco County, San Francisco, Calif., Health Dept., Volume P 1900 - 22 Oct 1901 - Mortuary Record of the City and County of San Francisco.* LDS microfilm 0975833

Photograph of the MacDonald Company banknote by the author

Archives and Archivists

Submitted by Arilea Sill, Municipal Archivist, City of Burnaby

Edited by Sylvia Stopforth,
Librarian and Archivist, Norma Marian Alloway Library,
Trinity Western University

Burnaby's New "Total" Archives and Online Database Project

For fifty years, the Burnaby Historical Society has been a champion for heritage protection and the promotion of history in the City of Burnaby. In addition to being their 50th anniversary, 2007 will mark another milestone for the Society – the donation of the Community Archives to the City of Burnaby Archives.

The Historical Society established a community archives in 1958 and with great foresight and dedication preserved countless documents, photographs and other invaluable records. In 2001, the City of Burnaby opened the City Archives for the purpose of managing government records and since then, the two collections have been maintained separately at two locations.

Late in 2006, the Community Heritage Commission and the Historical Society began discussing the possibility of uniting the community and civic collections, and on February 14, 2007, an agreement to create an expanded public archives was signed. This merger will see the development of a new "total archives" that will be managed by the City with a mandate to identify, acquire, preserve and make accessible archival material in the form of both civic and private records documenting the history of the City of Burnaby.

The Burnaby Historical Society has provided this generous gift to enable enhanced access to the collection for the citizens of Burnaby. The Community Archives will be moved from their current location at the Burnaby Village Museum, to their new home at the City Archives located at 4595 Albert Street (in the McGill Branch of the Burnaby Public Library), where they will be available for public research and reference.

This move was in part prompted by a larger project that is being undertaken at the City Archives – the creation of an online, fully searchable database of Burnaby's historic photographs. Prior to the consolidation of these resources, the sheer volume of material which was being housed at separate institutions hampered access to the records, the majority of which had not been indexed or catalogued to facilitate public search and retrieval.

The history and development of municipal services is a key feature of the public record holdings at the City Archives. Shown here are Burnaby City staff members on the steps of Burnaby's second Municipal Hall, built in 1911.

Reference No. BHS 230-015

Now, however, with the support of the Community Heritage Commission and the backing of City Council, the resources have been provided to the City Archives, working in co-operation with the Burnaby Village Museum, to purchase a collections management system that will enable online access to our rich photographic legacy.

This single portal of information to the City's cultural collections will create a significant new service for the citizens of Burnaby and will provide the public at large with a convenient tool for researching and viewing these treasured records. By uniting our varied and various collections, a unique anthology will be available that showcases the diversity and character of Burnaby and its citizens, illustrating the development of Burnaby as a political and municipal entity while also capturing the more intimate glimpses of family life and of the people who made and continue to make our city what it is today.

This endeavour will not only result in the creation of a searchable online

database of historic photographs, but will also build the necessary infrastructure for future digitization projects which could include web-based access to information on the museum's artifact collections, textual records of the City Archives and heritage information projects initiated by the Community Heritage Commission, and other sources.

Work on this project has already commenced, and funding has been secured through the use of Burnaby's Gaming funds, which have been designated to provide for capital improvements for heritage, cultural and environmental projects. With the continued support of the Burnaby Historical Society, the Community Heritage Commission and Burnaby City Council, this exciting new initiative will be ready to launch in February, just in time for Heritage Week 2008!

A few examples of images that will soon be available online can be seen on these pages. •

By combining the civic and community collections, we also have a unique opportunity to gain a glimpse into Burnaby's origins as a suburban, working class community. Shown here – a Labour Day picnic at Confederation Park, ca. 1945.

Reference No. BHS 370-145

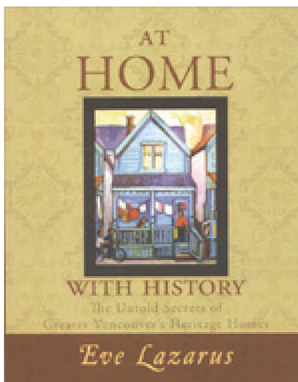
Some of the earliest images in the collection also speak to Burnaby's rural roots and convey a sense of the way of life and character of Burnaby's pioneers.

Shown here are Annie Sara Hill and her daughter, Kitty, ca. 1900. Members of the Hill family were among the first residents of the Burnaby Lake district and Mrs. Hill's husband, L. Claude Hill, served as a Councillor on Burnaby's first Municipal Council in 1892.

Reference No. CBA 477-006

Book Reviews

Books for review and book reviews should be sent to:
Frances Gundry, Book Review Editor,
BC Historical News,
P.O. Box 5254, Station B., Victoria, BC V8R 6N4



At Home with History: the untold secrets of Greater Vancouver's Heritage Homes.
Eve Lazarus. Vancouver, Anvil Press, 2007. 192 p., illus. $20.00 softcover.

If the walls could talk, what stories would old Vancouver homes tell? Lazarus went searching and the result is an entertaining and informative book on the city's social history. The author, a relative newcomer from Australia, is a freelance business writer with an appreciation of the city and a passion for heritage homes. Though many of the "secrets" Lazarus reveals have been uncovered by other local writers, her engaging concept--looking at history through homes--provides a starting point for those less familiar with early Vancouver. She includes original research, interviewing home owners or those who inhabited these residences in the past. Lazarus wisely notes in the book's preface: "We are only temporary custodians of the houses in which we live and part of a chain in the ongoing narrative of the house."

And narratives she gives us in twelve highly readable chapters; from tales of haunted homes to residences where chilling crimes occurred. The homes of people involved in bootlegging and brothels of yesteryears and the police who chased them, are also recalled. Every city has had its "other" quarters and so original Chinese families and their separate community is featured. Vancouver's original neighborhoods are highlighted--Strathcona, the West End, Shaughnessy, and Mount Pleasant--with an additional chapter on New Westminster, British Columbia's first capital city.

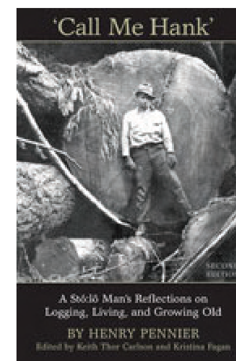
Each anecdote paints a larger picture. For instance, we are reminded of the flavour of the once widespread 'Scots' community through a story of a Mount Pleasant homeowner, James Cunningham, a dedicated builder of the Stanley Park seawall. Cunningham's granddaughter, Julia Flather Murrel told the author he used to talk to her in Gaelic. And Murrel recalls watching her grandfather work on the seawall: "They lowered him down on the rope at low tide and he chose the rock to be cut and cut the rock right down on the beach."

The most readable chapters provide a detailed narrative about a person or family. The life--and properties--of Alvo von Alvensleben, for example, take the reader to his palatial home in Kerrisdale (now Crofton House School) and the exotic Wigwam Inn in North Vancouver, built in 1910. Thought to be a spy when the First World War began, von Alvensleben was among the many German-Canadians forced to flee the country or face imprisonment. His grandson, Brian Alvensleben told the author: "He came to Seattle and worked in real-estate development, but never made it big again. When I knew him, he was pretty bitter."

Homes in other parts of the Lower Mainland (such as North Vancouver and Burnaby) are mentioned but "old" Vancouver is the heart of the book. A concluding chapter provides readers interested in researching their own home history with pages of useful advice and sources.

Lazarus' diligent and extensively detailed book accompanied with archival photographs, serves to remind us rich stories lurking within old homes, whether a mansion or bungalow, are well worth preserving.

***Janet Nicol** is a Vancouver writer and school teacher.*



'Call Me Hank': A Sto:lo Man's Reflections on Logging, Living and Growing Old
Henry Pennier, edited by Keith Thor Carlson and Kristina Fagan. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2006. 144 p., illus. $24.95 paperback.

British Columbia historians will be happy to hear about the republication of an important contribution to the history and literature of the province. In their edition of *'Call Me Hank': A Sto:lo Man's Reflections on Logging, Living and Growing Old,* Keith Thor Carlson and Kristin Fagan present Hank Pennier's 1972 autobiography *Chiefly Indian* along with illustrations, notes and appendices.

Hank Pennier was born Henry George Pennier in 1904 on a homestead next to the Chehalis Reservation on the Harrison River. His mixed race parents, although officially lacking status as Aboriginals, were close to Sto:lo relatives. Hank's father had died in 1904 just before his birth. His widowed mother moved her four children to the Union Bar Reserve, near Hope, where she herself had been born. There in 1910 she married Chief August Billy. He and his father shared their traditions with the Pennier children. The family connection helps explain why the Oblate Fathers admitted Hank and his siblings to St. Mary's Mission School. Hank enjoyed his time at school. He left at age thirteen in 1917. He commented nostalgically "things were never quite so nice again." His mission schooling and a year at public school in Hope would help him obtain logging jobs. But it did not end his association with Sto:lo communities. His Sto:lo identity was reinforced by working with groups of Aboriginal hop pickers and

fishers, by attending religious services and annual brass band competitions, and by participating in sports teams, especially lacrosse. Hank played for the Chehalis band team and for Chilliwack City.

