

B.C. HISTORICAL  
NEWS



# BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL NEWS

Vol. 12, No. 1

NOVEMBER 1978

Second-class mail registration number 4447.

Published November, February, April and June by the British Columbia Historical Association, P.O. Box 1738, Victoria, B.C., V8W 2Y3. (Printed by D.A. Fotoprint Ltd., 777 Fort Street, Victoria.)

Distributed free to members of affiliated societies. Individual subscriptions \$5.00 per year; institutional subscriptions \$10.00 per year. Correspondence concerning subscriptions should be directed to the Business Manager, B.C. Historical News, P.O. Box 1738, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y3.

## AN EDITORIAL NOTE

This issue of the B.C. Historical News features articles that have relied extensively on archives. In recognition of National Archives Day, November 15, we present some original documents relating to British Columbia from the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa and the Public Records Office in London, England. But archives are not solely concerned with written records. The map illustrating R.C. Harris' article on a Hudson's Bay Company trail and our cover photograph are from the collection of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. As archival sources cartographic and visual records (including motion picture film, paintings, drawings and prints) can be equally valuable for the evidential or informational value they possess for the researcher. It is a worthwhile reminder, therefore, to readers of the News to consider the importance of archives as they enjoy the fruits of research in archives.

Kent Haworth  
Patricia Roy

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  | <u>Page</u> |
|--|-------------|
| Archives and History.....Kent Haworth.....   | 2           |
| Chief Benedict of Boothroyd and the Department of<br>Indian Affairs.....Reuben Ware.....                           | 3           |
| "Very dear soldiers" or "Very dear laborers": the<br>Royal Engineers in British Columbia.....Frances Woodward..... | 8           |
| Old Trails and Routes in British Columbia:<br>Blackeye's and 1849 HBC Trail.....R.C. Harris.....                   | 15          |
| Captain Cook Comes To Campbell River.....Ruth Barnett.....   | 17          |
| Museum Displays Rare Cook Journals.....Jim Thomas.....   | 17          |
| News from the Branches.....  | 20          |
| Bulletin Board.....  | 21          |
| Book Reviews:  |             |
| <u>Northern Vagabond: The life and career of J.B. Tyrrell</u> ..G.S. Andrews.....                                  | 23          |
| <u>Alaska Voyage, 1881-1883: an expedition</u> ...etc.....Douglas L. Cole.....                                     | 25          |
| <u>Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries</u> :...etc.....George Brandak.....                                      | 25          |
| <u>The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918</u> .....Alan F.J. Artibise.....                               | 27          |
| <u>Old Wooden Buildings</u> .....John Veillette.....   | 28          |
| <u>Canadian Frontier Annual, 1977</u> .....Charles Maier.....  | 28          |
| Books of Interest.....Frances Woodward.....  | 28          |
| Late News  |             |
| Presidential Letter.....Helen B. Akrigg.....   | 30          |

## ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

"Of all national assets archives are the most precious; they are the gift of one generation to another and the extent of our care of them marks the extent of our civilization."

Arthur G. Doughty, Dominion Archivist, 1924.

November 15, 1978 is National Archives Day in Canada. This is the first time that the Association of Canadian Archivists has designated a day to draw the attention of English-speaking Canadians to the purposes and functions of archives. The Association des Archivistes du Quebec has held successful "Archives Days" for a number of years.

If you should ask "Why should we have a National Archives Day?" it is likely you would also ask "Why do we need archives?"

In his recent report on the state of Canadian studies in Canadian universities and colleges Professor T.H.B. Symons identified a lack of public awareness and understanding of the role of archives. Professor Symons asserted that "the future quality of Canadian studies is directly linked to the condition and resources of Canadian archives."<sup>1</sup> In order for the Canadian public to recognize the value of their documentary heritage and the institutions that preserve it, Professor Symons recommends that archivists promote public awareness of archives. Thus, Canadian archivists hope that an annual event such as a National Archives Day will focus public interest on and support for the role of archives in Canadian society. The Association of British Columbia Archivists is co-ordinating activities for the day in British Columbia.

An answer to the second question, "Why do we need archives?" can be found, in part, by reading the following article by Reuben Ware. As the author points out in his introduction, the article is based primarily on a particular series of records in the Department of Indian Affairs pertaining to Indian matters in Western Canada. These records were transferred to the Public Archives of Canada by the Department of Indian Affairs when the records became inactive. Archivists decided, in consultation with Departmental officials, that the records were of administrative importance, and possessed significant research value, and should be permanently retained in the archives of the Federal Government. Mr. Ware's article certainly demonstrates the value of this particular series of records to historical researchers seeking to explain the relationship between the Indians of British Columbia and the Department of Indian Affairs in the 1920's. Moreover, the results of this research and related investigations into administrative decisions in the past may have consequences for future administrative or judicial decisions. Thus, without the preservation of the vital records generated by individuals, governments, and other corporate bodies, our society cannot hope, in the words of Professor Symons, "to know itself". Nor can groups within the society hope to defend themselves from injustice without the requisite documentary evidence our legal system demands.

The interests and responsibilities of the archivist are quite different and very often confused with those of the librarian, the museum curator, or the historian. In relation to these other professions, the archival profession in Canada is quite young. Only in the last decade have Canadian archivists begun to develop an understanding of their duties and responsibilities. Another factor explaining the slow progress in developing an appreciation of the role of archives is a general lack of understanding of the real meaning of archives. Margaret Cross Norton, an American archivist, described the situation well in 1930:

---

<sup>1</sup>T.H.B. Symons, To Know Ourselves: the Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada: Ottawa, 1975), II, 69.

To most persons, including some archivists, the term archives still connotes merely musty, dirty files of loose papers and decayed leather folios of little apparent use, but vaguely believed to be of value because historians keep saying they are valuable. The real function of an archivist, however, is that of custodian of legal records of an institution, the destruction of which records might seriously inconvenience the administration of that institution's business.<sup>2</sup>

Certainly our society has recognized a cultural justification for the existence of archives as the repositories of our documentary heritage. But this was never the original reason for the preservation of society's vital records which were classed as archives. Those records which businesses, individuals, and governments decided to keep permanently, were retained because they could be required at some future date for administrative or legal purposes. Archives were not created, as Sir Hilary Jenkinson has so succinctly stated, "in the interest or for the information of posterity."<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the archivist is aware of the interests of researchers as well as the interests of the institution he serves, and undertakes to preserve a record of that institution's administration that will justly serve the interests of the institution as well as the interests of posterity.

On November 15, Canadian archivists hope to draw attention to their duties and responsibilities and thereby increase public awareness of the meaning of archives and the role archives play in their society. Readers of the News, with their special interest in history, could, on National Archives Day, endeavour to learn more about archives from the custodians of the documentary heritage in their community. If there is no interest in the preservation of the archival record of institutions and individuals in your community perhaps you should find out why.

K.H.

---

<sup>2</sup>T.W. Mitchell, ed., Norton on Archives, (Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), 4.

<sup>3</sup>Sir Hilary Jenkinson, A Manual of Archive Administration (London, 1965), 11.

\*\*\*\*\*

CHIEF BENEDICT OF BOOTHROYD AND THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,  
1921 - 1925

-----  
This article by Reuben M. Ware, a Ph.D. student at Simon Fraser University, was developed out of Mr. Ware's extensive research into federal and provincial government policy affecting Indian affairs.  
-----

Much has been written about the Indians of British Columbia, especially their art, culture, and traditional social organization, but the history of Indian communities since 1870 has been poorly written or not written at all. No adequate historical analysis of any Indian Band or tribe or the Department of Indian Affairs in British Columbia draws on the diverse documentary material available. No works trace the development of such Indian Affairs' policies dealing with Band membership, education, social welfare (called 'Relief' in earlier times), surrender-and-sale of reserve lands under the land sections of the Indian Act, or on-reserve timber sales. The development of the Department's organization and structure and its connection with local non-Indian elites have not been analysed and there are no biographies of Indian Agents or major Department officials active in British Columbia.

These gaps in our understanding of Indian communities in part result from a failure to use the most important documentary source for the study of Indian history since 1870 - the records of the Department of Indian Affairs which contain information on virtually every aspect of Indian community life. Their use is essential to reconstruct the social, political, and economic history of the Indians of British Columbia. This article, illustrating the richness of this archival source for Indian history, focuses on the relationship between Chief and Indian Agent and the Department's role as a maker of chiefs and a mold of community leadership. The correspondence published here is part of the Central Registry System of the Records Relating to Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, of the Public Archives of Canada. The Central Registry System files are the general administration records of the Ottawa headquarters office of the Department of Indian Affairs. Part of this collection, the Western (Black) Series, is now available on 91 reels of microfilm at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

The Boothroyd Indians, whose territory is in the Fraser River Canyon about ten miles north of Boston Bar, British Columbia, are part of the Thompson tribe. In 1878 the Boothroyd Indians were allotted thirteen Indian Reserves totalling about 1970 acres by Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, Indian Reserve Commissioner.<sup>1</sup> During the next thirty years the Boothroyd Indian population averaged about 155 living in five communities: Tsawammuch (Chomok), Speyam, Kamus, Inkahtsaph (Nkatsam), and Sho-ok. In contrast to some of the other Thompson Indian communities in the Fraser canyon, Boothroyd appears to have been fairly prosperous during these decades. This was based on a combination of traditional food production and harvest, cultivation and fruit growing, and wage labour. The salmon fisheries, though fluctuating in abundance, continued to be important to Boothroyd's local economy, as did hunting, especially for deer.<sup>2</sup> The small benchlands of most of the reserves were cultivated and, to overcome a scarcity of water, irrigation ditches and wood-frame flumes were constructed. At Inkahtsaph, the Indians raised grains and hay as well as vegetables, including potatoes, varieties of melons, and cabbage. Apples and other fruits were also grown. Wages were earned by working on the Canadian Pacific Railway and later on the Canadian Northern. The Boothroyd Indians also sold firewood, worked as packers and fur trappers, travelled annually to the hop fields in the Chilliwack valley, continued to mine the gold-bearing bars along the Fraser River, and kept horses and cattle.

By 1919 this situation was changing and the Boothroyd community was threatened with economic dislocation. Game was severely depleted and the Province's hunting laws were beginning to be applied to Indians. The 1913 Hell's Gate Slide wreaked havoc with the salmon fisheries and brought in its wake stringent regulation by the Dominion Fisheries Department.<sup>4</sup> This culminated in 1919 when the Fisheries Department imposed a total ban on all Indian fishing in the Fraser River above the Mission bridge; this closure was in effect until 1922 and resulted in a volatile atmosphere at traditional Indian fishing sites.<sup>5</sup> In the midst of these restrictions on traditional sources of food supplies, possibilities for earning wages decreased - railroad construction ended, trapping declined, and the small-scale gold mining all but disappeared. The dramatic rise in the price of foodstuffs and other necessities during World War I aggravated these grim economic developments.

