Published by the British Columbia Historical Federation

$3.50

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL NEWS

Volume 19 No. 2
1986

Admiral Sir George Henry Richards

On the cover:
George Henry Richards had a colorful career in the Royal Navy, and made an important contribution to the history of colonial British Columbia. Story starts on page 5. (PABC photo)

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★★★★★★★★★★★★

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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL NEWS

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Second-class mail registration number 4447.

Published fall, winter, spring, and summer by the British Columbia Historical Federation, P.O. Box 35326, Station E, Vancouver, B.C. V6M 4G5. Our Charitable Donations number is 0404681-52-27. Printed by Dynaprint, Victoria, B.C.

Manuscripts and correspondence for the editor are to be addressed to 1745 Taylor St., Victoria, B.C. V8R 3E8. Send all other correspondence, including changes of address, to the Vancouver address given above.

Subscriptions: Institutional $16.00 per year; Individual (non-members) $8.00 per year.

The B.C. Historical Federation gratefully acknowledges the financial assistance of the British Columbia Heritage Trust.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Could any members provide me with the following copies of the *B.C. Historical News:*
Vol. 1 No. 1 (Nov. 1967)
Vol. 1 No. 2 (Feb. 1968)
Vol. 4 No. 3 (Apr. 1971)
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Vol. 15 No. 1 (Nov. 1981)

Thank you.

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Deadline for Next Issue
March 1, 1986

The next issue of the *B.C. Historical News* will have a Vancouver Centennial theme. Please submit articles to guest editor Esther Birney, 1240 Shorepine Walk, Vancouver, V6H 3T8.

GOOD BYE

Unfortunately, all good things must come to an end. I have enjoyed immensely my thirty-two months as Editor of the *B.C. Historical News* because of the unfailing support received from members of the Council of the B.C. Historical Federation, and from subscribers to the *News.*

I am especially indebted to Past Presidents Barbara Stannard and Ruth Barnett for giving me a unique opportunity to work and learn, and tc Patricia Roy for her important contribution as Book Editor and proof reader *par excellence.* The staff at Dynagraphics, Victoria, deserve a special thanks for their patience and efficiency in typesetting, photography and printing.

The next issue of the *News* will have a Vancouver Centennial theme, and will be produced by guest editor Esther Birney. This should be an issue to treasure.

Best wishes to you all.

—Marie Elliott

Alec McEwen

A Guardian of the Boundary

Rising prominently from a cliff top at Tsawwassen Beach, Point Roberts, about twenty miles south of Vancouver, a massive stone obelisk marks the place where the Canada/United States land boundary strikes the coast. Officially known as Monument No. 1 on the 49th Parallel,[1] it is by far the largest of the more than 8,000 pillars and other physical objects that define the border between the two countries.

The section of the boundary from the Rocky Mountains through the straits of Georgia and Juan de Fuca into the Pacific Ocean was established by the Oregon Treaty of 1846.[2] But the task of identifying the actual line on the ground did not begin until more than a decade later when two separate boundary commissions were created: one to determine the position of the water boundary and the other to mark the 49th parallel over land.

Three water boundary commissioners were appointed in 1857: Archibald Campbell for the United States, and two naval captains, James Charles Prevost and George Henry Richards, who represented Britain. Because of disputed claims of ownership to San Juan and neighbouring islands, the commissioners were unable to come to a decision.[3] The location of the boundary was eventually settled by bilateral agreement in 1873,[4] following arbitration by Emperor William I of Germany.[5]

Between the years 1858-62, a second commission undertook the surveying, mapping and marking of the 49th parallel. Archibald Campbell was again chosen as United States Commissioner and his British counterpart was Lt.-Col. John Summerfield Hawkins of the Royal Engineers. The commissioners and their staff located the parallel of latitude on the ground by taking astronomical observations, and the boundary was then marked at intervals of a mile or more by iron posts or stone cairns.[6]

The Boundary Obelisk at Point Roberts

In April 1861 Hawkins reported that he had reached agreement with his colleague Campbell, and also with Richards of the water boundary commission, that a stone obelisk should be built at the western terminus of the 49th parallel on Point Roberts, since this was the common starting point for the land and the water boundaries. In his view:

> *while a larger mark can give no greater significance to the spot on which it stands unless there were a special agreement to that effect, as the coast of Point Roberts ... is undoubtedly the most prominent point, it is quite consistent that the most prominent beacon should be placed upon it...* [7]

Accordingly, Hawkins informed Lord Russell, the British foreign secretary, in October of his intention to erect the obelisk, 20 feet high, which he regarded as being "of comparatively small size for the purpose intended, having been so designed solely on the ground of economy.[8] The estimated cost was £1500, "a sum probably representing from twice to three and four times that for which it might be performed in most other parts of the world."[9]

A contract to build the obelisk was awarded to E. Brown of New Westminster.[10] Made of solid cut granite, with a total weight of about 40 tons, the monument was formed by blocks weighing from one to two-and-a-quarter tons each. This material was transported to the western shore of Point Roberts by British gunboat and then hauled to the top of the cliff, 160 feet high, by a specially-built wooden tramway.[11] The cost of $7,590.38, very close to Hawkin's estimate, was shared equally by both governments.[12]

The monument itself stands just over 19 feet above the ground, with a base about nine feet square and a tapered shaft that averages about three feet in width. It bears the following inscriptions, cut in large letters in the granite:

North face	Capt. J.C. Prevost, R.N. Capt. G.H. Richards, R.N. Lt.-Col. J.S. Hawkins, R.E. H.B.Ms. Commssrs.
East face	Lat. 49°0′ 0″ Long. 123°3′53″ Erected 1861
South face	Archibald Campbell U.S. Commssr.
West face	Treaty of Washington June 15th, 1846

Hawkins, possibly with tongue in cheek, suggested to London that the "substantial though small obelisk ... will I doubt not endure as long as any political significance attaches importance or necessity to its preservation."[13] It is interesting to note that although the monument does not say specifically that it marks a boundary, nor does it identify the two countries concerned, the commissioners made sure that their own names were perpetuated on it. This practice, uncommon but not unprecedented on the Canada/United States boundary demarcation, has been perhaps aptly characterized as "monumental egotism".[14]