To the larger society of the 1920s Hank on the city team was "an Indian" playing "with a white man's team." The Natives "treated [him] very rough." But Hank "got a kick out of it." He moved ahead with his life with a positive outlook and a resourceful spirit, frequently defusing anger with humor.

Hank faced many challenges in his career as a logger. His view was that "Being a half breed I had to fend for myself." He explained "outside of my work I could not join the white society socially, and if I went to an Indian party and there was liquor involved I was taking a chance of being jailed regardless of whether I had supplied them with liquor or not." Marriage in 1924 at age twenty to Margaret Leon of Chehalis added to Hank's sense of responsibility. He worked his "logging trade in all kinds of jobs" and supported his family even in the depression of the 1930s.

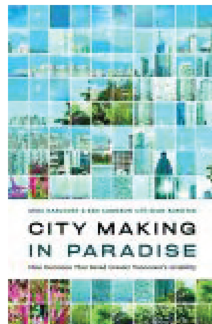
Although Hank suffered from work injuries, after his retirement in 1959 he remained optimistic. In 1969 Wyn Roberts, a Simon Fraser University linguistics professor, encouraged him to write his autobiography and record his stories. These were published in 1972 as *Chiefly Indian*. Before Hank died in 1991 he made further historical contributions as a member of the Coqualeetza Elders, a group dedicated to promotion of Sto:lo culture and language.

Hank Pennier's *Chiefly Indian* gave historians a great source on the lives and literature of twentieth-century British Columbians. He explained to a modern audience where the early and mid-twentieth century logging took place, what loggers did and how. His anecdotes gave the human and humorous side of the loggers' lives. Even more significantly Hank's autobiography and his anecdotes countered the negative popular stereotypes about people of Aboriginal ancestry.

Overall Keith Thor Carlson and Kristina Fagan have done a fine job of introducing the autobiography and stories, and providing appendices on logging terms and Pennier family history. They draw on Carlson's association with Sto:lo history projects and genealogy research by Alice Marwood and Mabel (Lawrence) Nichols.

The new edition of Hank Pennier's writing should inspire further analysis of British Columbia history and literature. Carlson and Fagan contextualize Hank Pennier's writing with reference to works such as Maria Campbell's *Halfbreed* and Lee Maracle's *Bobbi Lee*. They might compare *'Call Me Hank': A Sto:lo Man's Reflections on Logging, Living and Growing Old* with Harry Robinson's publications such as *Write It On Your Heart: The Epic World of an Okanagan Storyteller (1989).*

***Jacqueline Gresko**, Past President of the BCHF recently retired from the History Department of Douglas College. One of her major interests has been Native/Missionary relations.*



City Making in Paradise: nine decisions that saved Vancouver
Ken Cameron, Mike Harcourt, and Sean Rossiter. Vancouver, B.C., Douglas & McIntyre, 2007. 240 p., illus., $24.95 hardback.

The cover of this book is a cheerful photo-collage of high-rise buildings and bridges interspersed with shots of serene blue sky and water. Vancouverites will recognize most as scenes of their city's core. There are few photos of the extensive acreage occupied by well-kept homes and gardens depicting urban living at a human scale, let alone shots of slum structures, "mean streets", or desperate people. In fact, humans do not appear anywhere on the collage. But as the adage has it, "Don't judge a book by its cover". The collage succeeds well in exposing the tensions in the title.

The City of Vancouver is not a paradise. We who live here know that very well. Given certain Vancouver current politicians and bureaucrats' repeated crowing about the City's high rank on the world's "livability" scale, one would think that these same individuals had a hand in the City attaining that rank. The three writers of this book, though obliquely, suggest otherwise. Their story is framed rather by the Vancouver region.

The authors believe the region *was* a paradise before people began crowding in. With urbanization, paradise began to be lost; a few people who realized it acted to preserve. Decade by decade, for the last fifty years or so, a number of serious preservation decisions have been made at meaningful political levels. From these policy choices the authors try to extract nine decisions as most significant – "nine decisions that saved Vancouver."

The authors have set themselves a formidable task. Readers, too, immediately face problems of point-of-view. At times, only the City is the focus, at others only the Region. And who is speaking? How will *three* authors collaborate? (The authors dispose of the latter problem in the preface; they will write in the third person.) Further, while it is to be expected that two of the three – Mike Harcourt and Ken Cameron – will appear as active decision–makers on occasion, it is to be hoped they do not discuss events or other actors in a too-personal or self-congratulatory way. With relief, I report, they do not.

To begin with, generously and wisely, the authors dedicate their book to Walter Hardwick. As a citizen, a university professor, a politician and a public servant, Walter Hardwick lived and worked to preserve paradise. Many key public decisions have his mark on them, not always acknowledged – though the making of south False Creek certainly is. Another whose work

had deep influence is planner Harry Lash who, being accorded an entire chapter in the authors' good judgement (and gratitude no doubt), appears to be a "decision" in himself! After "Saving Strathcona" (Chapter 2) and "The Agricultural Land Commission" (Chapter 3), the heading of Chapter 4 is "Harry Lash". Perhaps that is how readers can be brought to the best appreciation of the Lash legacy.

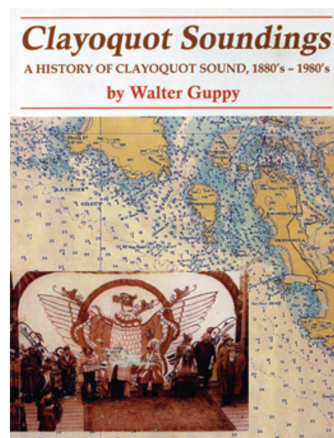
The book promises emphasis on specific decisions but only four or five of the chapter headings capture decisions precisely. A large part of the book is occupied instead with portraits of individuals, of decision-makers, nearly all of them outstanding in their respective fields of endeavor, from citizen to public person. This feature is interesting and informative history. While Sean Rossiter's prose is lively enough, directly quoted remarks of official decision-makers whether made off-hand or not – lend flavour and authenticity. Historians will also thank the authors for resurrecting the names and contributions of long-gone people who acted simply as citizens, including H.V. Jackson, Tom Macdonald, and T.G. Norris. In spite of its cover then, the book has not ignored the role of that human being, necessary and effective citizen.

To choose among so many significant decisions is a tough job. When a decision is made, say the decision to sponsor Expo 86 (Chapter 5), it may be only the prelude to others, arguably of greater significance. Rapid transit would be built *someday;* we knew that. The choice of first transit route had already been largely determined (the old B.C.E.R. parallel to Kingsway). But neither the choice of transit hardware, nor the decision about financing method had been made. The decision to host Expo did not make those either, yet both decisions have been "significant" in the minds of many of us and the future is fraught with problems that have arisen from each.

It is easy to believe the authors wrestled mightily to select just "nine" that saved Vancouver. They had already cut off decisions made prior to 1945 (which undoubtedly had had a big influence on the state of paradise at that time) and they had to decide without hindsight among dozens of competitors. As for Expo being one of the "nine" contributing to Vancouver as paradise, I wouldn't have selected it myself. Expo's principal legacy to Vancouver appears to be the amount of money to be extracted from the Federal level and from tourists.

Everyone may argue with the authors on some points yet still agree that they have produced a readable, thoughtful and worthwhile book.

***Mary Rawson** is a Fellow of the Canadian Institute of Planners and a member of the Vancouver Historical Society.*



Clayoquot Soundings: A History of Clayoquot Sound, 1880s-1980s.
Walter Guppy. Victoria, B.C., Trafford Publishing, 2006. 80 p., illus, maps. Softcover, $15.95

Walter Guppy has titled his slim volume "Clayoquot Soundings: A History of Clayoquot Sound, 1880s-1980s". One of the definitions for the word "soundings" in Webster's dictionary is "a sampling of opinion" and that is exactly what Guppy has given his readers.

In his "retirement" Mr. Guppy has written seven books about the Clayoquot Sound area. They reflect a lifetime there as a boy, husband and father, civic leader, proprietor of Guppy Electrics, mailman, boat operator, serviceman in WW II, and what appears to be his real passion, gold prospector and miner. In the Department of Mines Annual Report, 1996, there is a detailed record of the 78 year old Walter Guppy's 50 days of prospecting.

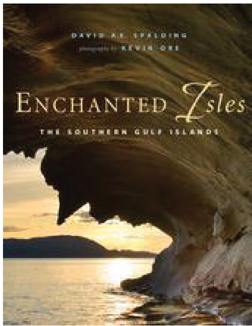
"Clayoquot Soundings" is presented chronologically in eight chapters: the Pioneer era: 1875-1915; the Booming Twenties 1918—1929; Depression Times to War Time 1929-1942; Wartime Transition 1942-1950; Finally a Road! 1950-1960; The Road Brings Progress 1960-1970; Progress and Regress 1970-1980; and Changing Trends and Trendy Changes 1980-1990. After page 32 there are 13 pages of smallish black & white photos. Only two are from the BC Archives collection; the rest are from several private collections. In his introduction Guppy acknowledges the collection of Tofino school teacher Bert Drader whose photos illustrate from 1911-1914, Mike Hamilton who lived in the area in the '20s and his sister Daphne Gibson who created scrapbooks.