---

<sup>1</sup> James A. Teit, The Thompson Indians of British Columbia, edited by Franz Boas (New York: 1900), passim; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Reserves in the Province of British Columbia," in Schedule of Indian Reserves in the Dominion of Canada (Ottawa: 1943), 49-52.

<sup>2</sup> Canada, Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports (1887) 118, (1892) 239, (1900) 257, (1901) 245.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., (1885) 90, (1888) 108, (1889) 105, (1892) 239, (1893) 229, (1901) 245.

<sup>4</sup> Canada, Department of Fisheries, RG 23 (Public Archives of Canada), "Materials re British Columbia," File 6 (part 8), Cunningham to Found, 18 July 1914; Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 39 (1916), 271.

<sup>5</sup> British Columbia Commissioner of Fisheries, Box 28 (Provincial Archives of British Columbia), Memorandum, Babcock to Sloan, 22 April 1920; British Columbia Commissioner of Fisheries Annual Report (1919) 21, (1921) 65, (1922) 51; Canada, Department of Fisheries Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 39 (1918), 243.

To counteract this situation the Boothroyd Indians attempted to expand agricultural production. In 1910 under pressure from many of the chiefs of the Thompson tribe, the Department of Indian Affairs had appointed Rev. John McDougall to report on the feasibility of adding to Indian Reserve lands within the Railway Belt (which was under Dominion jurisdiction). McDougall recommended a number of additions, many of which were lands that had been allotted by Sproat in 1878 but which had not been officially approved or designated as Indian Reserve. As a result of McDougall's report, six new reserves totalling 1145 acres were added to the Boothroyd Band. Much of this land was rocky hillside, but by 1914 the Boothroyd Indians had two hundred acres on these reserves under cultivation; additional lands were fenced and used for grazing purposes.<sup>6</sup> The two most important of these new reserves, No. 5A and No. 5B, totalled 824 acres. They had an adequate water supply and the Indians began to develop their agricultural potential, erect houses and barns, construct a flume and plant apple trees.<sup>7</sup> By 1915 over two hundred acres on these two reserves were cleared or cultivated and fenced and contained "quite a number of improvements."<sup>8</sup>

These efforts at agricultural development were jeopardized as the reserves became the subject of land dispute between the Boothroyd Indians and a local non-Indian family, the Jamieson's. In 1878 William Jamieson had purchased a Certificate of Improvement to lands that were included in the additions to Nos. 5A and 5B, though no Crown Grant of title was ever issued. In 1915, the Jamieson family hired a Kamloops lawyer, destroyed some of the Indian improvements, and surveyed their claims.<sup>9</sup> Chief Benedict of the Boothroyd Band protested:<sup>10</sup>

...Now I wonder why this white man (Jamieson) had come into the place where I am and put up a tent in the midst of a hay field and make such damage in it and claim that...its his but its mine...so we drove him out of there yesterday and we don't want any white man to come into the Reserves and pick up land for himself any more.

There were charges and countercharges about length of possession and use by the two parties, but the Indian Agent, Harry Graham, strongly recommended that the lands be confirmed as Indian Reserve. Despite the fact that the lands were recorded in Department of Indian Affairs' registers as Indian Reserves, that they had been "especially allotted for the use and occupancy of Indian...of the Boothroyd Tribe," and that the Indians had been told by the Indian Department that the land was theirs, the matter was turned over to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia for adjudication. The Royal Commission deferred to the "findings of the Provincial authorities" (the Lands Department) and eventually the Boothroyd Indians lost 258 acres from Reserve No. 5B, including their improvements and the bulk of the reserve's arable land.<sup>11</sup>

Such issues as these - confrontation over fishing rights, reduction of reserve lands, non-recognition of aboriginal rights to tribal lands outside the reserves, uncertainty of Indian water records and economic hardship - led to the formation of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia (referred to as the 'Indian rights association' in

---

<sup>6</sup> Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10 (Public Archives of Canada), Black Series, Volume 4047, File 357411 (2); Volume 4020, File 280470 (2); Volume 4056, File 386420 (2).

<sup>7</sup> Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Evidence, Lytton Agency, 188-189, 410.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. See also Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Report, Volume II, 452-453, 466-467.

<sup>9</sup> Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 4056, File 386420 (2), Renwick to Department of Indian Affairs, 21 May 1913; Royal Commission to Ashdown H. Green, 27 January 1916.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., enclosure in Graham to Bergeron, 6 April 1915.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Royal Commission to Department of Indian Affairs, 4 March 1915; Royal Commission Report, Volume II, 482, 493, 500.

the following letters) in 1915 at Spence's Bridge - "the storm centre of Indian rights agitation."<sup>12</sup> Indians throughout the province increased their political activity to redress grievances, secure recognition of their rights, and resist the increasing regulation of their communities. This was also the economic and political context of the conflict between the Department of Indian Affairs and Chief Benedict of Boothroyd.

Chief Benedict participated in the formation of the Allied Tribes and was active in attempts between 1910 and 1924 to get Chief Spintlum of Lytton recognized as the chief of the Thompson tribe - a preliminary to the formation of a tribal government. During the dispute with Jamieson he ran a survey crew off the reserve and made statements to the Royal Commission in support of the Band's reserve land applications and the aboriginal land claim. Lytton Agency's H. Graham said of him:<sup>13</sup>

...Chief Benedict has always been a great source of annoyance and trouble as Chief. He was a great believer in the old Indian rights association, always claiming that the whole country belonged to the Indians, and that they did not have to conform to any white laws. For instance, during the registration during the war, he refused to be registered or to allow any of his people to be until I brought him and some of the other leaders before the court...

During the 1921 census Chief Benedict refused to have the members of his Band enumerated because he feared it would lead to wholesale enfranchisement under a 1919 amendment to the Indian Act which gave the Indian Department the power to enfranchise an Indian or group of Indians without consent. This was the final straw for the Department which threatened to remove him from his position in the following exchange of letters.<sup>14</sup>

H. Graham, Indian Agent, Lytton, B.C. to Asst. Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, July 4, 1921.

Chief Benedict of Boothroyd Band, who claims to be the head chief, has been, for a considerable time, giving a great deal of trouble, always refusing to give any information or assisting me in any shape or form. I would like to suggest that the Department write him a very strong letter and tell him straight that this sort of carrying on will not be tolerated, and that he will have to be deposed as chief if he persists in opposing law and order and advise his followers as he has been doing. The lesson that has been taught him being fined in court, and a strong letter from the Department on top may have the desired effect of bringing him to his senses without taking action to depose him.

The principal reason for all this opposition is the Indian Rights association grievances, together with the regulation stopping the Indians from catching salmon....

---

<sup>12</sup> Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 3945, File 121698 - 65, Memorandum, Ainsley Megraw, 28 October 1916.

<sup>13</sup> Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, Central Registry System, Volume 7942, File 32-165, Graham to Asst. Deputy and Secretary, 23 December 1924.

<sup>14</sup> All three letters are from Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 7942, File 32-165.

A.F. MacKenzie, For Asst. Deputy and Secretary, Ottawa to Chief Benedict, Boothroyd Indian Reserve, B.C., July 15, 1921.

The Department has received a report that you were causing much trouble on the Boothroyd Reserve; it is consequently my duty to warn you that such conduct on your part will not be tolerated and should you continue to oppose the law and order or ignore the authority of the Indian Agent, immediate action will be taken by the Department for your deposal from office....

Chief Benedict, Boothroyd Indian Reserve, Keefers, B.C. to A.F. MacKenzie, Sec. Dept. of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, July 26, 1921.

Yours of the 15th Inst...to hand and I herewith beg to state that I am sorry to have you think that I oppose the law and ignore the authority of the Indian Agent. I have tried in my poor ignorant way to show and tell the people who are in Authority that I considered Our Original Rights had been interfered with.

Re: -Census taking: -We thought it was the beginning towards having We Indians Enfranchised: -To which we all strongly object as we think it would not be of any benefit to us.

Re: -Prohibition of Salmon: -As I have stated time and again in my former letter this is very unjust as it has caused a lot of hardships: Our old people are starving and our children are dying of Consumption not having the proper nourishment.

I will just state one case: A widow and child: -The Department gave them from the Relief Fund the sum of \$5.00 per month last year. This spring it was reduced to \$3.50 per month. Just stop and consider the amount of Groceries one can buy with \$3.50 - is it sufficient to support a woman and a growing boy?

Now this (is) the reason that I - The Chief - have always put in an objection to this new law as I have been trying to help my people, whom I consider my children. I am an old man have a family to support besides an older sister and my Father-in-law and I know the hardships we have had to undergo since this new law came into Force. I do not receive any Salary for being Chief of my Band: all that I have done has been to try and help my people and look after their interests in my poor way....

Chief Benedict his  
Mark. X

Relations between the Boothroyd Band and Agent Graham continued to be strained. When Chief Benedict died in 1924, the Department directly intervened to appoint a more compliant successor. The Band held a meeting after Benedict's death and on the suggestion of the Chief's wife and with the approval of most of the Band elected Johnny Andrews, Benedict's son-in-law, as chief. Graham complained to Ottawa that if Andrews were recognized as chief it would weaken the Agent's authority over the Band and would lead to continued conflict over Indian rights. The Department agreed and Graham was ordered to hold a new election over which he was to preside. In January 1925 Graham met with the Boothroyd Band, secured the "election" of John Michell, but cautioned:<sup>15</sup>

...I would like to suggest that Michell be given a trial for one year, as although he is an honest, progressive and law abiding man, yet he...is hardly progressive enough for the times, but rather afraid that he will not be able to enforce his authority

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., Graham to Assts. Deputy and Secretary, 16 February 1925.



sufficiently, as they are a rather hard bunch of Indians to handle, being great supporters of the allied tribes association, and even yesterday this old land question which they are agitating about came up, so under the circumstances, Michell could be tried for a year and if at the end of that time he proved himself capable, he can be permanently appointed...

In an effort to maintain a climate of obedience to the Agent's authority the new chief had to sign a declaration that was gradually becoming standard Department policy and which said in part:<sup>16</sup>

I...do solemnly declare that I will well and truly serve our Sovereign Lord the King, in the office of Chief...without favour or affection, malice, or ill will; that I will strictly obey all the laws and regulations of our Sovereign Lord the King; that I will to the best of my ability endeavour to prevent all contraventions of the said laws and regulations by any member of my band; that I will report all infractions...at the earliest opportunity to the Indian Agent over me; and that I will strive to advance the interests of all the Indians of my band morally and financially, both by precept and example, and generally fulfill all the duties of the office to which I have been elected for an indefinite term, to the best of my skill and knowledge.

That this declaration has been read through to me and explained to me in both the Indian and English languages, and I understand the nature of the said declaration...