All four men whose names are commemorated on the obelisk went on to enjoy illustrious careers. Campbell was appointed the United States member of the commission of 1872-76 that surveyed the remainder of the 49th parallel boundary from Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains.[15] Prevost continued as an adviser on the San Juan water boundary question and subsequently retired with the rank of admiral.[16] Richards, who also became an admiral, was appointed hydrographer to the British navy and was later knighted.[17] Hawkins, who declined the offer of appointment as British commissioner on the eastern section of the 49th parallel survey, was promoted to general and also received a knighthood.[18]

Royal Engineers' Museum

General Sir John Summerfield Hawkins (1816-1895)

In his final report to London in 1869, Hawkins recommended the preservation of the boundary marks that the commissioners had "laid down at such large cost of time, labour and money", and he particularly urged the maintenance of the obelisk at Point Roberts.[19] The care of the entire Canada/United States boundary passed in 1908[20] to a new International Boundary Commission, now a permanent treaty organization.[21]

It is formally accepted by both governments[22] that the true boundary line passes through the centre of the obelisk, even though the monument actually lies about 800 feet north of the theoretical parallel of 49 degrees north latitude.[23] This apparent loss of Canadian territory gives rise to occasional complaints that because the monument is incorrectly placed it should be moved southward to its proper position. But the monument itself represents the actual boundary, regardless of its departure from the geographical parallel of latitude that it is intended to mark. The positional difference is not attributable to careless survey work. It results from the limitations of nineteenth century technology, and also from inevitable discrepancies caused by the initial adoption of astronomic, rather than geodetic, coordinates, and the effect of gravity anomalies.[24]

On the British Columbia side Monument No. 1 stands on a municipal lane that adjoins the rear limit of private residential property, while its Washington portion is also on public land. The obelisk does not belong to any private owner, nor to any provincial, state or municipal authority. It is jointly owned by Canada and the United States, as represented by the International Boundary Commission which alone is responsible for maintaining the structure. In 1960, for example, field employees of the commission cleaned the granite surface by sandblasting,[25] and the monument was given a further facelift in 1976 when it was sprayed using a high-pressure water jet technique.[26]

The obelisk, like all other monuments that mark or define the international boundary, receives some protection against wilful damage or disturbance under a provision of the *International Boundary Commission Act*, enacted in 1960, which imposes a fine of $500 and/or imprisonment for six months upon any person convicted of causing such injury.[27]

In 1961 the Province of British Columbia and the State of Washington jointly celebrated the centenary of the completion of the western portion of the 49th parallel boundary survey. This event, organized by the Provincial Archivist and the Washington State Historical Society, took place at Point Roberts on July 30. It included a meeting addressed by prominent speakers from both countries, an exchange of flags, symphonic band music and a barbecue. Because of the historical importance and imposing presence of the granite obelisk, it was considered most fitting to hold the festivities in the vicinity of the monument itself.[28]

A further indication of the pride taken by local residents in the care and upkeep of their boundary monument appeared in a recent issue of a Point Roberts newspaper. Lamenting the growth of weeds and vines that had sprung up around the obelisk and turned it into "profanation of history", the editor called for volunteers to form a combined Canadian-United States team to clear away the unwanted vegetation.[29]

Today, 124 years after it was built, Monument No. 1 not only separates Canada from the United States, it serves also as a proud reminder of the attainment of territorial growth and stability through peaceful agreement between the two neighbours. It is part of the heritage of both nations, an artifact to be admired and preserved as a guardian of the boundary.

Notes

1. International Boundary Commission, (a) *Joint report upon the survey and demarcation of the boundary between the United States and Canada from the Gulf of Georgia to the northwesternmost point of Lake of the Woods*, Washington, D.C., 1937, pp. 205, 272. (b) Official Maps, *Sheet No. 1*, 1913.
2. Treaty of Washington, June 15, 1846, *Treaties and agreements affecting Canada, in force between His Majesty and the United States of America, with subsidiary documents*, 1814-1925, King's Printer, Ottawa, 1927, pp. 28-29.
3. This dispute and its eventual settlement are discussed fully in James O. McCabe, *The San Juan Water Boundary Question*, University of Toronto Press, 1964.
4. Protocol of Agreement, Washington, March 10, 1873, *Treaties and agreements, op. cit.*, p. 50.
5. Award of the Emperor of Germany, October 21, 1872, *Treaties and agreements, op cit.*, p. 49.
6. [Otto Klotz (ed.)], *Certain correspondence of the Foreign Office and of the Hudson's Bay Company copied from original documents, London 1898*, Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa, 1899, containing *Foreign Office correspondence, International Boundary, 49th Parallel, British Columbia, Part III 1858-1864, Part IV 1869-1870.* The Commission's final report dated May 7, 1869 is given in Part IV, pp. 6-14. Neither the British nor the United States governments had published an official report of the Commission's work and the information was considered lost until its chance discovery in London in 1898; see O. Klotz, "The History of the forty-ninth parallel survey west of the Rocky Mountains", *The Geographical Review*, vol. 3, no. 5, May 1917, pp. 384-385.
7. *Ibid., Part III*, p. 58.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Kathleen Weeks, "Monuments mark this boundary", *Canadian Geographical Journal*, vol. 31, no. 3, September 1945, p. 132.
11. *Certain correspondence, op. cit., Part III*, p. 65.
12. Marcus Baker, *Survey of the northwestern boundary of the United States, 1857-1861*, Geological Survey Bulletin No. 174, Washington, D.C., 1900, p. 19.
13. *Certain correspondence, op. cit., Part III*, p. 72.
14. John W. Davis, "The unguarded boundary", *The Geographical Review*, vol. 12, no. 4, October 1922, p. 600.
15. Biography: *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, New York, 1901, vol. 7, p. 47; G.W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the officers and graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y.*, 3rd edn, Cambridge, 1891, vol. 1, pp. 610-611.
16. Biography: Gerald Prevost, *Admiral James Charles Prevost in British Columbia*, unpublished private circulation, Vancouver, 1977; F. Boase, *Modern English Biography*, London, 1965, vol. 2, col. 1633; W.R. O'Byrne, *A Naval Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1849, p. 925.
17. Biography: L.S. Dawson, *Memoirs of Hydrography*, Henry W. Keay, Eastbourne, 1885, Part II, pp. 134-155; Boase, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, cols. 138-139.
18. Biography: *The Royal Engineers Journal*, March 1, 1895, pp. 56-58; Boase, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, cols. 609-610.
19. *Certain correspondence, op. cit.*, Part IV, p. 6.