The text is laced with facts and figures taken from government reports and directories but its richness is the "oral history" - information gleaned from Guppy's participation in the Clayoquot community for over 80 years. It has little to say about forestry / park politics or kayaking vacations. It is a local history book written by and about the people who lived it.

Should there be another printing of this volume I would like to see a really detailed, annotated map. There is a richness of place in the text, islands, beaches, mountains and valleys, roads and creeks - but alas it is lost without local knowledge. Also, please expand the index which is currently limited to proper names (no subjects).

Mr. Guppy died in Comox in April of 2007.

***Catherine Henderson**, a retired archivist, lives in Victoria.*



Enchanted Isles; the Southern Gulf Islands.
David A.E. Spalding. Photography by Kevin Oke. Madeira Park, BC. 2007. 144 p. Illus. $34.95 hardback.

David Spalding takes a personal approach to his books, unashamedly highlighting his favourite things, which are often rocks viewed geologically and/or paleontologically, and people, who begin the interviews as informants on matters past and present and continue into the future as friends. This habit makes his guidebooks and picture books unexpectedly readable; it also makes objective reviewing all but impossible.

The Book Review Editor, warned that this reviewer receives more than my fair share of attention in the chapter devoted to Gabriola Island, urged me to carry on regardless. The book is a joy to behold, resplendent with Kevin Oke's photographs, and fun and informative to read. It remains to explain why it should interest BC historians.

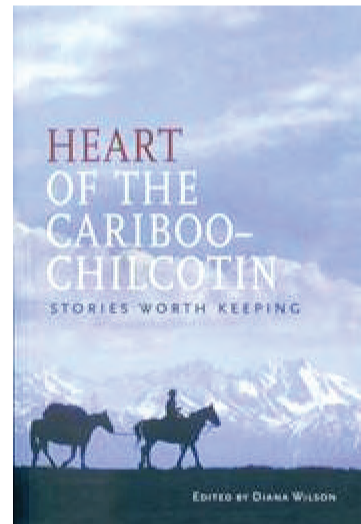
The publisher touts *Enchanted Isles* as a "coffee-table book", although it is of more manageable format than most. Each of the larger islands – Galiano, Mayne, Saturna. Pender North and South, Salt Spring, and Gabriola – has its own chapter; two other chapters embrace the smaller Inner and Middle Islands. Each chapter is more a character sketch, or as Spalding claims, "a personal sample", of an island than a guide to its tourist attractions.. His fascination with history and prehistory expands the sketches with material from the rich past. Stories, such as those of the Georgeson or Silva families may span a number of generations and several islands. We read about a fossil earthquake exposed on a Pender beach, a Hawaiian cowry necklace on an island tombstone, black settlers on Salt Spring, the wartime eviction of Japanese islanders, and the living heritage of the First Nations people. We meet a famous guitarist who has chaired the Islands Trust. We wonder how the new national park will affect the feral goats on Saturna, and what, if anything, is to be done about the ubiquitous alien broom plant, which Spalding cannot help but describe as "glorious"?

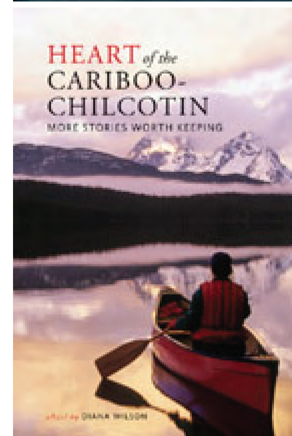
Spalding presents the islands within the framework of a shared eco-system and inter-island community, like strong individuals within a family. The concluding chapter "Island Fun, Island Futures" touches on common issues, the role of the Islands Trust, the threat of development, and the quest for sustainability..

Oke's colour photographs of contemporary life and scenery are supplemented by black and white archival photos. His magnificent view, which is also the cover image, of the rock formation known as the Malaspina Gallery, is balanced by a snap, c. 1900, of four gentlemanly nude sunbathers at the same location. A "Photographer's Note" places this project in its own historical perspective as Oke's first using entirely digital equipment, and shares information about the new camera-computer relationship.

So personal a work cannot be inclusive, and readers familiar with the islands will question some omissions. Gabriolans may look in vain for mention of our Folk Life Village, which a young entrepreneur disassembled from its Vancouver site after Expo '86, and reconstructed as the main shopping centre on Gabriola, relocating himself and his family to a permanent island home. Folk Life made it into the second edition of Spalding's guide *Southern Gulf Islands* (Altitude Press, 2000), so he does know about it. But his focus is on our relationship with the sea via beaches, ferries and marinas, and on our rocks, the "Petroglyphs and Millstones" of the chapter heading and the geological marvel of the cover photo. Folk Life will have to be part of someone else's personal sample.

Phyllis Reeve *writes from Gabriola Island*





Heart of the Cariboo-Chilcotin: Stories Worth Keeping
Diana Wilson, ed. Surrey, Heritage House, 2006, 240 p. illus. $19.95 paperback

Heart of the Cariboo-Chilcotin: More Stories Worth Keeping
Diana Wilson, ed. Surrey, Heritage House, 2007, 256 p. illus. $19.95 paperback

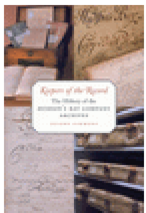
The Cariboo Chilcotin is make or break country. You have to like travelling great distances, using snow tires for six months of the year, and spending long winter evenings in front of the fire. This latter occupation lends itself to telling great stories, and no gathering, winter or summer, is complete without them. The kernel for many of the stories in these volumes likely began that way. Editor Diana Wilson has chosen memorable accounts of Cariboo-

Chilcotin activities and arranged them chronologically, covering one hundred years or more. This plan works well, especially since she had written an informative preface to each story. Volume one neatly ends with the Tsilhot'in hoping for fair treatment with land claims and Paul St. Pierre's zany description of Chilcotin ranching. Volume two contains more of the same tales, ending with Paul St. Pierre again.

The First Nations stories are less varnished than the others and perhaps touch the heart more. August Tappage's remembrances read like poety and I once asked Jean Speare if she had edited them. She said, no, they were written verbatim from tape recordings. Sage Birchwater's history of Lillie Skinner carefully examines a community's response to a Tsilhot'in woman living under harsh circumstances.

You will not learn the real reasons why the Cariboo-Chilcotin developed from these stories.---There are few about the mining, logging or fur trading. But you will get to know the people---stubborn, hard working and optimistic. And once you pick up a volume, it will be hard to put down---especially if you are sitting in front of a fire on a long winter evening.

Marie Elliott *of Victoria has researched and writes about the Cariboo Chilcotin and is the author of Gold and Grand Dreams: Cariboo East in the Early Years.*



Keepers of the Record: The History of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives.
Deidre Simmons. Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007. 360 p., illus., appendices, bibliography. $80.00 hardcover.

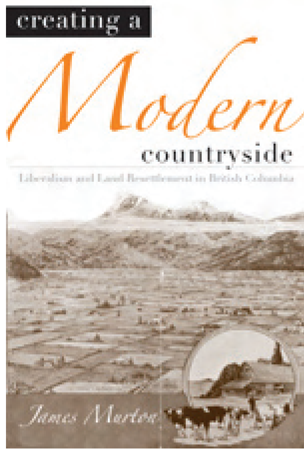
Beginning in 1670 and for almost two hundred years, the Hudson's Bay Company enjoyed a license to exclusive trade in and effectively administered lands eventually stretching from Hudson's Bay to Vancouver Island. For some hundred and fifty years more, the company has had a significant business presence in the country. Deidre Simmons gives us a meticulous account of the history of the company's archives, of how the company produced, controlled, and preserved its records, how it dealt with increasing outside interest in its records, and how in the end the historical records assembled in London over three hundred years came to reside in Canada. That we know as much as we do of events in Western Canada before the establishment of civil rule is largely because of the company's careful record keeping practices. This book provides all the explanation one would need as to why within the last year UNESCO registered the HBC archives as a documentary heritage treasure under its Memory of World Program, which aims at preservation and dissemination of valuable archive holdings and library collections worldwide.