This document reveals the Department's view of what constituted the proper role for a Chief of an Indian Band. The Boothroyd incident illustrates the Department's concern, especially in times of political unrest, for the imposition of a structure of community leadership under the control of the Indian Agent. John Michell passed his probationary year and continued to act as chief through to the mid-1930's, but one wonders about the underlying dynamics of the community politics of Boothroyd. The Department of Indian Affairs had imposed a structure, but could it impose the pattern, the style, or the content of Indian leadership as well? Further research in the archival records of the Department combined with oral evidence of the Boothroyd Indians might answer this question.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., "Declaration of Chief or Councillor", 4 March 1925.

\*\*\*\*\*

## "VERY DEAR SOLDIERS" OR "VERY DEAR LABORERS": THE ROYAL ENGINEERS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, APRIL 1860

-----  
Frances Woodward, Map Librarian in the Special Collections Division of UBC Library, has a special interest in the history of the Royal Engineers and recently published an article on the subject in BC Studies, No. 24 (Winter, 1974/75).  
-----

Most people with any knowledge of British Columbia history know the Royal Engineers played an important role in establishing British Columbia as a colony of Great Britain. Some are aware that Governor James Douglas criticized the work of the Engineers, and that Col. R.C. Moody complained of the Governor's treatment of the Engineers. A document\*, recently found in the Colonial Office papers

\*CO 325/48 (photocopy in PABC, GR 319). Permission has been given to publish this document by the Keeper of the Public Record Office and the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

then withdrawn when the S. Lane  
 affair broke out. The affair breaks  
 a military force beyond S. Lane's  
 but feel justified in withdrawing the  
 Express without the substitution  
 of another force which I should  
 like to carry to both sides and  
 Chapin, - but which I see no  
 prospect of obtaining. -

Upon the whole, though I partly  
 regret this heavy expense for little  
 practical benefit I am still glad  
 that you should pay attention to  
 Canada. I will hope that by that  
 time affairs in S. Lane may have  
 taken a more settled position. *V. J.*

I cannot think that it is  
 necessary to maintain them  
 for military purposes, at a  
 time when there is a strong  
 moral force, with numerous  
 or Vancouver etc - which is  
 not at all likely to be soon  
 withdrawn.

(P. 5.)

The principle I entirely agree  
 with the Committee of the S. Lane  
 S. - I have no doubts that the  
 Express in S. Lane are a  
 "Protest" and I was exceedingly

in the Public Record Office, London, shows that Douglas was not the only critic!

James Douglas was governor of the crown colony of Vancouver Island and chief factor for the Hudson's Bay Company lands on the mainland in the Spring of 1858 when the Fraser River gold rush began. By May at least 1500 white miners were at the diggings, and more were arriving daily by whatever means they could find. To maintain law and order and to protect the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, Douglas issued a Proclamation prohibiting all vessels from entering the Fraser River for trade without a license from the Hudson's Bay Company in Victoria. Captain Prevost of HMS Satellite was called upon to enforce the Proclamation. On July 1, 1858 the Secretary of State for the Colonies Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton wrote to Governor Douglas that the Admiralty had instructed the officers commanding vessels at Vancouver Island to help the Governor in any way possible, but to observe caution in employing the crews and Marines on land because of the obvious dangers of desertion. The Royal Engineers attached to the North American Boundary Commission were not to be diverted from that special and international service unless some serious unexpected circumstances should arise. By August, the number of foreign miners on Fraser's River had risen to 10,000. Although the Satellite and Plumper could provide some protection along the coast while carrying out their special surveying duties, no men were available to send to the interior where "even a single company of infantry" would be a help, as Douglas stated in his despatch of 19 August. On July 30, 1858 Lytton sent Douglas a despatch announcing his decision to send Royal Engineers and followed it up the next day with a letter outlining his plans for the colony and the role of the Engineers. Lytton further expanded upon this in a letter of October 16, 1858.

By the summer of 1859 the situation in British Columbia had altered considerably. The mining population, which had spread into the Cariboo, was offset by a growing resident population. Moreover, a visible British authority had been established in a system of gold and land commissioners and magistrates, by the impressive figure of Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie, and the presence in the colony of the Royal Engineers.

The following document is a memorandum compiled for the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies. The first and basic note is by Henry T. Irving, a clerk in the Colonial Office. Irving began in the Colonial Office in 1854, and became private secretary to Sir Frederick Rogers, Permanent Under-Secretary of State, in 1862. Irving's memo, dated 25 April, was sent to his superior, T. Frederick Elliot, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies who, over two months later, sent it with his own comments to Chichester Fortescue, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. Fortescue, a former lord of the Treasury, added his own comments and forwarded everything to Newcastle for a decision. Newcastle postponed a decision until after his visit to Canada, then as his minute indicates, he decided to maintain the status quo, thus giving the Engineers time to accomplish some of their tasks.

#### THE ROYAL ENGINEERS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

April 1860

On the receipt in this Country in the Spring of 1858 of the intelligence of the excitement created by the discoveries of Gold in British Columbia and of the expected influx into the colony of Mining Adventurers from the United States, much uneasiness was felt by Sir Edward Lytton, then Secretary of State, at the absence of any adequate force at the disposal of the colonial authorities for the maintenance of order and the protection of British interests. - The only British naval or military force in the neighbourhood consisted of two of H.M.'s ships - the "Satellite" and "Plumper" engaged in the Survey of Fuca's Straits<sup>1</sup>, and a small force of Royal Engineers under Colonel Hawkins employed in marking the line of the Oregon boundary.

Accordingly one of the first steps taken by Sir E. Lytton was to urge the Admiralty to send a Vessel of War to Vancouver Island and to call the attention of the Secretary of State for War to the necessity of sending some military force to the Colony. Sir E. Lytton at first recommended that 100 or 150 Soldiers of the line should be sent thither, but before any steps were taken for that purpose he came to the decision that Royal

---

<sup>1</sup>The Satellite under Captain James C. Prevost was engaged in surveying the water boundary between the United States and the British colonies extending from Point Roberts to the Pacific Ocean. The Plumper under Captain George Henry Richards was surveying the coast for the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty.

Engineers would be the best troops to Employ, & 150 men of that force were selected & sent out.<sup>2</sup>

This substitution of Engineers for ordinary Soldiers was made not Solely on military grounds, but for practical and scientific purposes. Accordingly in placing these men at the disposal of the Governor the purposes to which they were to be applied were elaborately explained.<sup>3</sup> As Troops, they were to be Employed only in the legitimate functions of a military Force, viz<sup>t</sup>. in the repression of foreign aggression or the occasional support of the civil authority -- They were by no means to be employed as a Police. On the other hand the value of the civil duties which they would be qualified to discharge were described in the various despatches written at the time and in the instructions given to Colonel Moody. The men were to act as Surveyors, Roadmakers and Pioneers. And the cost of the party (with the exception of the Regimental pay which the War Depart. agreed to defray) would reasonably be defrayed by the Colony which would reap the benefit of their labors. The Colonial pay of the men was, therefore, to be made a first charge on the Revenue derived from the Sale of the lands which it would be their province to survey: --And so confidently did Sir E. Lytton rely on the efficiency of the Engineers as Surveyors that he gave Governor Douglas strict injunctions that no Civil Surveyors whatever should be employed in the Colony.<sup>4</sup>

Two Detachments of the Force consisting of 12 and 20 men respectively were sent from England via Panama on the 2<sup>d</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of September 1858: --the main body followed via Cape Horn towards the End of October 1858 -- and Colonel Moody himself left England via Panama on the 1<sup>st</sup> November 1858.<sup>5</sup>

The terms of the agreement made with the officers and men were as follow: the officers were to receive Salaries of Colonial Allowances at the following rates.

|               |      |         |           |
|---------------|------|---------|-----------|
| Colonel Moody |      | £ 1,200 | per annum |
| 3. Captains   | each | 350     | " "       |
| 2. Subalterns | "    | 250     | " "       |
| 1. Surgeon    | "    | 250     | " "       |

The men were to receive various rates of working pay varying from a Minimum of 1/ to a Maximum of 5/ a day per man.<sup>6</sup>

The following are the terms of the Engagement made with Colonel Moody personally -- "It is agreed that you shall remain in the Colony one year from the date of your arrival, and that you will not quit it unless you are satisfied that the officer you leave in charge is fully competent to the work before him and that the public service is not prejudiced by your return to England. Should you desire to stay longer for the execution of works in which you are actively engaged, and to which you consider your presence essential, you will communicate the wish to Her Majestys Government."<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Rt. Hon. Sir E.B. Lytton to Governor James Douglas, 20 July 1858, Despatch no. 5 in Papers Relative to the Affairs of British Columbia, Part I (London, 1859), p.44. Hereafter cited as B.C. Papers.

<sup>3</sup> Lytton to Douglas, 21 July 1858, Despatch no. 6, B.C. Papers, Pt. I, p.45; 16 October 1858, Despatch no. 30, B.C. Papers, p.69.

<sup>4</sup> Lytton to Douglas, 17 October 1858, Despatch no. 31, B.C. Papers, Pt. I, p.71.

<sup>5</sup> Captain H.S. Parsons and twenty men (chiefly surveyors) left Southampton 3 September 1858, and arrived in Victoria 29 October. Captain J.M. Grant and twelve men (chiefly carpenters) left 17 September and arrived in Victoria 8 November. Captain H.R. Luard with the main party on the Thames City sailed from Gravesend 10 October 1858 and arrived at Esquimalt 12 April 1859. Colonel R.C. Moody and his family sailed from Liverpool 30 October 1858, travelled via Panama, and arrived in Victoria 25 December 1858.

<sup>6</sup> Enclosures 4 and 5 in Despatch no. 16, Lytton to Douglas, 2 September 1858, B.C. Papers, p.54, 55.

<sup>7</sup> H. Merivale, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Col. Moody, 23 August 1858, Enclosure no. 3 in Despatch no. 17, B.C. Papers, p.56.

No official application has been received from Colonel Moody, under the terms of this engagement, to prolong his stay in the Colony, nor has any intimation been received of his intention to return to England.

Colonel Moody received from the War Department a Warrant as officer Commanding the Troops in British Columbia and Vancouver Island of which I annex a copy.<sup>8</sup>

With the other officers no engagement was made as to the length of their employment - One of the Subalterns, having obtained his promotion, has recently, on the consent [sic] recommendation of this War [sic] office, been recalled by the War Department.<sup>9</sup>

To the men, a promise was made of grants of land not exceeding 30 acres after 6 years continuous & faithful service -- on a tenure of residence & military service if called upon. The promise is explained in a letter to Colonel Moody of 1 Sept. 1858 at Page 61 of P.P. Part 1 on B. Columbia.<sup>10</sup>

The annual cost of the Colonial Pay of the party is Estimated at £11,000.<sup>11</sup> Their Commissariat [sic] expenses, probably, are as much more -

The outlay incurred by H.M.'s Government in starting the expedition i.e. for stores, transport, expenses in the Colony &c. may be stated roughly at £40,000.<sup>12</sup>

Should any question be raised of dispensing with the services of these Royal Engineers as an embodied force, there appear to be three points to be considered,--

- 1<sup>st</sup> How far the Government is pledged by engagements entered into with the Men.
- 2<sup>d</sup>. How far the circumstances of the Colony at the present date necessitate the maintenance of the force as Soldiers.
- 3<sup>d</sup>. How far the result of their civil labors is an equivalent for the cost of them.