20. Treaty of Washington, February 24, 1925, *Treaties and agreements, op. cit.*, pp. 299-310.
21. Treaty of Washington, February 24, 1925, *Treaties and agreements, op. cit.*, pp. 515-519.
22. Treaty of Washington, April 11, 1908, Article VII.
23. The present official latitude of the monument is 49°00'08".027. This value will change as a result of a forthcoming readjustment of the North American Datum.
24. A.C. McEwen, "The Boundaries of Canada", *Terravue*, Autumn 1982, p. 33.
25. International Boundary Commission, *Annual Report for 1960*, p. 41.
26. International Boundary Commission, *Annual Report for 1976*, pp. 54-55.
27. *Revised Statutes of Canada, 1970*, chapter I-19, section 8.
28. Harriet Seely, "Boundary Centennial Celebration", *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, vol. 53, no. 1, January 1962, p. 33.
29. *The All Point Bulletin*, August 1985, p. 4.

Alec McEwen is a member of the International Boundary Commission.

Don't let your subscription expire.
Check your address label for date of renewal.

John Spittle

First Fire Insurance Plan of Vancouver

To commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of incorporation of the city of Vancouver, the Map Society of British Columbia and the Canadian Northern Shield Insurance Company have collaborated in publishing a facsimile of the city's first fire plan from an original print in Special Collections, University of British Columbia Library.

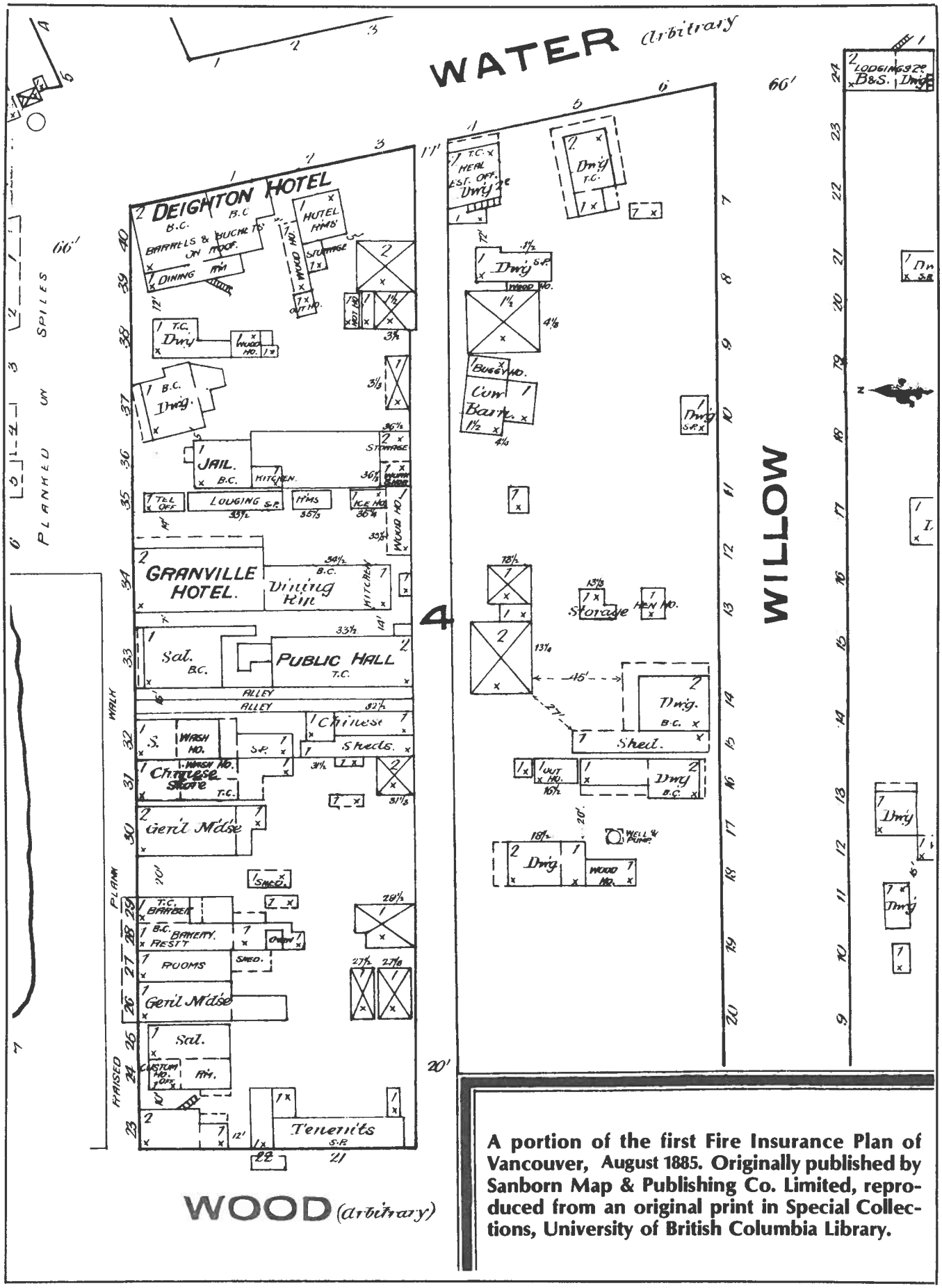
FIRE INSURANCE PLANS

Ever since the Babylonians recorded cadastral surveys on clay for taxation purposes over four thousand years ago specialized mapping has played an essential role in civilized society. Insurance companies began making their own Fire Insurance Plans of British cities in the early eighteenth century to enable underwriters to assess risk and establish premium and introduced them into North America around 1808. By 1876 the systematic surveying and mapping of municipalities had become almost entirely turned over to bureaux which printed and distributed plans to subscribing companies. Dominating the field were the Chas. E. Goad Company in Canada and the D.A. Sanborn Map and Publishing Company in the United States. Sanborn surveyed a number of Canadian cities before selling out his Canadian stock to Goad.