Simmons' account of the HBC archives carefully weaves the story of the company's growth with the story of its efforts to produce a body of records on which it could rely to administer the affairs of its far flung fur trade and other business interests and carry out such civil responsibilities as fell to it by virtue its founding royal charter of 1670. The HBC was in fact an arm of British Empire. Like other imperial ventures, its business demanded a steady stream of reports and accounts from the colonized lands to the imperial centre, in the company's case to its head office in London. It would appear that Simmons has read everything written about record keeping in the company's records. She uses these details to paint an embroidered picture of the records the company produced, why and how they were produced, and who produced them. It is not so dull a story as you might imagine. To cite one example, the company sent its fur trade officers (many of them orphans plucked from a special school that well prepared them for clerking duties) thermometers and directed them to keep registers of temperature for "essential use in enabling us to judge which productions of European cultivation may be tried at each of our establishments, with a prospect of success." Hence, we have our earliest data on climate in Western Canada. It is also interesting to learn that Donald Smith, who rose to be chief executive officer of the company and later a principal financier of the CPR, could not write legibly. Or to hear Sir James Douglas, who was one among many upbraided by Chief Commissioner George Simpson for the poor state of records in his care, exclaim, upon making a man who could count to ten an accountant and a man who could spell words of two syllables a shopkeeper: "Pray send me no more useless men, our staff lists being overcrowded with them."

Simmons also tells the story of the company's suspicious concern that allowing access to its archives would harm the company was eventually overcome to the great benefit of historical scholarship and our understanding of the formative years of the settled West. Business ventures are notoriously worried that their own records will be used against them. The story of the HBC Archives shows that in fact the contrary can be the case, for nothing but credit has come to the company from preserving and making available its archives. Finally, she tells the story of how, just as it was deciding to move its headquarters to Winnipeg, the company, recognizing the vast majority of it records spoke of action taken in and events that happened in Canada, lodged its archives with the Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

Simmons has written a wonderfully informative book that tells an important story. It is a fine work of scholarship in the history of archives, but her ability to humanize her subject and weave into it the story of the company's fortunes also make it a delightful read for the general reader interested in the Canadian past.

Terry Eastwood *is Professor Emeritus, School of Library, Archival and Information Studies, UBC.*



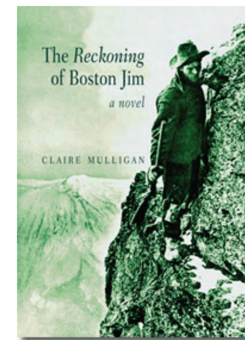
Creating a Modern Countryside: Liberalism and Land Settlement in British Columbia.
James Murton. Vancouver, B.C., UBC Press, 2008. 276 p., illus., $32.95 paperback.

In British Columbia, the decade immediately after the First World War was notable for social reforms. Between 1918 and 1928, the Liberal government passed laws that provided benefits to women, children and the elderly. Encouraged by the federal government, provincial Liberals also sponsored programmes to improve the welfare of returned soldiers. Some of the boldest initiatives involved the founding of soldier settlements at Merville, near Courtenay on Vancouver Island; Camp Lister, near Creston, in the Kootenay district; and Oliver, in the southern Okanagan Valley. A related project took place in the Fraser Valley, where Sumas Lake was drained and turned into farm land. These initiatives are described in detail and analyzed in depth in this book by James Murton. It is an impressive, theoretically sophisticated study. It is structured around the concept of "alternative modernity," which the author describes as "a rural version of modern life." Essentially, the concept involved "the cultural image of an idyllic countryside inhabited by independent farms, made more livable by modern technology, and more productive (and so more profitable) by modern techniques of scientific agriculture" (p. 107).

According to Murton, "the concept of humans and nature coming together was central to the ideal of an alternative modernity, the goal of building in the countryside a better, more natural form of modern life" (p. 156). He shows how government officials embraced this new version of rural idealism. In country living, they believed, the wounds of war could best be healed and a new, compassionate society could be constructed. As it happened, however, the ventures were disappointing. Soil conditions were poor in Merville, while irrigation was a problem at the other sites, including land once covered by Sumas Lake. Murton also notes the perils of tampering with nature. Although land settlement enthusiasts believed that they were working with nature, in practice they were attempting to transform nature. In the end, they created a "hybrid landscape." Their impact on the environment, Murton says, was "complex and contradictory" (164). Indeed, environmental issues lay at the heart of this book, as Murton indicates in his opening sentence: "Nature haunts the great projects of the state." He elaborates by explaining that "soils, rivers, trees, plants, and fire played key roles in the state-formation process…" and argues that "changes in the state and changes in the land were inextricably linked" (1). The reciprocal relationship between state (i.e. the province of British Columbia) and the land are clearly demonstrated in this study, which includes a Forward by the eminent UBC geographer, Graeme Wynn. In the Forward, Wynn discusses soldier land settlement schemes in Australia and New Zealand, and so provides additional context for Murton's work.

Murton is a professor of History at Nipissing University. He writes well and his text is free of the jargon that mars many post-modern scholarly studies. But the author or someone in the copy editing room at UBC Press should have caught the glaring error in the penultimate chapter, which is entitled "Patullo's [sic] New Deal." The error is repeated in the chapter header, over the course of twenty-four pages! The name of the former Minister of Lands and Liberal premier, whom the author describes as "the architect of the most ambitious of the 1920s land settlement projects" (p. 187) is Pattullo – with two "t"s, as in the bridge.

Patrick A. Dunae *teaches British Columbia history at Malaspina University-College in Nanaimo and is the editor of The Homeroom, British Columbia's history of education website, and a director of the Vancouver Island history web site, vi.History.ca.*



The Reckoning of Boston Jim.
Claire Mulliga. Boston, Mass., Victoria, B.C., Brindle & Glass, 2007. 320 p. $24.95, softcover.

Viewing the Cariboo Gold Rush through the experiences, memories, and fantasies of three disparate individuals makes *The Reckoning of Boston Jim* a riveting read. Through detailed descriptions the reader sees, smells, hears, and feels the rugged tempo of life in colonial British Columbia. One example is the description of a shack belonging to "Whitemen" on Victoria's inner harbour. Fabricated from such "detritus" as driftwood and scraps of tin, the structure had "No windows, not even one of greased paper. The doorway is torn burlap arrayed with mud and mould. . . . A whale oil lamp gutters in the dimness. Inside, smells of spilled whiskey and spoiled milk, of damp, unwashed wool and rotting, un-dried fish."

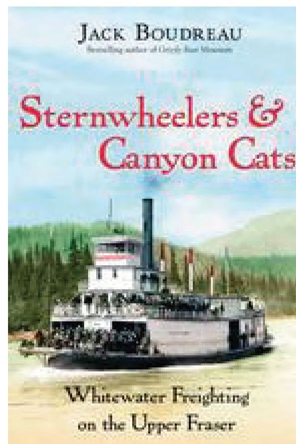
Vividly portrayed are the poverty and hardships common to the poor and orphaned, along with the opportunistic schemes of remittance men and scoundrels, which brought thousands to the Cariboo goldfields in the 1860s. The difficulty of finding that "one golden vein" resulted in dangerous mines "plagued by quicksand and flooding and weak-timbered shafts that groan and weep as though the earth itself were in torment." Pristine waterways such

as Williams Creek became "filthy with refuse and tailings and drained to a trickle by flumes and ditches and troughs and shafts and by those great clunking water wheels." In Barkerville, "peaked roofed buildings . . . squeezed against each other tight as the keys of an accordion, and the sparks from the tin chimneys swarm[ed] together like fiery flies." Wooden porches sat atop stilts built to protect against spring floods, tailings, and "to avoid the refuse, the offal and manure, the all-prevalent mud." Besides the ecstasies and desperations of life in a mining town, the rough hustle and bustle of Victoria, the loneliness of far-flung fur trading forts, and the crude roadhouses on the Cariboo Wagon Road, are colourfully drawn.

The three main characters come together in surprising ways, and their complex interactions lead to unexpected outcomes. Dora, who traveled to Victoria on the bride ship *Tynemouth* shows kindness to Boston Jim, a trapper with an eidetic memory. In return, Jim decides to help Dora's gentleman friend, Mr. Hume, a greenhorn hoping to find the mother lode. Although they only cross paths briefly, their lives become inextricably entangled. Like those obsessed with striking it rich, the fixations of these fictional characters bring the 1860s and the gold rush to life. Moreover, the use of songs, letters, Aboriginal history and lore, along with ribald humour and ironic instances, add to the novel's richness and detail. Historical figures such as Judge Begbie, Cataline the Basque, and Governor James Douglas, along with facts such as the use of camels for hauling goods, the varying values of point blankets, and the language and practices of the day (e.g., using sheep gut "overcoats" for condoms), deepen the story's complexity and realism.

Claire Mulligan imaginatively intertwines the greed, desperation, skullduggery, racism, naivety, generosity, and camaraderie of those drawn to BC in the 1860s with the history of those years in this intriguing debut novel.

Sheryl Salloum is a freelance writer who lives in Vancouver.



Sternwheelers & Canyon Cats: Whitewater Freighting on the Upper Fraser.
Jack Boudreau. Madeira Park, B.C., Caitlin Press, 2006. 256 p., illus. $18.95, softcover .