1. With respect to the first point it will be seen above that the only promise given by the Government which bears upon the duration of the Employment of the men is, that in the event of their serving for 6 years they are to receive certain grants of land. The gov<sup>t</sup>. does not appear to be bound to keep the force in B. Columbia on Colonial pay, or indeed to retain it in the Colony at all, for any specified time, though disappointment might be occasioned if the term of their Colonial Service were curtailed. (On this point vide private letter from Col. Moody, suggesting that 50 of the men should be withdrawn.)<sup>13</sup>

2. There is probably little likelihood of the force being required to repel any Foreign aggression, and as they are not employed as a Police in the Colony, the support which they afford to Governor Douglas is merely the moral support of their presence in

---

<sup>8</sup> Lytton to Douglas, 2 September 1858, Despatch no. 11, B.C. Papers, Pt. I, p.50.

<sup>9</sup> Reg. 25 Jan. 1860, No. 822, 25 Jan.: Removal of Captain Lempriere - Encs. letter from Horse Guards approving the suggestion of recalling Captain Lempriere in consequence of his promotion & of not appointing another subaltern to succeed him. Index to British Columbia correspondence, CO 338/2.

<sup>10</sup> Earl of Carnarvon, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Col. Moody, 1 September 1858, Enclosure in Despatch no. 21, Lytton to Douglas, 2 September 1858, B.C. Papers, Pt. I, P.61.

<sup>11</sup> Merivale to Moody, 23 August 1858, Enclosure no. 5 in Despatch no. 16, Lytton to Douglas, 2 September 1858, B.C. Papers, Pt. I, p.55.

<sup>12</sup> Partial account dated 22 January 1859, Enclosure no. 2 in Despatch no 20, Carnarvon to Douglas, 11 April 1859, B.C. Papers, Pt. II, p. 84.

<sup>13</sup> This letter from Moody has not been located.

the Colony. They might be equally afforded were they disbanded and located on grants of land on Condition of military service. Circumstances too have materially changed since 1858.

British rule has been asserted and recognized in the Territory and a civil Government established which has hitherto been respected & obeyed. A resident Population of about 6000 or 7000 persons is Established in the Colony which would naturally aid in maintaining order amongst the migratory adventurers from the the States. And it is to be borne in mind that whereas in 1858 there were only 2 Surveying Ships on the Station there is now a considerable naval force at Vancouver Island which in the event of the necessity arising could land a large Force of Marines in the Colony.<sup>14</sup>

3. With respect to the value of the work done by the Engineers in their civil capacity it will be necessary to refer to the recent despatches from Governor Douglas. (I am not able to place these herewith as they are with the Printer) These afford Evidence that the attempt to combine civil & military duties has not been Successful. The Governor shews that a large proportion of the Men are rendered unavailable for Surveying by the necessity of maintaining military discipline, guards &c. --And that the amount of work done is insignificant. I believe there has been no Survey of Country lands accomplished as yet, and that the only reproductive works which the Engineers have achieved is the Laying out of town sites.<sup>15</sup> Before their arrival however Governor Douglas had succeeded (in Nov- 58) with the aid of Mr. Pemberton in laying out the site of the Town of Langley, the sale of the lots bringing in a sum of £13,000, and I believe that both the opinions expressed by Governor Douglas and the facts of the case lead to the conclusion that the labor of the Engineers as Surveyors is neither economical nor adapted to a country where rapidity of work is the chief requirement.

Henry T. Irving  
25 April

Seen F R[ogers]

Vancouver & B. Columbia.

Mr. Fortescue

I have long had on my mind the Corps of Sappers in British Columbia, and wished that I could offer some suggestion about them, with which I could feel satisfied, for the Duke of Newcastle's consideration. With this I forward a useful Memo: prepared by Mr. H. Irving showing under what circumstances they went out and with what expectations. Their cost, you will see, is estimated at no less that £22,000 per annum. They are undoubtedly very dear Soldiers; I cannot help thinking it probably that they are also dear laborers, -- or what comes to the same thing, that they perform a kind of work, with a degree of perfection, not called for in the rough beginning of a new Colony. --<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> The Tribune and Pylades arrived at Esquimalt in February 1859, the former bringing 139 Royal Marines to aid the civil power in British Columbia. The gunboats Forward and Grappler sailed from England in August 1859 but did not reach Esquimalt until 12 July 1860.

<sup>15</sup> Douglas considered that "the opening of roads through the mountainous districts of British Columbia into the interior is now the object which has the strongest claim upon our attention," as he stated in his Despatch no. 18 to Lytton, 4 July 1859, (B.C. Papers, Pt. III, p.29).

<sup>16</sup> A similar criticism was made in 1779 by Lt. Col. Charles Vallancey, Director of Engineers, in his "An Essay on Military Surveys accompanied with Military Itineraries". The Royal Engineers' emphasis on mathematical exactness along with the Ordnance Survey training in attention to details, meant that the work of the Corps, while excellent, was far too slow for the needs of the colony. Due to the nature of the terrain and the high cost of civilian labour, the Engineers' work was further delayed by their having to act as labourers and clear routes before surveying could progress.

In a private letter of 21 June 1859 placed herewith, Colonel Moody himself seemed to entertain the opinion that probably all, and certainly a large portion, of the Corps had better be removed. I have seen a later letter in which on the contrary he rather dwells on their advantages as laborers, but admits that it must be a question whether this Country can afford an annual gift of £22,000 in order to give the Colony the benefit of such workmen.<sup>17</sup>

If the case rested simply there, I should have felt no doubt that the best course would be to break up the force, -- offering a liberal encouragement to all who would elect to remain in the Colony as Settlers.<sup>18</sup> But the present may hardly be deemed a moment to make any ostensible reduction of Troops in this quarter without furnishing others in their stead, and I suppose that it will be very difficult to supply any other kind of soldiers in so small a number. This might be inquired into, if wished, personally at the War Office.

Whatever else be done however, I cannot but think that Colonel Moody himself and any other of the officers who can be spared from the strict Military duty, had better be brought away without delay. There is really no proper work for Colonel Moody at £1200 a year; his position is not a well defined one, and is therefore neither good for himself nor favorable to harmonious action on the spot.

With this I place two letters of Colonel Moody's which waited for some time to see whether we should hear from the Governor about them.<sup>19</sup> In the first (dated 17 Nov.) he forwards a scheme of a Frontier Military Settlement. I have seen many such schemes tried in the last 30 years, and never successfully: in the present quarter of the Globe what we seem to require is force near the Capital rather than on the border. I do not think therefore that it is worth while to send this out to the Governor for report.

Still less should I be inclined to send the second letter dated the 31<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>, showing that Colonel Moody had felt some uneasiness at not being consulted in the conferences which passed between General Scott<sup>20</sup> and the Governor. I think that it will be better to let the Subject drop.

T.F.E. 30 June

Duke of Newcastle

From all we know of the Engineers & of what they have done, and not done, & from all the information I can obtain -- I have no doubt that they are an extravagant failure. The greater part of their time -- when not taken up by the requirements of military ~~due~~ [sic] discipline, has been spent in laying out Town Sites of very doubtful utility, & preparing their own quarters at New Westminster. They have done nothing in the way of laying out country lands & very little in the way of road making.<sup>21</sup> They are hardly to be blamed for this -- the fact being, I believe, that they are above their work,<sup>16</sup> & unfit for the rough process of cutting roads through the forest & c - wh. the miners' & backwoodsmen can do infinitely better. Add to this, that [they] are not a ~~Police~~

---

<sup>17</sup> Moody's letters have not been identified.

<sup>18</sup> The San Juan Boundary Dispute began in August 1859.

<sup>19</sup> Moody's letters have not been located.

<sup>20</sup> General Winfield Scott replaced Brigadier-General W.S. Harney in the Pacific Northwest as Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Army, instructed to effect a joint military occupation of San Juan until the boundary question was settled. As Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, Colonel Moody should have been included in any military conference.

<sup>21</sup> This is rather an unfair criticism, and contradicts Douglas' own despatches as printed in the B.C. Papers. Also Douglas' priorities (see note 15) would appear to conflict with those of the Colonial Office whose emphasis is on surveying country lands, the revenue from which was to provide the colonial pay for the Royal Engineers. See Lytton to Douglas, 2 September 1858, Despatch no. 17, B.C. Papers, Pt. I, p.56.

Police force, & do not pretend to act as such.--<sup>22</sup> I feel myself no doubt that the best thing that could be done would be to recall Col. Moody & the Sappers -- leaving perhaps a very few as superintendents of civilian labourers, -- & giving all the option of taking their discharge in the Colony & receiving grants of land. I cannot think that it is necessary to maintain them for military purposes, at a time when there is a strong naval force, with marines, at Vancouver Id. -- which is not at all likely to be soon withdrawn.

C.F. 5 [July]

In principle I entirely agree with the minutes of Mr. E. & Mr. F. -- I have no doubt that the Engineers in B. Columbia are a "Mistake" and I was meditating their withdrawal when the S: Juan affair broke out. This affair renders a Military force Necessary & I should not feel justified in withdrawing the Engineers without the substitution of another force which I admit might easily be both better and cheaper, -- but which I see no prospect of obtaining. --

Upon the whole, though I greatly deprecate this heavy expense for little practical result I fear it must stand over till my return from Canada.<sup>23</sup> I will hope that by that time affairs in S: Juan may have taken a more settled position.<sup>24</sup>

N: 7 [July].

<sup>22</sup> Lytton to Douglas, 31 July 1858, Despatch no. 6, B.C. Papers, Pt. I, p.45.

<sup>23</sup> Henry Pelham Pelham-Clinton, 5th Duke of Newcastle, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, accompanied the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States, July to November 1860.

<sup>24</sup> The San Juan Dispute was not settled until the Treaty of Washington in 1871, and the Kaiser's award of arbitration in 1872.