The first Fire Insurance Plans of British Columbia towns—Granville, Victoria, New Westminster, Nanaimo and Yale—were published by Sanborn in 1885. Today, they provide a unique and fascinating record of the social and economic activity of the period.

GRANVILLE

When Edward Stamp built a sawmill (later to become the Hastings Mill) on the south shore of Burrard Inlet in 1865 (at the foot of today's Dunlevy Street) one "Gassy Jack" Deighton, recognizing the needs of millhands and visiting sailors, opened up shop nearby with a barrel of whiskey. The settlement which arose around his establishment soon became known as "Gastown". In 1870, presumably to add an air of



A portion of the first Fire Insurance Plan of Vancouver, August 1885. Originally published by Sanborn Map & Publishing Co. Limited, reproduced from an original print in Special Collections, University of British Columbia Library.

respectability, the community was officially named Granville after Britain's Colonial Secretary, surveyed and subdivided into lots for sale. "Gassy Jack" purchased Lot 1, Block 2 for $67.50 on which he build Deighton House.

Another early arrival, Joseph Spratt, established Coal Harbour Fishery (just west of the present Marine Building at the foot of Burrard Street). His floating cannery, a 140-foot-long barge, was known by locals as "Spratt's Ark". Spratt's practice of fishing for herring with sticks of dynamite eventually resulted in their total elimination from the harbour.

By 1885, aside from its two industries (Individual Risk Plans of which are inset on Sanborn's sheet), the townsite was limited to the block bounded by Front, Water, Willow and Wood Streets (Today's Water, Carrall, Cordova and Abbott Streets respectively). It boasted a population of 300. "Gassy Jack" had died a decade earlier but Deighton House still flourished along with two other hotels. Almost all the buildings were of frame construction with shake roofs and fire fighting facilities could only be regarded as minimal. It is difficult to imagine any application for fire insurance being accepted with any degree of enthusiasm by an underwriter. Following the Fire of 1886 it was reported that "only a few of the buildings were insured and those for only a fraction of their value".

VANCOUVER

Before the end of 1885 rumour of a plan to relocate the western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway at Granville precipitated a boom in real estate. Neither William Van Horne's abandonment of Port Moody nor his choice of name for the new city was greeted enthusiastically by everyone. Nevertheless, on 6 April 1886 the Lieutenant-Governor gave royal assent to the incorporation of the City of Vancouver and notice of the first civic election was nailed to the maple tree on Water Street in front of Deighton House.

Within eight months of Sanborn's survey it is estimated that there were 1,000 buildings occupied or under construction and that the population had risen to 3,000.

THE FIRE

On the afternoon of Sunday June 13, 1886 at a site being cleared on False Creek for the CPR roundhouse, a slash fire was burning. Fanned by a sudden change in wind it quickly grew out of control. Within less than half an hour Vancouver was reduced to ashes. Only the Mill, Fishery and the new Regina Hotel on Water Street were spared, with many of the survivors having time only to take to the waters of Burrard Inlet and the safety of boats. Others were not so fortunate.

Building a new city began immediately. The first authorization of council was a civic loan for fire-fighting equipment and the construction of a fire hall. Three years later, in 1889, the second Fire Insurance Plan of Vancouver, which now ran to twenty sheets, reflected improved fire-fighting facilities and construction practices which without doubt enabled underwriters to sleep better at nights.

Copies of the map may be obtained from:
Map Society of British Columbia,
P.O. Box 301, Station A,
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2M7

Cost: $3 per map plus $1 postage and handling.

The Society can arrange to have maps hand-coloured according to the original for a nominal charge.

Initial response has been so good that the fire plan map for Kamloops (1887) will be available early in 1986.

Scholarship Fund

Help us establish a scholarship for a 4th year student taking a major or honors course in Canadian history at a B.C. University. All donations are tax deductible. Please send your cheque today to:

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James Patrick Regan

Hudson's Bay Company Lands and Colonial Surveyors on Vancouver Island, 1842-1858

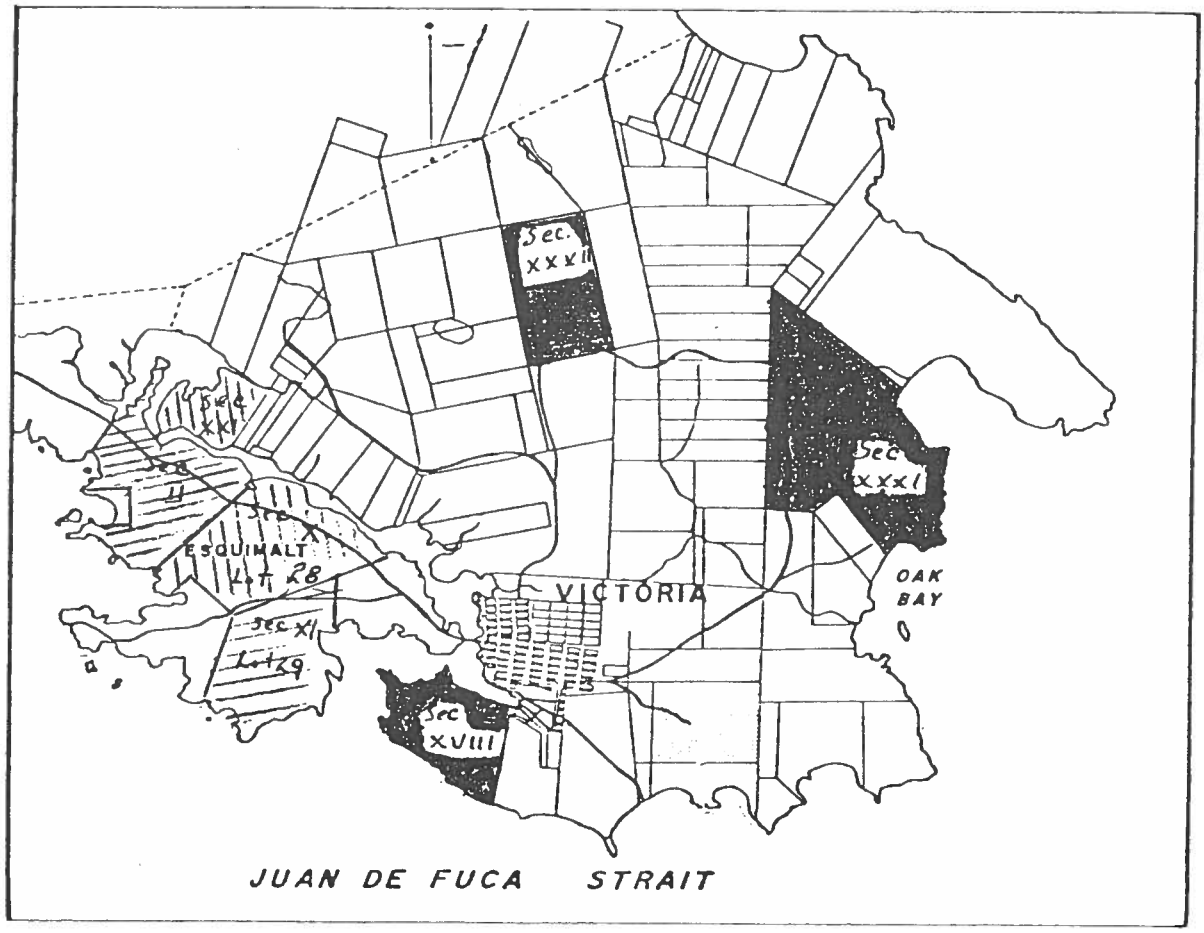
Vancouver Island's first surveyor was Adolphus Lee Lewes, the country-born son of Chief Factor John Lee Lewes. The boy had been sent to England for his education and had entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as "Surveyor and Clerk for General Service."[1] He arrived at Fort Vancouver in 1840 and accompanied Chief Factor James Douglas to the future site of Fort Victoria at Camosack on the southern tip of Vancouver Island in 1842.[2] Lewes prepared a map titled, *Ground Plan of portion of Vancouver Island selected for New Establishment taken by James Douglas, Esq. Drawn by A. Lee Lewes, L.S.*[2] This is the only known survey work by Lewes who subsequently retired from the Hudson's Bay Company service in September, 1856.

On January 13, 1849, "The Governor and Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay ... [was granted] that Island called Vancouver's Island ... [as] the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors ... in free and common soccage at the yearly rent of seven shillings."[4] By the terms of the charter the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to establish a settlement on Vancouver Island and towards this end a modest start was made the same year with the arrival at Fort Victoria of Captain Walter Colquhoun Grant and his eight men.[5] Captain Grant had the distinction of being the only colonist on Vancouver Island in 1849 not directly employed by the Company. In addition to being a putative settler, he had also been appointed "Surveyor to the Company" with a salary of £100 per annum.[6] Captain Grant's qualifications were somewhat vague and he was, to say the least, irresponsible. He had arrived at Fort Victoria in June, 1849, after losing most of his surveying instruments en route, and this unfortunate occurrence seemed to set the tone for his subsequent careers on Vancouver Island, both as colonist and map-maker.[7]

James Douglas's greatest need, at this point in the development of his new colony, was to determine the legal boundaries and nature of the Hudson's Bay Company land reserves, and its subsidiary, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company farms. Good maps were also required to enable the Company to promote the sale of its lands. Grant's work as a surveyor was unsatisfactory, and Douglas had to write the Company in London stating that he still had no sketches to send. Captain Grant did survey a portion of the Victoria district in 1850, but wrote to James Douglas in September 1850, that "thick fog & smoke which at present overclouds the district" made it impossible to carry on the survey.[8] Captain Grant, seemingly our first tourist, then departed to winter in the Sandwich Islands, and left Vancouver Island for good in 1853.[9] It is difficult not to feel some measure of sympathy for Grant—not only was he terribly undertrained for a most demanding task, he was cursed with poor assistants, in contrast to J.D. Pemberton and his admirable assistant Benjamin William Pearse.

Joseph Despard Pemberton was born in Dublin in 1821 and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He was trained as an engineer and worked in this capacity for several railways in Britain. He also served for two years at the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, Gloucestershire, as Professor of Surveying, Civil Engineering and Mathematics.[10] He was appointed Colonial Surveyor to the Hudson's Bay Company on February 15, 1851, and arrived in the Colony of Vancouver Island in June of the same year. Pemberton and his assistant started to lay out a townsite beside Fort Victoria and Esquimalt, and also started the long-awaited survey of the Hudson's Bay Company land reserves and farms. Pemberton was a trained engineer, so documentation existed from the beginning concerning his survey work. His

VICTORIA DISTRICT OFFICIAL MAP 1858



Puget's Sound Agricultural Company Farms

Sec. II & XXI	Craigflower Farm
Sec. X	Constance Cove Farm
Sec. XI	Viewfield Farm
Sec. I (not shown)	Esquimalt Farm

Fur Trade Reserve

Sec. XVIII	H.B. Co's Reserve No. 1
Sec. XXXI	H.B. Co's Reserve No. 2
Sec. XXXII	H.B. Co's Reserve No. 3

Map No. 1

notebook titled, "Trigonomtl. Memda" contains an entry dated November 25, 1851 that reads in part:

Furnished Jms Douglas with 3 small Plans of	A.	r.	p.
Reserve at Christmas Hill	640	0	0
do at Cadboro Bay	1144	0	0
do at Victoria Fort	1300	0	0
Total	3084	0	0

which are dispatched by steamer *Mary Dare* to Nisqually tomorrow.[11]

James Douglas was delighted with the fast, accurate work of his new surveyor and immediately mailed to London the maps of the above Hudson's Bay Company Reserves. We shall have occasion to refer to these maps later in the paper.