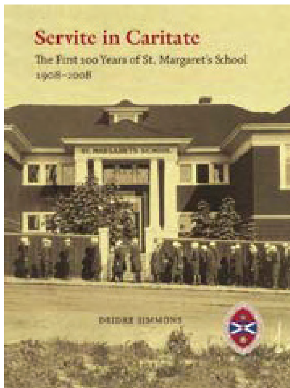
Drawing on his long-time experience as a rafter and explorer, Jack Boudreau offers us a book to "honour the sacrifices" that sternwheeler crews and rafters "made in the opening" of the Upper Fraser region (p. 244). In *Sternwheelers & Canyon Cats: Whitewater Freighting on the Upper Fraser,* Boudreau builds on the work of Willis J. West and Art Downs to describe the steamboat trade. For information on what an editor described as the "'Canyon Cats', the daredevils … who pilot scows laden with railway supplies" (p. 125), the author trolls the columns of local newspapers.

The strongest section of the book elaborates a report that Boudreau made to BC Parks concerning the Grand Canyon, the most formidable obstacle to navigation north of Prince George. Here the author offers an indispensable map of the defile, which allows one to locate several images of scows and steamers that punctuate the text. Through a careful comparison of sources concerning the misfortune of a group of Overlanders who sought to reach the Cariboo by rafting the river, he presents a convincing, and grisly, explanation for the naming of a sand bar in the middle of the canyon as Cannibal Island. The number of accounts of later mishaps in this defile that he assembles makes understandable a contemporary newspaper's cartoon of Death summoning a pair of unfortunate rafters shooting the canyon, albeit in an empty vessel that resembles a First Nations canoe (p. 98). However, the author dissipates the sense of danger concerning the other major obstacles to navigation, Fort George Canyon and Cottonwood Canyon, by scattering references to them throughout the book.

While Boudreau relates stories of river activities from the 1860s to the 1950s, the book focuses on river traffic that supplied the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific. The GTP end of steel reached the head of navigation at Tête Jaune Cache in November 1911 and Prince George in January 1914, and much of the river traffic on the Upper Fraser during the interval transported goods and people from the former to the latter. Though he offers a helpful chart of distances from Prince George in an appendix, the author eschews other quantitative data to illuminate the extent and cost of freighting and provide some context for the newspaper accounts of river derring-do and tragedy. Court records that Boudreau mentions contain estimates of the total river traffic before the low-level railroad bridges blocked sternwheeler access north of Prince George. And while the number of lives lost in river transit will probably "never be fully known" (202), there are tallies, if incomplete, in the provincial police records. When compared, these figures might allow one to document the positive impact of the work of "river hog" (blaster) Frank Freeman and others in removing rocks from the canyons.

Beyond the Grand Canyon, the author's grasp of the evolving river traffic is tenuous. Boudreau claims that "much of the quoted information can be checked and the source is as close as the nearest public library" (p. 12). But there is little attempt to evaluate the reliability of most information in his library, the sensational newspaper articles and fulsome accounts of travellers, which are too frequently quoted without analysis.

***Frank Leonard** is the author of A Thousand Blunders: the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and Northern British Columbia and teaches history at Douglas College.*



Servite in Caritate: The First 100 Years of St. Margaret's School, 1908-2008.
Deidre Simmons, Victoria, St. Margaret's School, 2007, 203 p., illus. $44.95 hardcover.

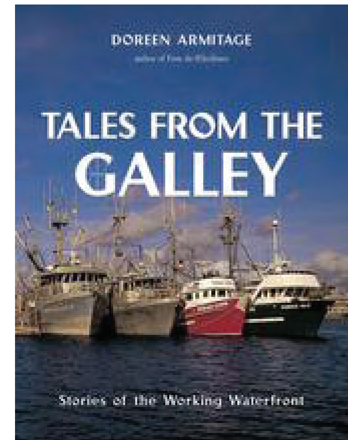
Deirdre Simmons' centennial history of St. Margaret's School for girls in Victoria is a powerful reminder that private education has been an integral component of British Columbia for a very long time. Indeed, St. Margaret's is a relative latecomer in terms of Vancouver Island. Private schools there go back in time to the colonial years when some families preferred that their offspring not be educated alongside the children of others they considered for one reason or the other not to be sufficiently like themselves.

Many of the earliest private schools were fairly short lived, and it was in the early twentieth century that their more permanent successors came into being. The province's tremendous growth in population, due in part to middle-class immigration from England, coincided with economic good times. Families seeking to educate their children outside of the public system could afford to do so. Among the British Columbian private schools continuing into the twenty-first century that began during these years are St. Michael's University School (originally two schools), Shawnigan Lake, Queen Margaret's, Crofton House, and, of course, St. Margaret's.

As Deirdre Simmons narrates in straightforward, appealing prose, St. Margaret's School originated, as did almost all of its British Columbian counterparts, as the emanation of a single individual. In the case of St. Margaret's it was middle-aged sisters Edith and Isabel Fenwick who sought both respectable occupations for themselves and a means to serve fellow middle-class British immigrants. Three years after the school's foundation in 1908, the sisters drowned in the well known sinking of the steamer *Iroquois* on its regular run from Sidney to Saltspring Island. They had been assisted up to then by fellow Englishwoman Margaret Barton. The only woman to survive the disaster, she decided the school must go on, and it did under her capable leadership assisted by her mother and sister who came out from England. The sixty pupils at the time of the sisters' death grew steadily, as did the school's reputation. As with many private ventures of this kind, continued success encouraged, and depended on, institutionalization. In 1925 St. Margaret's became a limited company ensuring its survival past a single generation of leadership. The years of mid-century, during which public education became much more sophisticated in terms of curriculum and equipment, saw many British Columbian private schools flounder, but once again St. Margaret's survived for reasons that Simmons deftly describes. Whatever the time period, Simmons takes into consideration leadership, staff, facilities, curriculum, and ethos.

Servite in Caritate is much more than the story of a single girls' private school. Very importantly for the general reader, Simmons attends to the interior life of St. Margaret's within the larger social and educational contexts in which the school survived and thrived. She repeatedly explains why events occurred as they did rather than simply telling us that they did so. Her portraits of the dozen heads over the past century are revealing of the changing worlds of well-educated women. The generous use of vignettes, student writings, report cards and other school documents, and images galore is to be especially commended. *Servite in Caritate* opens up a useful new window into British Columbia through time. It's a gem.

Jean Barman *is Professor Emeritus-UBC History Project and the author of many books on British Columbia history including Growing up British in British Columbia: Boys in Private School.*



Tales from the Galley: stories of the working waterfront.
Doreen Armitage. Madeira Park, B.C., Harbour Publishing, 2007. 195 p., illus. $39.95 hardback.

To those who spend much time on B.C.'s waters, a significant part of our marine environment is the large number of working vessels that surround us. Indeed our coastal history has been dominated by fishing boats, inshore and oceangoing tugs, salvage boats and Coast Guard ships of various purposes. In this newest of her books on the history of our coast Doreen Armitage satisfies our curiosity about the ships and personalities of all these marine trades. Her approach to this challenge is simple, yet highly effective: the book is largely a series of informal and entertainingly anecdotal interviews with fishermen, towboaters and other coastal seamen, most of whom have had long careers at sea.

Commercial fishing, probably the oldest marine enterprise in B.C., comprises the book's opening segment. When we watch the fishing fleets pass down the straits heading out to sea most of us are only dimly aware of the hazards faced by these boats, not least of all the hazardous politics and economics of fishing. All of the crew whom the author interviewed talked of the escalatingly huge investment involved in their boats and licenses, and of the high-speed dash to the grounds during brief openings, to pay for all the liabilities. Fisherman Byron Wright tells of a catastrophic grounding that almost cost

him his boat. Gordie Stanley remembers a "queer wave" that turned a laden fishboat into a submarine. Yet the strong attraction of the fishing life is illustrated in a conversation with Don Pepper a fisherman who, even after earning a PhD and entering an academic career, continues to do summer commercial fishing as well.

An equally high profile – and historic- marine activity is towboating. It began in 1835 with the HBC's Beaver, the earliest vessel to tow log booms on the B.C. coast. Doreen Armitage has been fortunate to interview the last skippers and crew from the era of the 'steampots', the classic tugs of the steam age. Like many of the anecdotes in this book, the towboaters' reminiscences are often humorous. Captain Harold Beck, for instance, tells of the new hand aboard the old steam tug *Dauntless* who arrived dressed all in white – for his job shoveling coal. Other stories are grimmer: veteran skipper Bob Ackerman tells of the *Island Challenger*'s unsuccessful struggle to rescue a grounded Greek freighter, in "… to this day, the biggest seas I ever saw." The fierce attachment of men to their favorite tugs is evident in Ackerman's description of the *Seaspan Warrior,* of which he was master: "beloved old thing."