\*\*\*\*\*

### OLD TRAILS AND ROUTES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

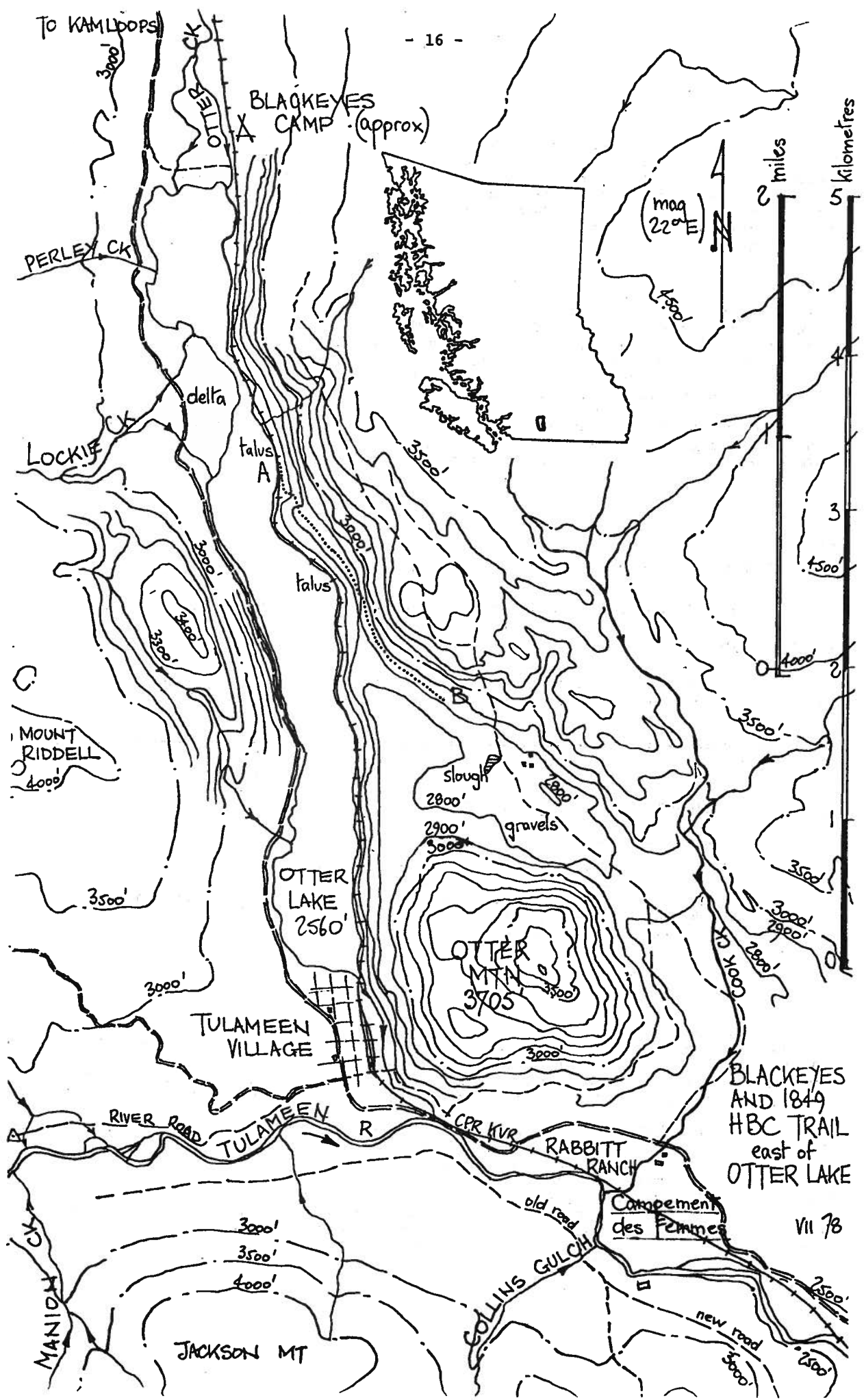
-----  
This report on Blackeye's and the 1849 HBC trail by R.C. Harris is the first of what we hope will be a regular feature of the News. Mr. Harris has combined extensive research into primary source material in various archives with regular field investigations, as his first report illustrates.  
-----

### BLACKEYE'S AND 1849 HBC TRAIL

Alexander Caulfield Anderson, on his summer 1846 exploration for a trade route to Kamloops, met Indian chief Blackeyes near Otter Flats (Tulameen). Blackeyes advised Anderson to use the Indian trail over the Tulameen Plateau and down Collins Gulch; thence presumably via what became Campement des Femmes, and east of Otter Mountain through the broad abandoned gravel channel to the east side of Otter Lake, half-way up.

Here, one Sunday morning, 16 July 1978, near point B (see map) a party of four (Hatfield, Barr, Hughes, Harris) worked north along the benches at about 2800' elevation or 200 to 250' above the lake. We found several remains, including some braided ones, of the old trail. Most convincing were the sections over the talus where rocks had been moved and levelled to make the trail. We had previously noticed this part on the talus from the highway opposite, on the west shore of the lake. The trail descends gradually from bench to bench going north, then makes a steeper descent down the draw near A to the lowest bench near the CPR track. At the north end of this lowest bench





the trail runs on to heavy talus, and can be clearly seen as a constructed grade until it is cut off by the converging railway. We did not search for it along the railway north of A. Nor have we examined the West face of Otter Mountain for trails.

A study of contemporary maps shows that in about 1859 or 1860, the trail must have been relocated up the west side of Otter Lake. Palmer's map of his reconnaissance to Fort Colville (1859) shows what may be the start of this relocation, a tentative spur, as well as the complete trail up the east side.

The trail from Tulameen Plateau, over Hamilton Hill and down the right bank of Cedar (Manion) Creek may date from this period. Eventually, a trail seems to have been built up every tributary of the Tulameen River on to the Tulameen Plateau.

The country east of Otter Lake is dry and gravelly, a pleasant ponderosa pine parkland.

Eden Colville gives a description of travel over the HBC trail in his letter dated 15 October 1849 from Fort Victoria to Sir J.H. Pelly, London, England.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> E.E. Rich, London Correspondence Inward from Eden Colville, 1849-1852 (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), 3-4.

\*\*\*\*\*

### CAPTAIN COOK COMES TO CAMPBELL RIVER

In June of this year the Campbell River Museum acquired a second edition (1785) of Captain James Cook's A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. The three volumes were purchased with funds generously allotted by the Campbell River Cook Bicentennial Committee. The acquisition is particularly appropriate for the Campbell River Museum as it is the museum closest to Nootka Sound and has in its collection artifacts of the West Coast Peoples. Several years ago Tahsis Company donated to this Museum a first edition (1784) of the Folio Atlas of charts and plates, and with the addition of the volumes of text the Museum now has a complete record of Cook's third voyage to the Pacific. The eighty-one plates include a "Variety of Portraits of Persons, Views of Places, and Historical Representations of Remarkable Incidents, drawn by Mr. WEBBER during the Voyage, and engraved by the most eminent Artists".

Jim Thomas is currently the Area Librarian at the Campbell River branch of the Vancouver Island Regional Library. Mr. Thomas earned a B.A. in History at the University of Virginia and a Master of Library Studies at the University of Hawaii. He is Chairperson of the Building and Publications Committees of the Campbell River & District Historical Society. Mr. Thomas who operates his own 6 x 10 inch platen press, is currently printing the section of Archibald Menzies' journals dealing with Discovery Passage. He is also directing the reprinting of the Historical Society's booklet A Voyage of Discovery by Captain George Vancouver. The booklet is available from the Campbell River and District Historical Society, 1235 Island Highway, Campbell River, V9W 2C7.

Ruth Barnett

-----  
The following article by Jim Thomas appeared in The Campbell River Courier on August 25, 1978 and is reprinted with permission.  
-----

### MUSEUM DISPLAYS RARE COOK JOURNALS

In three great world-circling voyages between 1768 and 1779, the son of a Yorkshire farm hand added immeasurably to human knowledge.

He charted 2,000 miles of Australia's east coast, including most of the Great Barrier Reef, and 2,000 miles of the coast of Northwest America, from Oregon to the Bering Sea.

He discovered Hawaii and Christmas Island, and charted and named the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and South Georgia. He penetrated Antarctica as far south as 71 degrees, 10 minutes and the Arctic as far north as 70 degrees, 44 minutes.

He circumnavigated Antarctica and New Zealand, both for the first time. He proved the non-existence of the legendary Terra Australis Incognita and did much to disprove the existence of a practical Northwest Passage.

He was foremost in his time in applying then current knowledge to preserving the health of his crews. During the first voyage, of nearly three year's duration, not a single life was lost to scurvy - a truly astonishing event.

He was the best navigator of his age, using some of the first chronometers purchased by the Royal Navy, supplemented by celestial and lunar observations.

The publication of the official and unofficial accounts of James Cook's voyages were "great events in the history of Pacific exploration." They were also vastly popular events, perhaps because, to express it in McLuhanian terms, print was the only medium there was.

The three official accounts of the voyages were a joint publishing venture of the Admiralty, the editors, and commercial bookseller-publishers. The completeness and primacy of the official accounts were ensured by the simple expedient of impounding all the written logs and journals kept by any of the officers or crew.

An Account of the Voyage Undertaken...for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere...was the record of the first voyage, 1766-1771 and was published in 1773. It was written by Dr. John Hawkesworth and based, somewhat loosely as it turned out, on the journals of Cook and of his officers Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and that of Joseph Banks, the expedition's naturalist.

On the subject of this book's accuracy, perhaps it is enough to say that Cook described himself as "mortified" by it and James Boswell is supposed to have said, "Why, Sir Hawkesworth has used your narrative as a London tavernkeeper does wine. He has brewed it."

Hawkesworth was paid 6,075 pounds for his trouble, a sum that compares very well to that all four officers were paid for their three years of hard and dangerous work. Fortunately, the explorers, or at least their heirs, were given a better deal on the second and third voyages.

In May of 1777 was published A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World ...which covered the second, 1772-1774, voyage. This was written by Cook himself during the late winter and the spring of 1776 while at his home at Mile End. Cook's unique spelling and syntax were given a bit of polish by Dr. John Douglas, Canon of Windsor.

It is the third voyage, of course, that is of most interest to us. Enroute from Hawaii to search for the Northwest Passage, Cook made his first landfall on March 7, 1778, at about 45 degrees North, which would be near Tillamook Bay, Wash.

After some three weeks of hard westerly gales, one of which forced him to head out to sea and as far south as the California border, Cook finally approached land again on March 29. This was at Nootka Sound, and the Resolution and Discovery anchored at Ship Cove on March 31. This was later renamed Resolution Cove, and the island it is on was later named after the Resolution's master, one William Bligh, whose name is familiar in another context.

The ships remained at the Cove until April 26, as the Resolution was badly in need of a refit. The timbers supporting her fore topmast were sprung, and it was later found that the foremast itself was damaged, owing to poorly done repairs in England.

During a storm on April 8, the mizzen mast also gave way. Another had to be cut in the forest and hauled to the ship. After considerable work was done on it, it was found to have been damaged in the felling. There was then nothing to do but repeat the process. The second mast was completed on April 21.