Prior to beginning his surveys, Pemberton had to make a basic decision regarding the type of survey system best suited to the unique conditions of the new Colony of Vancouver Island, because the area to be mapped was quite rough and heavily wooded. He was well aware of the various systems used in different parts of the world to solve special problems in land surveys as, for example, the United States system in which townships of 36 sections, with 640 acres per section, were then divided into quarter-sections of 160 acres. There were other systems in use such as the types employed in New Zealand and Australia. In Pemberton's diary the following quotation is copied out in full.

> *Sections laid out with frontages upon main lines of roads, rivers, or wherever increased value is thereby conferred upon the land, should have their frontage reduced to one-half, or even one-third of the depth of the section, so as to distribute this advantage among as many as can participate in it, without rendering the different sections too elongated in figure to be advantageously cultivated as a farm.*[12]

This somewhat programmatic paragraph was taken from a monograph on surveying by Captain Frome of the Royal Engineers, who had been Surveyor General of South Australia. In this text Captain Frome recommended that prior to any cadastral, i.e., boundary surveying, being carried out, trigonometric surveys should be done with the concomitant layout of roads and townsites—this road allowance was ignored by Pemberton and is perhaps the reason so many of the roads in Saanich tend to wind all about the Peninsula.[12]

Because the Victoria Land District was the first area on lower Vancouver Island to be surveyed, the pattern of section lines in this district vividly illustrates the rather erratic arrangement of sections that result from the use of Pemberton's system. A secondary reason for this seemingly haphazard arrangement was that the first allotments had been surveyed as isolated parcels of land, which were later tied together trigonometrically. A modern surveyor has commented that "when the intervening allotments filled in the spaces between, a very kaleidoscopic pattern resulted" (see Map No. 1).[13] It should be noted that in some areas of the Victoria Land District a modified grid pattern, similar to the 1849 Canterbury Settlement of New Zealand, was used, but this regular grid was only possible in the area where no isolated allotments of land existed. At any rate, these early allotments of land later became known as "Sections" and, in the Victoria Land District, are between 20 and 1212 acres in size, a very substantial variation.

Pemberton's method of tying land units together was to begin with a trigonometric framework as recommended by Captain Frome. The first page of Pemberton's notebook contains a surveyor's sketch of the prominent elevations in the Victoria district that were later used to establish bench marks for the area, and it may be seen how these features were utilized by a skilled surveyor (see Map No. 2).[14] This trigonometric grid has been superimposed on Map No. 3 of the Victoria area and illustrates how this grid topographically defines the Victoria district. One may have observed that the sight line between Grants Hill (probably Knockan Hill just above Portage Inlet) and Mount Douglas eventually became the boundary between the Victoria Land District and the Lake Land District (see Map No. 3). One should also notice that it is just north of this boundary, by Elk and Beaver Lake, that Pemberton's original system of surveying changed rather abruptly to a more orthodox system of rectilinear form with the sides aligned to the cardinal directions. This change was probably because the influx of gold seekers from California increased the urgency to survey large tracts of land quickly. It has been observed that the initial survey of the Victoria and Lake Land Districts, which includes all of present day Saanich, has more in common with New Zealand and Australia than with the rest of North America.[15]

While one must admit that the sizes and orientations of land allotments varied in the Victoria Land District, it was a much more humanistic method than the monolithic grid favoured in the United States and on the Cana-

dian Prairies. Western Canadian homesteader's accounts are filled with the various problems created by the Township system with its grid of sections and quarter-sections. The Dominion Township Grid system made no allowance for topographical characteristics such as the natural 'lay of the land'. It also had the unfortunate feature of tending to isolate the farming families just when they needed the maximum support from neighbours. This was particularly true for the women of the family, and the psychological toll was very heavy.

In the Victoria district the earliest surveyed allotments were, as mentioned above, isolated parcels of land which were tied together as more and more allotments were sold. This trend is quite noticeable in a study of the Hudson's Bay Company lands and farms. The plans completed by Pemberton November 25, 1851, and given to James Douglas, still exist in the original form, or at least very early copies, as does other documentation concerning the Reserve lands themselves. A true copy of the resolution requesting that these lands be reserved for the Company are to be found in a set of bound folio Identures recording land grants within "Vancouver's Island".[16] The resolution reads in part:

> *January 30, 1854*
> *Ordered that Lot No. 24 [this is an error, it should read Lot No. 18] containing 1212 acres, Lot No. 31, containing 1130 acres and Lot 32 containing 710 acres being land occupied by the Company prior to the Boundary Treaty of 1846 be entered in the Land Register of Vancouver's Island, as directed by the Minute of 26th. September last.*
> *Hudson's Bay House, A True Copy*
> *January 7th. 1859*