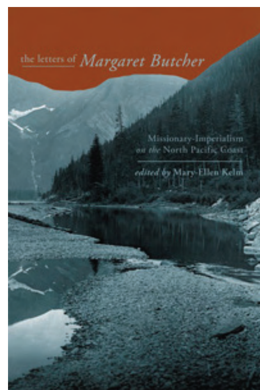
I'm a little surprised, in this towboating section of the book, to find no interviews or discussion of B.C's great ocean-crossing tugs such as *Sudbury II* and the *Monarch.*

Coast Guard and Fisheries Patrol ships are the subjects of one of the book's illuminating segments. I was especially fascinated by the author's focus on an aspect of these activities that we perhaps don't usually recognize. In addition to the often-publicized search and rescue functions, these two government services perform important monitoring and safeguarding of our Canadian sovereignty. We read here of a history of clashes between Canadian Fisheries patrol/Coast Guard ships and a variety of illegal 'invaders' of the B.C. coast. In a delightful anecdote by Coast Guard skipper Ozzie Nilsson, he tells of his arrest of Japanese Captain Ito and the impounding of Ito's dragger, fishing illegally in our coastal waters. Subsequently Nilsson and Ito became friends, and Ito often visited B.C. for holidays.

The extremely dangerous trade of commercial diving is the subject of several good interviews also. One diver describes an unnerving octopus attack, during a dive near Tofino. Other activities covered in the author's entertaining conversations include offshore oil drilling and the B.C. Pilot Service.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this fine book is its gallery of photos of British Columbia's ships and personalities, some from archival sources and many from seamen's own albums. Our coast is noted for its dramatically scenic waterways and spectacular glaciated mountains, but the working ships whose photos appear here are an equally characteristic wonder of our straits and inlets.

Philip Teece*, a retired Victoria librarian, nowadays spends most days, in all seasons, sailing B.C. coastal waters.*



The Letters of Margaret Butcher; Missionary-Imperialism on the North Pacific Coast.
Edited by Mary-Ellen Kelm. Calgary, University of Calgary Press, 2006. 273 p., notes, bibliography, index, illus. $29.95, paperback.

Margaret Butcher might have sprung from the pages of the Girl's Own Paper. Though well embarked on middle age in 1916 when begins our story, she epitomized the jolly, self-sufficient English girl – literate and well-mannered, exuberantly outdoorsy, fond of camping, impromptu races, and fair play - with an interest in people, a capacity for friendship, and a strong but rational sense of duty She wrote lively, slangy letters to family and friends, revealing in detail the life, people, work and scenery at the Elizabeth Long Memorial Home, a Methodist residential school to which Haisla, Tsimshian and Nuxalt children were sent. She told about her charges, "real nice kids", "darling scamps", about small kindnesses and camaraderie among missionaries, settlers and coastal workers; about deep snow and water, and about life in a logging camp, about ordinary daily life in mission and village and extraordinary celebrations, potlatches, Christmas feasts – and funerals. When the dying happened, most often from tuberculosis, then whooping cough, and the horror of the 1918 flu, which hit even remote little Kitamaat without mercy, we see her bowed down with grief presiding at funeral after funeral. She would have been taken aback at the suggestion that she exemplified "missionary –imperialism" or that future scholars would search her personal letters for sinister subtexts, her joys and sorrows being equally suspect. But such is the post-colonial way of reading. Best to concentrate on the Letters, and pay as little attention as possible to Introduction and Conclusion.

Butcher's three years on staff at the Home near the British Columbia coastal village then known as Kitamaat, followed a series of career adventures in which she trained as nurse and midwife, travelled to India, then to B.C., working in the Japanese community at Steveston. Later she would go to California. She never doubted the importance of her work, but she did regard it as just that: work, a job which she could do well and which was worth doing. She believed, but her Belief was not the driving force in her life, as it was in the life of Emma Crosby, whose letters were reviewed in this journal a few months ago. [*Good Intentions Gone Awry*, reviewed in *BC History*. V.39, N.3]. The influence of Emma and her husband Thomas was felt on the coast a quarter century after they left.

According to editor Kelm, Emma

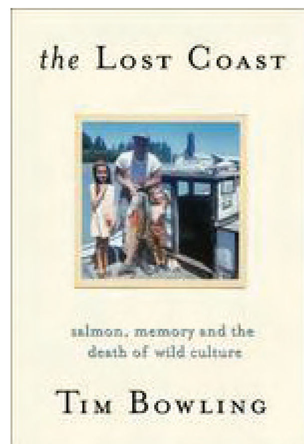
Crosby and her contemporaries became part of the missionary effort through their marriages, whereas Margaret Butcher was "part of a later generation of independent women who found meaningful lives in community with other women and in service to the world around them." But Emma made her own decision to become a missionary, taking her teacher's training with that goal in mind, and choosing a husband who shared the goal and could make it happen for her. When Margaret had to conduct services, she did not "enjoy playing parson." For Emma, enjoyment or playing were not factors. And surely, there were communities of women dedicated to service long before the beginning of the twentieth century.

Kelm admires Butcher for choosing to make her way in life independent of husband and children of her own, but chides her for wishing that same right of choice for the Native girls. When Butcher laments the "sacrifice" of a young bride to an arranged marriage based on hierarchy and kinship customs rather than on love, merit or compatibility, Kelm accuses her of inappropriately applying her own gender and class values. A system which both Butcher and Kelm might resist in a "White" context, is beyond criticism when part of a Native culture. Butcher acted discreetely, doing nothing to rock the boat, but expressing her regret in her private letters. Relations between the missionaries and the children's parents were guarded, but not hostile.

Certainly Butcher had some misgivings about the mission's role, wondering if the White presence might be a cause of the children's sickness, realizing that the school was sited outside the village so they did not see much of the Native customs, wrestling with the notion that the death of the old people aided the christianizing of the young because the old heathen customs died with those who practised them. The school and mission taught vocational and domestic skills almost exclusively, with very little academic instruction, and a great deal of manual labour. But as Butcher worked alongside her pupils, her genuine interest in them got in the way of really objective separation. Perhaps that was why she stayed only three years.

Margaret Butcher was a keen photographer, frequently referring to pictures she had taken and developed. Once she persuaded a neighbour to allow her to balance the camera on his head while she caught a panoramic view. But none of these photos appear in the book, and all the pictures which do appear are from either the British Columbia Archives or the Kitimat Centennial Museum, and none capture the sort of scene or event which appealed to Butcher as photographer. Kelm refers in a note to Margaret's interest in photography, but does not explain what happened to her photos.

Phyllis Reeve *is a member of the Gabriola Historical and Museum Society*



The Lost Coast: salmon, memory and the death of wild culture.
Tim Bowling. Gibsons, B.C., Nightwood editions, 2007. 255 p. $29.95 hardback.

Ex-fishermen and Governor General's Award nominee Tim Bowling here presents a compelling blend of history and personal memoir. It is the story of B.C.'s long, intimate relationship with the salmon, combining both the rigors of historical research and the art of the novelist.

The book opens with a nostalgic memory of the author's father who, in simpler days when the salmon were abundant, fished the Fraser River in a little 28 – foot gillnetter. We are immediately gripped by a wonderfully detailed description of the techniques of setting, working and picking up 160 fathoms of deep net, fishing alone aboard a small gillnetter, in a still noncompetitive era on the Fraser, in the last years before the resource declined and the lust for salmon became aggressive and cutthroat. It was an era when there remained a place for the "jungle bums", elderly, small-scale fishermen in little old boats that were "barely floatable."

The historical narrative itself begins in Ladner, with the arrival of two Cornish brothers who, after coming to British Columbia for the 1858 gold rush, settled beside the mouth of the Fraser and became the first farmers / fishermen of the settlement that would be named after them – William and Thomas Ladner. Descendents of that family and others of their community continued to be the fishing families on the river, down to the generation with whom the author himself fished in the 1970s.

The major theme of this book is the loss, in our time, of that salmon fishery and of the human culture that accompanied it during much of our coastal history. Among other causes, Tim Bowling discusses the rise of fish farming, in one of the most detailed, graphic and convincing indictments I have read of aquaculture's devastating role in the demise of our wild fishery. Bowling also examines the ruin that has been brought upon B.C.'s salmon-spawning streams by the forest industry: "Only now, with the wisdom built of loss, can I see how any sane person … should have been chaining himself to every tree in every watershed… ."

We learn that in 1904 there were fourteen salmon canneries operating in a stretch of only a few miles on the Fraser, and that by 1970 all that was left of them were the black, rotted pilings. The small scale local fishery, which supported families and created communities of neighbours who shared the salmon culture, disappeared.

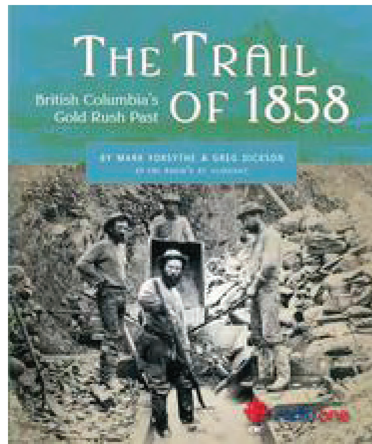
And now, even on the larger scale, Bowling predicts: "The truth is, we're going to wipe out the wild salmon in my lifetime and most of us won't notice."