After these tribulations, Cook was no doubt glad to see the last of Nootka. It is ironic that it was the same foremast of the Resolution that caused Cook 10 months later to turn back and make his last, fatal stop at Kealahukua Bay on the Island of Hawaii.

Most of the crew's time at Ship Cove was spent in taking in fresh water, cutting firewood, brewing spruce beer as a scurvy preventative, and of course trading with the Indians.

It was here that the English first encountered the luxurious fur of the sea otter. Hardly a bit of brass was left in the ships by the time they left, said Cook, "except what was in the necessary instruments. Whole suits of cloaths were striped of every button, Bureaus &ca of their furniture and Copper kettles, Tin canisters, Candle sticks, &ca all went to wreck; so that these people got a greater middly and variety of things from us than any other people we had visited."

Cook went to Friendly Cove, the site of the nearest large village, for two brief visits. The first was on April 20, on his trip around Bligh Island by ship's boat. The second was on April 22 to gather fodder for the livestock.

It was also on the April 20 boat trip that Cook set foot for the only time on Vancouver Island, at a point where Indian Reserve 15 is now located. He stayed only a few minutes owing to the hostility of the residents of the village. It does not really matter that he thought this was the mainland of North America and not an Island.

The account of this eventful - and tragic - third voyage was published as A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, Undertaken by Command of His Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere...

The book was published in June, 1784, by the London booksellers G. Nicol and T. Cadell, who were also publishing Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire at this time.

The first two volumes were edited from Cook's journals by Dr. Douglas, by now Bishop of Salisbury. The third volume was written by James King, who ended the voyage in command of the Discovery.

This first edition sold for 4½ guineas (perhaps \$100 in terms of today's buying power) and was out of print within three days. The income from the sales was divided between the Cook family and the other officers or their heirs. Second and third English editions appeared the following year.

Whether Cook's shade was mortified by the book is a question. Certain it is that his acerbic comments regarding the quality of the ship's stores and spare parts he was provided were deleted on instructions of Hugh Palliser, Comptroller of the Navy Board - his letter to Dr. Douglas is now in the British Museum.

Palliser was mortified by Cook's statement that naval stores were never "of equal goodness" with those used in the merchant service, and that rigging purchased with the Resolution outlasted Navy cordage added later. He also claimed that some of her original blocks were salvaged after the second voyage by the boatswain and used on the third, after the Navy blocks wore out.

It is difficult to imagine the impact that Cook's voyages had on his time, and the popular interest the published accounts of them generated.

The story is told that Marie Antoinette read them during her imprisonment - a French translation was published for the third voyage in 1785. Before the end of the 18th Century, it also appeared in Dutch, Russian, German, Swedish, and Italian.

\*\*\*\*\*

## NEWS FROM THE BRANCHES

THE MAPLE RIDGE AND PITT MEADOWS HISTORICAL SOCIETY has had a busy summer. With the assistance of a Canada Works Grant, they hired four university students to conduct a survey of historic sites and buildings in Maple Ridge. The students surveyed, photographed, and recorded about 120 sites. At the Haney cemetery, the survey team photographed each grave, prepared maps showing their location, and copied inscriptions from tombstones. In the course of their work, the students confirmed much of the research previously done by the University Women's Club and other local historians but also found dating errors in some land registry records. The Historical Society is very pleased with the results of the project and is willing to give practical advice, based on its experience, to any branch contemplating such an inventory of historic buildings.

Has any branch had experience with the threatened destruction of a heritage area? The Maple Ridge and Pitt Meadows Historical Society would appreciate any suggestions on coping with such a problem. The provincial Highways Department is proposing to build a by-pass to take through traffic away from downtown Haney. A proposed River Road route would seriously affect Haney's most important historical area.

-----

THE GOLDEN & DISTRICT HISTORICAL SOCIETY has had a number of interesting speakers at its recent monthly meetings. Among the topics covered were the Mounted Police, the Doukhobors in the West Kootenay, "Golden Before 1910", and archaeological "digs". The Society spent one fascinating evening seated comfortably in a circle mixing humour and history as they told of how they happened to come to Golden in the first place.

In November 1977 the Society placed a worker in the Museum as part of a Community Resources Canada Works project. This worker undertook several projects including research on local churches and biographies of pioneer families.

The Society has agreed in principle to become part of an "East Kootenay Historical Society" under the leadership of Winnifred Weir of Invermere.

-----

THE NANAIMO HISTORICAL SOCIETY celebrated the beginning of its Silver Jubilee year in September with a talk by Mrs. Flora McGirr who recalled stories of Nanaimo's old hotels. Mrs. McGirr, now in her nineties, is one of the Society's oldest members. Among those joining in Nanaimo's twenty-fifth anniversary was B.C. Historical Association president, Helen Akrigg.

Last spring, the Society devoted several meetings to local history. In April, Cuthbert Brown presented an illustrated address on the old coal mines of the area. In May, Frank Minifie spoke on the history of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway and various E & N memorabilia was displayed. The June field trip took the form of an excursion on the E & N from Nanaimo's heritage station to Courtenay where members had lunch and visited the museum. Even though many members had feared their excursion was a farewell trip, they now hope that the summer's full passenger loads may encourage the railway to change its mind about discontinuing passenger service.

The Society regrets to report the deaths of immediate past president Bill Ince and of long-time member, Mrs. Clovis Walley.

## BULLETIN BOARD

### AWARDS FOR HISTORY

National and provincial honour has come to Simon Fraser University historians for their books on British Columbia history. At the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association in June, Robin Fisher received the Sir John A. Macdonald prize of \$5,000 cash and a medal for his book Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977). [Reviewed in the News, vol. 10 (June 1977), pp.11-12.] The Macdonald Prize is awarded jointly by the Manufacturers Life Insurance Company and the Canadian Historical Association for the book "judged to have made the most significant contribution to an understanding of the Canadian past in a given year." Earlier in the spring, Douglas Cole and Maria Tippett received the Eaton's British Columbia Book Award for their study of the changing perceptions of artists to the British Columbia landscape, From Desolation to Splendour (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1976). The Eaton's award of \$1,000 is used to purchase copies of the prize winning book for distribution to British Columbia schools.

\*\*\*\*\*

The 1977 University of British Columbia medal for Canadian Biography has been awarded to David R. Williams, Q.C. of Duncan, B.C. for "The Man for a New Country": Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie (Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing, 1977). [Reviewed in the News, Vol. 10 (June 1977), pp. 14-15.] This is the second time a book published by Gray's has won this medal. In 1970, the medal was awarded to William Rodney for Kootenai Brown.

\*\*\*\*\*

### THE BCHQ

The index to the British Columbia Historical Quarterly, reviewed in the April-June 1978 issue, may be obtained for \$4.50 from the Camosun College Bookstore, 1950 Lansdowne Road, Victoria, B.C. V8P 5J2

\*\*\*\*\*

### THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Canadian Historical Association welcomes new members. The basic membership fee of \$12.00 per year (there are special rates for students and for professional historians) includes the Annual Report of the Association, a selection of papers presented at its annual meeting; copies of the Association's booklets on various aspects of Canadian history, and the quarterly Newsletter. Members of the Canadian Historical Association are also eligible for special subscription rates on such journals as the Canadian Historical Review, Social History, Labour/Le Travailleur, and the Urban History Review. For further information, contact Patricia Roy, Department of History, University of Victoria, P.O. Box 1738, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y2 or send your cheque and letter of application direct to the Treasurer, Canadian Historical Association, c/o Public Archives of Canada, 395 Wellington Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0N3.

\*\*\*\*\*

### ETHNIC STUDIES

The most recent issue of Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes Ethniques au Canada included an article "A Home for Free Germans in the Wilderness of Canada: The Sudenten German Settlers of Tupper Creek, B.C." by B.C. Gow. Subscriptions to this journal (\$15.00 per year for individuals) may be obtained from Canadian Ethnic Studies, The University of Calgary, 2920 - 24 Avenue, N.W., Calgary, Alberta, T2N 1N4. Subscriptions include a quarterly newsletter and membership in the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association. Individual issues of the journal may be obtained for \$5.00.

\*\*\*\*\*

## GENEALOGY CONFERENCE

Members of the Association who are interested in genealogy, family history, demographic studies, royalty and heraldry may wish to learn more about The World Conference on Records to be held August 12-15, 1980 at Salt Lake City, Utah. For additional information write to the Genealogical Society of Utah, 50 East North Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, 84150, U.S.A.

\*\*\*\*\*

## WAR MEMORIALS

An Ontario researcher has inquired if any members of the B.C. Historical Association can provide information about war memorials. He writes: "Until now no one has ever looked at war monuments as a group of objects and examined their history, meaning and style. Many are in poor condition and are not taken very seriously by my generation. There are fewer and fewer people left who remember anything of their building. For those reasons I have undertaken the researching and writing of a book about these important parts of our heritage. Any information, background material or pictures of war memorials that anyone could send to me would be very much appreciated." If you can help, please write Robert Shipley, 1417 Base Line Road W., London, Ontario, N6K 2E9.

\*\*\*\*\*

## DIRECTORY ASSISTANCE

Persons interested in writing history, or tracing their family histories, eventually find they need to write repositories in various parts of the country which might contain archival materials relating to their research interests.

The Association of Canadian Archivists' Directory of Canadian Records and Manuscript Repositories is a most useful handbook, listing 300 repositories with their address, telephone numbers, hours of operation, and a brief description of the nature of their holdings. The directory costs \$3.00 for ACA members, \$4.00 for non-members. Cheques payable to the Association of Canadian Archivists should be mailed to Jean Dryden, ACA Treasurer, 12845 - 102 Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta, T5N 0M6.

\*\*\*\*\*

## BIENVENUE

La Societe Historique Franco-Colombienne is the newest affiliated member of the B.C.H.A. Their president is Ms. Anna Beaulieu, 1204 Burnaby Street, Vancouver, B.C., V6G 1X3.

\*\*\*\*\*

## HERITAGE WEST

The editors recently received a copy of Heritage West, an interesting newsletter produced by the British Columbia and Yukon Regional Council of Heritage Canada. Individuals may obtain a year's subscription (four issues) by sending \$2.00 to Heritage West, 1111 West 7th Avenue, Vancouver, B.C., V6H 1B5.

\*\*\*\*\*

A POSSIBLE PROGRAMME?

The Heritage Conservation Branch of the Ministry of Recreation and Conservation has recently produced a 20 minute British Columbia Heritage film "Here Today". Further information may be obtained by writing to the Heritage Conservation Branch, Ministry of Recreation and Conservation, Victoria, B.C., V8V 1X4

\*\*\*\*\*

GOLDEN POSTCARDS

The Golden and District Historical Society has just produced a set of eight different postcards bearing pictures from the Society's archives. The postcards may be obtained for \$1.00 per set (plus postage) from the Golden Historical Society, P.O. Box 992, Golden, B.C., V0A 1H0.