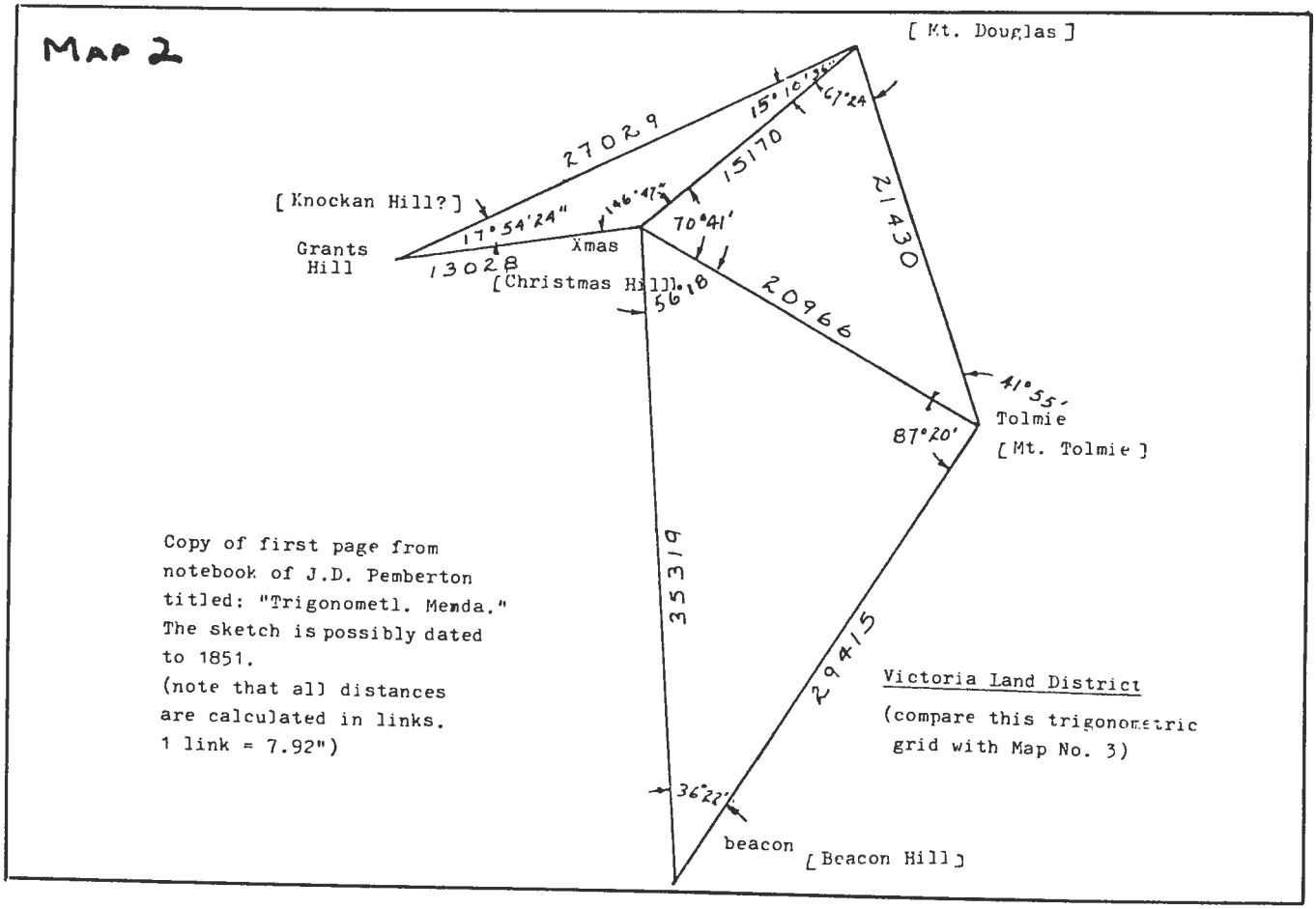
These reserves are registered as "H.B. Co. Reserves No's. I, II and III". The Hudson's Bay Deeds also carry a record of the four Puget's Sound Agricultural Company farms and names of the respective bailiffs (see Appendix A). In order to gain a more vivid impression as to the amount of land reserved by the Hudson's Bay Company to itself, Map No. 1 should again be consulted; as may be seen it covered a substantial area, 6018 acres. At least some of the Company's land was held for almost a century; the Puget's Sound Agricultural Society, Ltd. was still in existence in 1927, and parts of Craigflower Farm were being sold in 1933.[17]

Pemberton's system of surveying resulted in some "untidy" sections of land, but the philosophical background becomes, in some aspects as least, apparent if one studies maps of the Victoria Land District with some care. Pemberton agreed with Captain Frome that one should distribute any geographical advantages "among as many as can participate in it." Pemberton attempted to split favourable geographical features such as lake frontages and water rights among several sections—this may be seen quite clearly in the divisions of land surrounding Swan and Blenkinsop Lakes in Saanich where the section lines neatly bisect the lakes (see Map No. 3). A letter written by J.D. Pemberton to Kenneth McKenzie indicates this concern; the key paragraph reads as follows:

> *I had one application for a patch of land near Lake at Christmas Hill where I constantly see your sheep grazing & refused to sell less than 100 acres in that place as it is impossible everywhere to give access to every small allotment for it would not be right in that place to cut off a large tract of grazing ground from water.*[18]

There is much to be said for this type of surveying and land control as opposed to the somewhat dehumanizing grid used over most of Western Canada, but perhaps Pemberton's system relied too much on the integrity of the person in charge to be practicable.[19] It is interesting that it was at another Hudson's Bay colony that the ubiquitous grid form of survey was modified—this occurred at the Metis settlement at White Horse Plain, now St. Francois-Xavier, Manitoba, founded in 1823, just twenty years prior to the building of Fort Victoria in 1843. The basis for the land divisions in this area was that of the Quebec river lots, and the river lots at St. Francois-Xavier, running back at an angle to the Assiniboine River, still survive almost unchanged from the original land grants.[20]

Maps are fascinating documents because they are a concrete record of man's attempts to make sense of and to order his world. "For Herodatus geography was the 'eye of history'," and our topographical maps delineate both space and time.[21] Maps give concrete expression to the philosophical and political realities of the day—in other words the historical process that result in what is seen around us today. In the case of J.D. Pemberton, it is possible to trace some of the concepts behind the actual mechanics of the maps covering the Victoria and Lake Land Districts.[22] These maps are a part of the historical



evidence of the different traditions behind the settlement of lower Vancouver Island compared to the Canadian Prairies—as Margaret Ormsby wrote, "More than mountains separated Canada and British Columbia."[23] On Vancouver Island particularly, there never had been a "typical North American frontier settlement." Settlement arrived by sea, with scarcely any change. It is only fitting that this Colonial, water-borne tradition had been expressed by the system of surveying used by Joseph Despard Pemberton, and that evidences are imprinted in the section boundaries of Greater Victoria.