My review thus far, however, provides a poor balance; *The Lost Coast* is much more than the dark history and grim forecast that I've described. Its nostalgic flashbacks to the golden age of the author's youth give really poetic insights into a lost world that still existed here on the coast even when most readers were already young adults. The chapters of personal reminiscence are filled with the personalities of a happier and less complicated time. Typical perhaps is the story of the author's uncle Earl, who built his own boat on the kitchen floor of his house, only to discover on launching day that the new vessel was immovably nailed to the floor.

The memories also encompass the little farms, the small houses, the old-fashioned general stores whose sites are now occupied by highrise buildings and giant malls. They encompass a wealth of poetically terse vignettes of small-boyhood experience of which Bowling says: "The days as we live them are mountains, and after thirty-five years they become grains on a beach of dark sand."

All of us should know the story of our vanishing wild salmon culture. But I highly recommend *The Lost Coast* also to those for whom that is not a prime interest, but who will enjoy a work of exquisitely crafted prose – an unusually beautiful piece of British Columbiana.

***Philip Teece** retired a few years ago after a 35-year career as a librarian, chiefly at the Greater Victoria Public Library.*



The Trail of 1858: British Columbia's Gold Rush Past.
Mark Forsythe and Greg Dickson foreword by Iona V. Campagnolo. Madeira Park, B.C. Harbour publishing, 2007. 224 p., illus., index. $26.95 paperback.

The Trail of 1858 by the CBC *BC Almanac* team of host Mark Forsythe and director Greg Dickson is a stellar commemorative edition marking "British Columbia's 150th anniversary as a modern political state." With its multiplicity of contributions from amateur and professional historians "and "scores of CBC listeners whose BC roots go back to the Trail of 1858 and beyond", it is truly deserving of former BC Lieutenant Governor Iona Campanolo's salutation in the Foreword that, "This is our story, too!" It's a perfect book for dipping into, reading and re-reading, giving as a gift and encouraging friends and acquaintances to purchase.

The search for gold whether by canoe, camel, packhorse or on foot is the core for the book, but its nine chapters with headings like "The Secret's Out," "Peace, Order and Good Government," "Outscourings of the World," and "Booms and Busts," form a kaleidoscope of the history, politics, economics, arts, culture and curiosities that attended the chase and contributed to the building of today's "Beautiful BC." In a lively journalistic and anecdotal style, its signed contributions are held together through the masterful compiling, editing and writing of bridges where required.

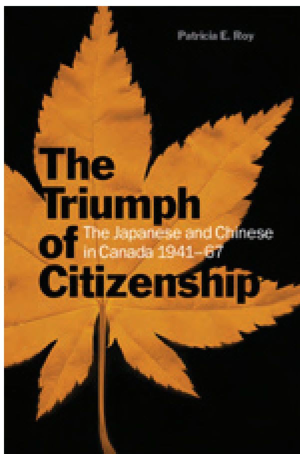
Some of the stories are about the icons of the day such as Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie with his "reputation as the 'hanging judge' – an exaggeration he may have encouraged"; or James Douglas, "the most powerful man of the gold rush era"; or Ned McGowan, the perpetrator of "'McGowan's War,' a tempest in a teapot if ever there was one." And among the goldmine glut of contributions there are the informative and entertaining vignettes about the First Nations, the Blacks, the Hawaiians, the Chinese and others, about two great-grandfathers and their connections to the BX stagecoach company, about a great-grandfather's "Search for El Dorado," and about "The Miner's Angel." As well, snippets abound about towns and villages such as Alkali Lake, Likely, Williams Lake, Bralorne, Mount Brew, Cassiar, Jackass Mountain and Cayoosh Creek.

There are maps of the era, excerpts from journals, diaries, letters, newspapers and books about to be published, pieces of poetry and bits of doggerel, and a list of staples sold at Sailor's Bar, near Hope, with prices for before and after the construction of the Cariboo Road. And the more than 100 black and white photographs depict individuals such as Amor de Cosmos, Portuguese Joe Silvey, Billy Barker and Jean Caux aka "Cataline." Others show miners time-frozen at various tasks of their trade, and one portrays the wedding party of "Cariboo" Cameron and his bride, Sophia Groves whose preserved corpse "Cariboo" later hauled back home to Ontario. There's even a photo of a cluster of the famous Hurdy Gurdy girls, dressed as the *Cariboo Sentinel* said, in "a kind of uniform, generally consisting of a red waist, a cotton print skirt and a headdress resembling somewhat in shape the topknot of a male turkey."

For the justifiably curious there is a comprehensive index, and for dedicated researchers there is an extensive bibliography. And for all of us, here is a magnificent, colourful compendium of hundreds of contributions recognizing the diversity of men and women who followed BC's Trail of 1858 one hundred and fifty-eight years ago in search of fortune, fame or the fulfillment of their dreams, which some achieved

while others didn't, but dreams and all, they forged the fledgling Colony of British Columbia. Finally, it should be mentioned that the authors have given us more than just a marvellous read: continuing the generosity which led them to donate the royalties from their earlier book, *The B.C. Almanac Book of Greatest British Columbians* to the Friends of the B.C. Archives, they are donating the royalties from *The Trail of 1858* to the British Columbia Historical Federation.

***M. Wayne Cunningham** reviews from Kamloops, B.C.*



The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese and Chinese in Canada, 1941-1967.
Patricia E. Roy. Vancouver, UBC Press, 2007. 390 p., illus. map. $85.00 hardcover, $32.95 paperback.

The experiences of Japanese and Chinese Canadians, particularly the World War II relocation of the Japanese, are among the most popular assignments for students in college courses on the history of British Columbia. Students who choose these topics often start their projects by asking me for a book that explains how the province and the nation went from then to now, from exclusion of Asian immigrants to inclusion, how the immigration policies changed, how redress was achieved.

Although I will still refer students to Patricia Roy's earlier works, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914*, and *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914-1941*, I am pleased to be able to answer their immediate questions by directing them to her latest book, *The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese and Chinese in Canada, 1941-1967*.

In it Roy explains how, by 1967, the Japanese and Chinese in Canada gained "the franchise and many other civil rights in British Columbia, the province where most of them lived." [p 4] Roy begins her introduction with a comment on the 1968 presence in Ottawa of two Kamloops high school alumna, Mayor Peter Wing, president of the Union of British Columbia Municipalities, and Thomas Shoyama, economic advisor to the federal government. "In 1941 neither … could have worked on a government contract" or in many professions. And "neither man could have voted, let alone held public office." The triumph of Canadian citizenship "over 'racist' ideas" and "how and why the status of Wing and Shoyama changed" are the twin themes of Roy's book.

Roy organizes her chapters chronologically and thematically, separating discussion of the Japanese and Chinese until the latter chapters. She explores the wartime decision to evacuate Japanese Canadians from the West Coast, its context and consequences. Federal plans for dispersal of evacuees made "a provincial question" into "a national one." [p.308] At the end of the war, talk of forced repatriation of "Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry … stimulated interest in human rights." [p.7] Roman Catholic bishops of Quebec, United Church and Anglican Church organizations in British Columbia, labour unions and the CCF were among the groups who protested the deportations. [pp.199-200]

Although most of the effects of the war on the Chinese in Canada differed from the effects on the Japanese, the Chinese civil rights situation, like that of the Japanese, changed by the end of the war. Canadians sympathized with their Asian allies and Chinese Canadians in British Columbia were called up for military service. In 1947 the Chinese achieved the British Columbia franchise and the repeal of "the exclusionary Chinese Immigration Act."

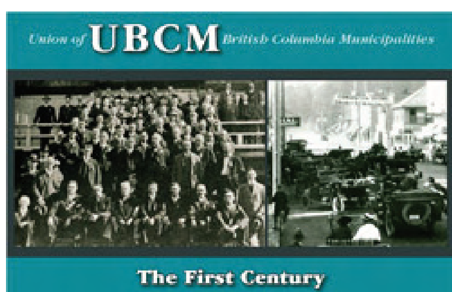
By 1949 the Japanese achieved the right "to return freely to the coast" and to vote. Over the next two decades both the Japanese and Chinese worked to overcome racist ideas and racism in Canadian immigration policy. Roy shows how the evolution of human rights and the growth of the British Columbia and Canadian economies contributed to changing ideas and policies. She also notes that campaigns against repatriation and for improved immigration laws "illustrate how governments respond to public pressure." [p. 10] Her "Epilogue" on the Japanese and Chinese in Canada 1967-2006, including Japanese Canadian redress in the 1980s and the Chinese head tax redress of 2006, underlines those points.

Roy's *The Triumph of Citizenship* provides British Columbia historians with more than an overview of Chinese and Japanese Canadian experience. She gives insight into a range of sources for future studies in her endnotes. Here she builds on work done for her two earlier volumes, *A White Man's Province* and *The Oriental Question*, as well as her part in the 1990 publication *Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese During the Second World War.* Roy cites federal and local primary sources, particularly political and immigration files. She makes good use of recent secondary sources, e.g. Wing Chung Ng's *The Chinese in Vancouver 1945-1980*. She also draws on translations of Chinese Canadian newspapers to complement the Japanese Canadian newspapers published in English and her research in local and national journals.