\*\*\*\*\*

HASLAM HALL - Ave Atque Vale: A Postscript

Pamela Mar reports that Haslam Hall was razed to the ground this summer. The future of the site is not yet certain. Nanaimo, however, still has its oldest building, the Bastion which was 125 years old this summer.

\*\*\*\*\*

BOOK REVIEWS

NORTHERN VAGABOND: THE LIFE AND CAREER OF J.B. TYRRELL. Alex Inglis. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977. Pp. 256, illus., \$14.95.

Joseph Burr Tyrrell won wide acclaim for geological exploration and gold mining in Canada. His accomplishments and longevity reflect unusual physical and mental vitality. He shares a worthy place in the Hall of Fame with distinguished contemporaries such as G.M. Dawson, William Ogilvie, R.B. McConnell, A.R.C. Selwyn and A.P. Low.

Tyrrell first came to my notice some years ago for collecting, compiling, and editing the original edition of David Thompson's classic Narrative published by the Champlian Society in 1916. Having used and verified the remarkable accuracy and extent of Thompson's mapping in his own work, Tyrrell rescued Thompson from oblivion, and put him in his rightful place as explorer, surveyor, and observer without equal in Canadian history. For this alone all Canadians owe a debt of gratitude to Tyrrell. Later, I learned briefly of Tyrrell's own exploration in the Barren Lands west of Hudson Bay and am now thankful to Alex Inglis for providing this comprehensive and exciting account of Tyrrell's life.

Joseph Tyrrell was born 1 November 1858 at Weston, Canada West and died 26 August 1957 in Toronto, some two months short of his ninety-ninth birthday. His life thus spanned the remarkable transition from the primitive, typified by horse and buggy travel, to the modern sophistication of the jet age. His father, William, "Squire of Weston", was of a distinguished, proud and ancient Irish family; his mother, Elizabeth Burr, was a staunch Methodist of United Empire Loyalist stock. After his early education in Weston and at Upper Canada College, Joseph obtained his B.A. degree with options in the natural sciences at the University of Toronto in 1880.

After a short apprenticeship in law, Tyrrell joined the Canadian Geological Survey in Ottawa as a Clerk, 3rd Class at \$500 per annum. It was propitious that young Tyrrell was assigned to help J.F. Whiteaves, paleontologist, identifying specimens in the Survey's museum. During his eighteen years with the Survey, Tyrrell's stature as an explorer and geologist was developed and firmly established. "Walk with the wise



and ye become wise" is an appropriate dictum in his case. He was fortunate to be tutored in field methods and basic geology by Dawson and in report writing by Selwyn. As well, he associated with other eminent members of the Survey. He was able and ready to exploit these advantages as well as lucky breaks and influence but his accomplishments were offset by growing frustration and petty departmental jealousies in which the directors themselves, Selwyn and Dawson, were susceptible. Tyrrell's paper on "Glaciation in North Central Canada," read to the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Toronto in 1897, suggested ice flows had radiated from centres of glacial accumulation such as Keewatin, the area south of Hudson Bay, and the Cordillera. This now generally accepted theory supported and amplified the ideas of Louis Agassiz and defied the orthodox views of G.M. Dawson and his father, Sir John W. Dawson.

In Northern Vagabond, Inglis leads off with what he evidently considers Tyrrell's cause celebre, the first Barren Lands exploration in 1893. This expedition was indeed an epic in grim but determined and intelligent survival against starvation, the awful rigours of climate, and the hazards of dangerous environment. In the Klondike interlude, Inglis gives yet another interesting and informative insight into that much storied drama from the perspective of Tyrrell's personality and aims. Smitten by acute and chronic "gold fever" in 1898, Tyrrell's sojourn in the Yukon (1899-1905) as consultant and mine operator, widened his knowledge of gold occurrence and mining, and provided valuable experience in its relevant business and financial aspects. This was to pay off in his association with the Kirkland Lake Gold Mines which dominated the remainder of his life and brought pecuniary reward for his skill and determination in finding and recovering the regal metal. The chapter on the Kirkland Lake Gold Mines, however, is probably more interesting to the mining fraternity than to the lay reader.

Throughout the book, Inglis's frank remarks on Tyrrell's vanities and cupidities enhance the portrayal of a remarkable but nevertheless human individual. Other celebrities in the dramatis personae are not spared. I was especially interested in this aspect because of the traditionally impeccable images of Selwyn and Dawson. Mysterious delays in the publication of Tyrrell's reports and maps and abortive promises of promotion aggravate some scepticism about the impartiality of both directors. A short but thoughtful "Epilogue" offers the author's ideas of the "measure of a man's life." I suppose only Saint Peter has a complete ledger of each man's debits and credits. So, who is to judge?

An earlier major biography of Tyrrell, A Canadian Geologist by W.J. Loudon (Toronto: Macmillan, 1930) was equally worthy within its scope. It offers interesting additional material, especially in its Appendix and copious Notes. However, this book, published some twenty-seven years before Tyrrell's death, is appropriately restrained and offers less detail on the Kirkland Lake Gold Mines. A short but creditable treatment of Tyrrell appears in Geologists and Prospectors by Margaret Mason (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1958). Several interesting and laudatory comments on Tyrrell's discovery and editing of David Thompson's Narrative are given by Victor G. Hopwood in David Thompson, Travels (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971).

Inglis's volume has some problems. He seems to entertain a phobia for specific dates. Neither the generous number of photographs (I count 26) nor four one-page maps are indexed so the pages must be thumbed to find them. Two interesting maps - sample sections of the Barren Lands expeditions, 1893-1894 - are reduced beyond legibility. The sketch map of Dalton's Trail is welcome but unique. The addition of one or two key maps of Tyrrell's major routes would save the reader from delving into his own, sometimes inadequate, collection of maps to understand the geography which is so important to the story. All of the photographs (uncoloured) are interesting and pertinent but, printed on book stock with the text, suffer somewhat in quality. Several have appeared previously in the Geological Survey and other publications.

The choice of "Vagabond" in the title offends my sensibilities a bit; it is hardly appropriate for a man of Tyrrell's stature as an intrepid, deliberate, and highly competent traveller-explorer. The "punch line" on the dust cover, "The Man Who Conquered the North" is a little presumptuous. Tyrrell's major explorations in the Barren lands crossed those of Samuel Hearne, 1770-1772; were flanked on the north by that of Captain Sir George Back, 1834; and on the south, by David Thompson's journeys, 1792-1796. Tyrrell was A Man Who Conquered the North. I appreciate that perhaps these criticisms and complaints about typographical errors should be directed to the publisher and not to the author. Despite these flaws, doing this review has been a rewarding preoccupation and I am gratified to add Alex Inglis' Northern Vagabond to my modest but reassured collection of Canadiana.

G.S. Andrews

Lt.-Col. Andrews, a member of the Victoria Branch, was formerly Chief Surveyor of the Province of British Columbia. He wrote this review at his summer home in Atlin, B.C.

\*\*\*\*\*

ALASKA VOYAGE, 1881-1883: AN EXPEDITION TO THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA FROM THE GERMAN TEXT OF ADRIAN WOLDT. Johan Adrian Jacobsen. Translated by Erna Gunther. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977. Pp. Xii, 226, illus., maps, \$17.50.

Johan Adrian Jacobsen was a young Norwegian who worked for Carl Hagenbeck, a Frank Buck "bring-'em-back-alive" zoological garden owner in Hamburg. Trained by Hagenbeck in collecting, Jacobsen was seconded to Adolph Bastien of the Berlin Museum for Ethnology to collect ethnographic objects on the northwest Pacific coast. Jacobsen spent two and a half years away, gathering a magnificent collection in British Columbia and Alaska. He came back to British Columbia, via Siberia, in 1884-1885 and joined his brother B. Phillip. The two brothers returned to Germany with another collection and the nine Bella Coolas who were to be Franz Boas' introduction to the living Northwest Coast.

Dr. Erna Gunther has taken the 1884 German text of Adrian Woldt's Captain Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Americas, 1881-1883 and turned it into an English language Alaskan Voyage, 1881-1883 (78 of the 212 pages are about British Columbia). She provides the slightest of introductions to the book and its authors. Her use of German there -- the misspelling of Volkerkunde for Völkerkunde and the amusing Uhrgeschichte (clock history) for Urgeschichte (prehistory) -- make one suspicious of the translation -- rightly as it turns out. There are few notes and, though Dr. Gunther seems punctilious about geographic place names, she misses some familiar ones -- e.g. Blankenship for Blenkinsop.

Dr. Gunther's preface needs some correction. A significant part of the so-called Umlauff collection ended up in the Field Chicago Museum after display by Hagenbeck and Jacobsen at the 1893 Chicago Fair. The Bella Coolas were abroad thirteen months, not two years. There is nothing strange about Jacobsen requiring Woldt as "ghost writer." Jacobsen was an unschooled Norwegian: his writing, as one Berliner wrote, needed to be made "hochdeutsch und menschlich." What ever happened to Jacobsen? Gunther does not tell us (except for a death date of 1947 in the cataloguing data). We know he made a collecting trip to south Asia and was at the Chicago Fair. His brother Phillip, who returned with the Berlin Bella Coolas, stayed in British Columbia as a pioneer of the Bella Coola region (see Cliff Kopas, Bella Coola, ch. 9) and a part-time collector until his death in 1935.

Dr. Gunther's translation is "condensed to some extent." In fact, it is compressed sometimes to distortion. Certainly there is a loss of a good deal of the original colour of expression and the compression forces mistranslation, some of them seriously misleading. The picture captions are more Gunther than Woldt/Jacobsen. The excellent maps of the 1884 edition are replaced by two of Alaska only. Gunther's book is an inferior yarn under a misleading title; scholars will best retreat to the original edition while regretting the lost opportunity of possessing a good English edition.

Douglas L. Cole

Douglas Cole, the chairman of the Department of History at Simon Fraser University, is especially interested in the cultural history of British Columbia. With Maria Tipsett, he wrote the recently published From Desolation to Splendour.

\*\*\*\*\*

REFORMERS, REBELS, AND REVOLUTIONARIES: THE WESTERN CANADIAN RADICAL MOVEMENT, 1899-1919. A Ross McCormack. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977. Pp. xx, 228, illus., \$15.95 (cloth, \$4.95 (paper)).

In this outgrowth of his doctoral dissertation, Ross McCormack has examined a previously neglected aspect of Western Canada's "roots", the origins and extent of

labour radicalism, 1899-1919. The book recalls a period when many Canadians considered economic growth to be an absolute good and self-made men such as the Dunsmuirs ruled their mines and railways in a fashion worthy of any feudal autocrat. Although the National Policy of tariff protection and large-scale immigration to the West generally satisfied central Canadian trade unionists by promoting eastern industries and insuring a demand for their skills, Western workers objected to immigration programmes designed to serve the demands of the capitalist labour market. With a large pool of workers, employers could hire and fire as economic conditions dictated. Under these circumstances, the working and living conditions of men engaged in mining, logging, and railway construction were deplorable. Living conditions in some urban environments such as Winnipeg's north end produced typhoid epidemics and an extremely high infant mortality rate. McCormack deals with the reaction of immigrant industrial pioneers to the closed, polarized societies of mining communities and western cities and their attempts to improve their lot.

Three groups of radicals -- rebels, revolutionaries, and reformers -- achieved varying degrees of success depending upon the political realities of their particular geographical area. The rebels, militant industrial unionists, attracted low-status workers in isolated construction, logging and mining camps. During industrial crises workers also perceived a need for more militant organizations. Rebels favoured direct action such as general strikes rather than political action. The Marxist revolutionaries or socialists, drew support from British Columbia and Alberta miners and low status workers of Eastern European origin. Through the Socialist Party of Canada, they propagated a highly unusual form of North American socialism known as Impossibilism. They denied the utility of economic action through trade unions, rejected reforms as counter-revolutionary, and relied on political action as the only viable tactic available to the working class to destroy capitalism and the wage system. The reformers or labourites gained significant strength in Winnipeg and, to a lesser extent, in other prairie urban centres. Under the influence of European social democracy and the social gospel of Salem Bland they established a tradition of working class political action. Reformers addressed such immediate issues as unsafe factories, long hours, and extortionate municipal utility franchises. The three groups competed for the workers' allegiance. At different times and different places one group won ascendancy over its rivals but none could establish western hegemony prior to 1919 and the culmination of the radical movement, the Winnipeg General Strike.

The book includes much of interest to British Columbians. McCormack argues that only an open alliance of the state, employers, and conservative craft unionists could beat the crippling strike of two to three thousand workers under the militant socialist leadership of the American-based Western Federation of Miners and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees in 1903. By 1912, another American organization, the Industrial Workers of the World -- referred to in the B.C. Lumberman as "I.W. on't W. ork neither must you" -- consisted mainly of unskilled itinerant loggers, harvesters, longshoremen, and railway construction workers. It had twelve locals from Winnipeg to Victoria and had some five thousand members including nearly forty per cent of the railway construction workers. With a Marxist and pragmatic syndicalist doctrine, it appealed to workers who saw mass action as a means of enforcing conventional union demands against unusually strong opposition. The rebels and revolutionaries who squabbled internally found their brand of socialism and militant unionism to be inappropriate to political realities in prairie cities. In British Columbia, however, they gained influence in the B.C. Federation of Labour and the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council.

At the Western Labour Conference at Calgary in March 1919 western workers expressed their anger, frustration and bitterness. Militant industrial unionism triumphed and the British Columbia revolutionaries, Bill Pritchard, Victor Midgley and Joe Naylor were among those given the responsibility of establishing the One Big Union. Although the OBU was not directly connected with the Winnipeg General Strike, both the OBU and the general and sympathetic strikes were manifestations of a single pattern of militancy stimulated by the Russian Revolution and wartime discontent resulting from a decline in real wages and resentment over conscription and the treatment of conscientious objectors.

One hopes McCormack's work will encourage other studies of the Western Canadian radical movement. Certain major strikes deserve further investigation. The records of the Rossland and Sandon Miners' Unions (held in the University of British Columbia Library), for example, raise questions about McCormack's suggestion that the full resources of the Western Federation of Miners were thrown into the complicated Rossland Strike of

- AFFLECK, Edward L. Kootenay Lake Chronicles. (Kootenays in Retrospect, V.4) Vancouver, Alexander Nicolls Press, 1978. 202 p. ill. \$8.50. ISBN 0-920034-01-2.
- CRAIG, Andy. Trucking: B.C.'s trucking history. (Resource series.) Saanichton, Hancock House, 1977. 224 p., ill, \$17.95. ISBN 0-010654-88-6.
- CZOLOWSKI, Ted. British Columbia: western splendour. North Vancouver, Xanadu Publications, 1977. 128 p., ill.
- ELLIOTT, Gordon R. Barkerville, Quesnel and the Cariboo gold rush [reprint with minor revisions...] North Vancouver, Douglas and McIntyre, 1978. 184 p., ill. \$5.95. ISBN 0-88894-179-x pa.
- GREEN, John. Sasquatch. Saanichton, Hancock House, 1978. + 468 p., ill. \$14.95. ISBN 0-88839-018-1.
- HILL, Beth. The remarkable world of Frances Barkley, 1769-1845. Sidney, Gray's Publishing, 1978. 224 p., ill. \$12.95.
- KILLIAN, Crawford. Go do some great thing. North Vancouver, Douglas and McIntyre, 1978. 188 p., ill. \$12.95. ISBN 0-88894-180-3.
- MCDONALD, Jim. Hot Springs of Western Canada: a complete guide; with Donna Pollock, Bob McDermot. Vancouver, Labrador Tea Company, 1978. xiv, 162 p., ill. \$10.00.
- NORTH ENDERBY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. In the shadow of the cliff: a history of North Enderby; [compiled by] North Enderby Historical Society, funded by the New Horizons Program... Enderby, North Enderby Historical Society, 1976. x, 207 p., ill. \$5.00. ISBN 0-919213-19-7.
- ROBINSON, Henry Martin. The remarkable activities of the gentlemen adventurers of the great Hudson's Bay Company during the years 1670-1879; with an introduction by Phillip Metcalf. (Publication no. 6.) Ashland, Oregon Book Society [1977] 58 [3] p., ill.
- SELMAN, Gordon R. Adult education in Vancouver before 1914. Vancouver, Centre for Continuing Education, University of British Columbia, 1975. 67 p.
- STURGIS, William. The journal of William Sturgis; edited with an introduction and notes by S.W. Jackman. Victoria, Sono Nis Press, 1978. 136 p., ill. \$5.95. ISBN 0-91962-54-5.
- VAUGHAN, Thomas, and others. Voyages of enlightenment: Malaspina on the Northwest Coast 1791/1792; [by] Thomas Vaughan, E.A.P. Crownhart-Vaughan, [and] Mercedes Palau de Iglesias. Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1977. viii, 61 p., ill. ISBN 87595-058-2.
- WILSON, Brian K'lakokum [a photographic history of Winfield, Okanagan Centre and Oyama] Kelowna, Win Valley Crafters, 1976. 60 p., ill. \$3.00

#### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

- BRITISH COLUMBIA, PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, Aural History. Nu'tka. Captain Cook and Spanish explorers on the coast; edited by Barbara S. Efrat and W.J. Langlois. (Sound Heritage, v.7, no. 1.) Victoria, 1978. 101 p., ill. \$2.50.
- , ---, ---. Toil and peaceful life: portraits of Doukhobors; compiled and translated by Marjorie Malhoff and Peter Ogloff. (Sound Heritage, v. 6, no. 4.) Victoria, 1977. 78 p., ill.
- CANADA, MINISTRY OF INDIAN AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS, Parks Canada, Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks. Snow war: a guide to the history of Rogers Pass. Ottawa, 1977. 12 p., ill. INA Pub. No. QS W082-000-EE-A1.

---, MUSEUM OF MAN. Archaeology and ethnohistory in the Arrow Lakes; by Christopher J. Turnbull. (Mercury series, V. 65.) Ottawa, 1977. vii, 320 p., ill.

---, NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF CANADA. The Greeks of Vancouver: a study in the preservation of ethnicity; by James G. Patterson. (Canadian Centre for Folklore Studies paper no. 18.) Ottawa, 1976. 155 p.

GREAT BRITAIN, NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM. The opening of the Pacific -- image and reality; papers read at a symposium held at the National Maritime Museum, London, with the help of the Society for Nautical Research, on 7 November 1970... (Maritime Monographs and reports, no. 2.) Greenwich, 1971. 27 p., ill.

\*\*\*\*\*

## LATE NEWS

### PRESIDENTIAL LETTER

The publication of the British Columbia Historical News is the single most important activity of the British Columbia Historical Association. For ten years Philip and Anne Yandle had not only edited but typed and mimeographed the News on a volunteer basis, with the BCHA paying only for the paper used and other small incidental expenses.

When the Yandles felt unable to continue their herculean effort, the BCHA had to find not only an editor but also the funds needed to pay the printing and other costs. We were most fortunate to have Patricia Roy of the University of Victoria and Kent Haworth of the Provincial Archives volunteer to undertake the editorial duties. The problem of finance remained and at the annual general meeting last April the treasurer gave a very gloomy picture indeed.

Now I am happy to report that there is room for optimism. Last spring I started in motion applications to both the Koerner Foundation and the Hamber Foundation, asking for grants to enable the BCHA to continue the publication of the News while we sought to improve our financial situation. I wish to acknowledge publicly the receipt of \$750.00 from each of these Foundations. These, however, are one-time grants to tide us over. The British Columbia government has also given us a grant of \$1500.00 to assist us with our activities. The B.C. Historical Association is very grateful for all this help. We, on our part, have raised our dues from \$1 to \$2.

With this additional funding we are going ahead with plans to improve even further the contents and printing of the BC Historical News and to set up an efficient mailing system with copies going directly to subscribers - a step I am sure society secretaries will applaud.

Helen B. Akrigg, President  
B.C. Historical Association.

\*\*\*\*\*

### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

The council met in Victoria on 24 September 1978 to discuss several items of business. In answer to questions about branch registration under the Societies Act of B.C., it was pointed out that registration was not part of BCHA membership requirements but the Association did encourage branches to register.

J. McCook was appointed to draw up a brochure summarizing the Association's objectives, and providing interested persons or institutions with an application form for membership. Suggestions for a cover design would be welcomed by Mr. McCook (c/o the Victoria Branch) from member societies.

Zone representation for BCHA is a concept being considered by the six East Kootenay branches of the Association. Winnifred Weir reported on the advantage such representation would have for individual branches in the East Kootenay. Mr. McCook suggested that the concept might be applied to the Okanagan region.

The next Council meeting will be held in Nanaimo on Sunday, 19 November 1978. Council members requesting billeting or transportation should contact B. Stannard.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

The following amendments to the Association's By-Laws have been proposed and will be voted on by the membership at its next annual meeting:

##### BY-LAW 15 Annual General Meeting

Delete the following "The Annual General Meeting shall be held in the month of May"

In place add the following "An Annual General Meeting shall be held at least once in every calendar year and not more than fifteen months after the holding of the last preceding Annual General Meeting."

##### BY-LAW 27

Add the following at the end of the present BY-LAW

"and amendment to BY-LAW 15 and amended BY-LAW 27 which are effective as of  
" " May, 1979."

\*\*\*\*\*

#### DIARY NOTES

The B.C. Historical Association Annual Convention will be held in Nanaimo from Thursday, May 10 to Sunday, May 13, 1979. Programme details and accommodation arrangements will be announced in the February News.