One final aspect that distinguishes Roy's study of the Japanese and Chinese in Canada 1941 to 1967 is her selection of political posters and cartoons to illustrate the book. These include "When Does the Train Leave," a cartoon from the *Vernon News* 29 January 1942, the "Monster Indignation Meeting" advertisement from the 22 March 1942 *Kamloops Sentine*l, "A Good Year" a cartoon from the *New Canadian* 24 December 1949, and "Shares in Toyota," a cartoon from

the *Victoria Times Colonist* during the redress campaign 1 April 1984. These illustrations will appeal to British Columbia history students of 2008, the 'visual generation,' and draw them into the complex and nuanced discussion Roy provides in her text on the triumph of citizenship.

__Jacqueline Gresko__, Past President of the British Columbia Historical Federation, recently retired from Douglas College where she taught B.C. history and is now on the faculty of Corpus Christi College, U.B.C.



Union of British Columbia Municipalities: UBCM: the first century
Wendy Bancroft, Harmony Folz, Richard Taylor, Marie Crawford. Vancouver, Granville Island Publishing, 2006. 258 p. , illus. $49.95 hardcover.

Is there a more unlikely subject for an attractive coffee-table volume than the history of the cooperation and progress amongst British Columbia's local governments? The Union of BC Municipalities marked the Centennial of its formation and its first Convention held in New Westminster in 1905 with the publication of a well-designed, black-and-white, but upbeat, chronological tribute to the UBCM.

The writers and editors set out to acknowledge the thousands of men and women who have contributed to the work of the UBCM. The political and philosophical achievements of the organization are highlighted and chronicled with surprising readability and style. The century-long struggle to align the numerous responsibilities placed upon even the smallest local governments with the statutory legitimacy and financial authority necessary to meet those needs is the central theme of the text.

Although presented chronologically, UBCM achieves a balance of fact and figures, anecdotes, documentation and enthusiasm for the serious work of explaining the case of municipal governments emphatically and credibly to the 'big' governments and bureaucrats in Victoria and Ottawa. In place of action photos, we are presented with photos of a century of earnest UBCM conventioneers, appropriate time-and-place newspaper photos, headlined stories and archival posters. Text-boxed biographies of UBCM's most notable political and administrative figures add a personal touch. Off-beat and timely Convention Resolutions, along with evolving Constitutions and By-laws, are also framed and boxed.

Life members and retired politicians were interviewed by the writing staff and seemed more than pleased to share experiences, memories and personal asides about the UBCM and its members. These first-person reminiscences break up the text and make the book entirely more readable. Pride exudes from the membership. The UBCM claims its membership presently represents every one of the 185 local governments in the province. Audrey Moore (UBCM President 1983-4) heralds, "They speak for everybody in the province because every elected board, every elected councilor, every regional district board are members. That's lot of strength, and that's a lot of power."

For the casual reader (scanning the volume in the Mayor or Councilors' waiting room?) a summarized "The Period in Review" concludes each of the eight main chapters. A more conscientious reader will also inadvertently absorb a great deal of the political and social history of BC as the text focuses on the play of powers between the Provincial Government of the day or decade and the ever-changing Executive Council of the UBCM.

This tidy volume should be a morale booster to the many municipal and regional councils and councilors who continue to struggle to elevate the complex profile and unheralded accomplishments of the 'lowest order' of government.

With 2000 delegates now attending annual UBCM Conventions, thousands having attended over recent decades and hundreds of aspirant local politicians and civil servants cognizant of the impact of the UBCM, sales of this volume should be brisk. Copies will not fly off the shelves in regional libraries or franchised bookstores, but creative promotion in local political venues could result in a definite 'sleeper'.

__Frances Welwood__ is on the Board of Directors of Nelson's new Touchstones Museum of Art and History, a heritage building and modern facility supported by the community and civic governments.

Miscellany

John Spittle, past president of the Vancouver Historical Society (1991-94),

John passed away in North Vancouver on Saturday, March 22, 2008.

Known for his boundless enthusiasm and passion for history, the Birmingham-born Royal Navy veteran was also active in the BC Historical Federation, Historical Map Society of BC, Royal Geographical Society and the North Shore Amateur Radio Club. He was the long-time chair of the Historical Trails and Markers Committee of the BCHF and worked with BCHF and HMSBC members, surveyors and heritage and outdoor groups to research, retrace and promote historical trails in British Columbia. He also researched Royal Engineers like Palmer and Leech, especially the latter's work on Vancouver Island.

British Columbia Historical Federation
26th Annual Historical Writing Competition

The British Columbia Historical Federation invites submissions for the 26th Annual Historical Writing Competition for authors of British Columbia History.

Eligibility

- To be eligible for this competition, books must be published in 2008.
- Non-fiction books representing any aspect of B.C. History are eligible.
- Reprints or revisions of books are not eligible.
- Books may be submitted by authors or publishers.
- Deadline for submission is December 31, 2008.

Judging Criteria

Judges are looking for quality presentations and fresh material. Submissions will be evaluated in the following areas:

- Scholarship: quality of research and documentation, comprehensiveness, objectivity and accuracy
- Presentation: organization, clarity, illustrations and graphics
- Accessibility: readability and audience appeal

Lieutenant-Governor's Medal and Other Prizes

The BC Lieutenant-Governor's Medal for Historical Writing will be awarded together with $600 to the author whose book makes the most significant contribution to the history of British Columbia. The 2nd and 3rd place winners will receive $400 and $200 respectively.

Certificates of Honourable Mention may be awarded to other books as recommended by the judges.

Publicity

All winners will receive publicity and an invitation to the BCHF Award's Banquet at the Federation's annual conference which will be in Nelson, B.C. in early May, 2009.

Submission Requirements

- Authors/Publishers are required to send three copies to the Chair of the Writing Competition Committee.
  Barb Hynek
  2477 140th Street, Surrey, B.C. V4P 2C5
  Email: writing@bchistory.ca Phone: 604-535-9090

- Books are to be accompanied by a letter containing the following:
  - Title of the book submitted
  - Author's name and contact information
  - Publisher's name and contact information
  - Selling price

- Submission Deadline: December 31, 2008
- By submitting books for this competition, the authors agree that the British Columbia Historical Federation may use their name(s) in press releases and in its publications.
- Books entered become property of the BCHF.

Post Cards

Top: The town of Wells in the 1930s
Bottom: The entrance to Kootenay National Park in 1925

The British Columbia Historical Federation working since 1922 with historical sites, societies, groups, museums, archives, etc. throughout British Columbia preserving and promoting British Columbia's history.

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Local and regional historical societies, museums, archives, historic sites, throughout British Columbia are invited to become members of the Federation.

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are groups,or oganizations without dues paying members and include private, city or corporate museums, archives, historic sites, etc. whose common goal is the preservation and display of British Columbia's history. Annual fees for Affiliate member groups are $35.00 for a calendar year.

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individuals, because of geography or other approved reason, cannot become a member of a Member Society. Annual fees for Associate members are $25.00 for a calendar year.

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British Columbia Historical News
Alice Marwood, 211 - 14981 - 101A Avenue Surrey, B C V3R 0T1

Canadian Publications Mail Product Sales Agreement No. 40025793
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Canada *We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada, through the Publications Assistance program (PAP), toward our mailing cost*

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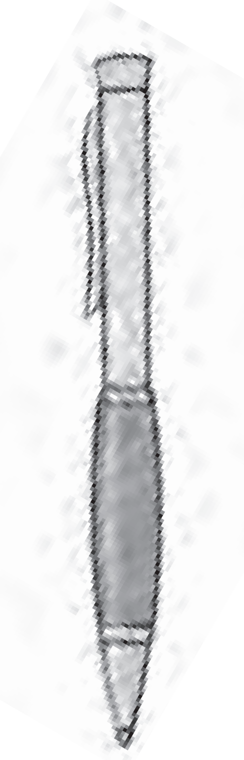

The Annual Competition for Writers of BC History Lieutenant-Governor's Medal for Historical Writing Deadline: 31 December 2008

The British Columbia Historical Federation invites book submissions for their annual Competition for Writers of BC History. Books representing any facet of BC history, published in 2007 will be considered by the judges who are looking for quality presentations and fresh material. Community histories, biographies, records of a project or organization as well as personal reflections, etc. are eligible for consideration.
Reprints or revisions of books are not eligible.

Lieutenant-Governor's Medal

The Lieutenant-Governor's Medal for Historical Writing will be awarded to an individual writer whose book contributes significantly to the history of British Columbia. Additional prizes may be awarded to other books at the discretion of the judges.

Publicity

All entries receive considerable publicity, Winners will receive a Certificate of Merit, a monetary award and an invitation to the Awards Banquet of the Federation's annual conference.

Submissions

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Barb Hynek,
Chair/Judge of the BCHF Book Competition
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By submitting books for this competition, authors agree that the British Columbia Historical Federation may use their names in press releases and Federation publications regarding the book competition.