APPENDIX A

Lands Reserved by the Hudson's Bay Company

Puget's Sound Agricultural Company Farms:

ESQUIMALT FARM—Captain Edward Langford, [Colwood]
Sec. No. I, Lot 26, Esquimalt Land District, folio 82, 620 acres

CRAIGFLOWER FARM—Kenneth McKenzie, [Esquimalt]
Sec. No. II, Esquimalt Land District, folio 88, 546 acres

CRAIGFLOWER FARM—Kenneth McKenzie, [Saanich]
Sec. No. XXI, Victoria Land District, folio 97, 600 acres

CONSTANCE COVE FARM—Thomas Skinner, [Esquimalt]
Sec. No. X, Lot 28, Esquimalt Land District, folio 91, 600 acres

VIEWFIELD FARM—Donald Macauley, [Esquimalt]
Sec. No. XI, Lot 29, Esquimalt Land District, folio 94, 600 acres

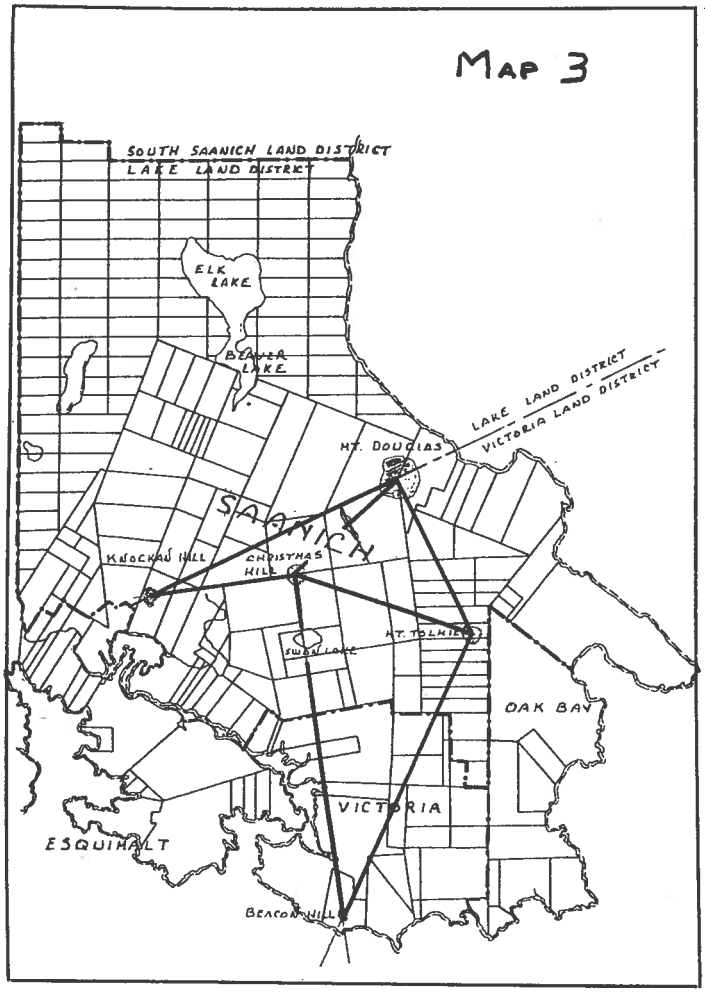
Fur Trade Reserves:

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY RESERVE NO. I, [James Bay]
Sec. No. XVIII, Victoria Land District, folio 73, 1212 acres

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY RESERVE NO. II, [Oak Bay]
Sec. No. XXXI, Victoria Land District, folio 100, 1130 acres

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY RESERVE NO. III, [Saanich]
Sec. No. XXXII, Victoria Land District, folio 103, 710 acres

All the above information was taken from the following: *Vancouver's Island Colony: Register Book No. 1.*



Notes

1. Willard E. Ireland, "Pioneer Surveyors of Vancouver Island," In *The Report of Proceedings of the 46th. Annual General Meeting of the Corporation of B.C. Land Surveyors,* (Victoria, B.C.: January 11-12, 1951), p. 47.
2. Margaret Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History,* (Vancouver, B.C.: Macmillans in Canada, 1958), p. 80.
3. Ireland, p. 47.
4. Province of British Columbia, Surveys and Lands Branch, *Vancouver's Island Colony: Register Book No. 1,* [Victoria, B.C. c. 1858]), Fol[io] 100.
5. Ormsby, p. 99.
6. Ireland, p. 48.
7. Ormsby, p. 100.
8. Captain Walter Colquhoun Grant, Letter to James Douglas, September 10, 1850, quoted in full in Ireland, pp. 49-50.
9. Ormsby, p. 116.
10. Ireland, p. 50.
11. Joseph Despard Pemberton, Surveying Notebook titled: "Trigonometl Memda." ADD MSS 1978, PABC.
12. quoted in W.A. Taylor, *Survey Systems within the Crown Domain: Colonies to Confederation,* ([Victoria, B.C.]: Dept. of Lands, Forests and Water Resources of B.C., 1975), p. 2. I was unable to verify the quotation in Pemberton.

12a. Captain [Edward Charles] Frome, *Outline of the Method of Conducting a Trigonometrical Survey for the Formation of Geographical and Topographical Maps and Plans:* (London: J. Weale, 1840, [rpt.] 1850).
Cited in Taylor, p. 2, but the above work was not available for verification.

13. Taylor, p. 4.
14. Pemberton, "Trigonometl. Memda," [p. 1].
15. Lorne Hammond, unpublished paper, "Early Land Ownership in Saanich: A Report Prepared for the British Columbia Heritage Trust," (Victoria, B.C.: August 15, 1985), p. 4.
16. Vancouver's Island Colony: addendum to folio 99.
17. Hudson's Bay Company, Letter to the Corporation of the District of Saanich, January 18, 1927, Vertical file: "Craigflower School," Saanich Archives, Victoria, B.C.
———, Letter to the Corporation of the District of Saanich, June 3, 1933, Vertical file: "Hudson's Bay Company," Saanich Archives, Victoria, B.C.
18. Joseph Despard Pemberton, Letter to Kenneth McKenzie, June 18, 1856, Correspondence Outward, A/E/M19/P361, PABC.
19. see Lewis G. Thomas, ed. *The Prairie West to 1905: A Canadian Sourcebook,* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 225, for some of the problems that later arose in Alberta over water rights and livestock.
20. W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History,* (Toronto, Ont: University of Toronto Press, 1957, rpt. 1979), p. 155.
21. Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe,* (New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 127.
22. Province of British Columbia, Map: *Victoria District Official Map 1858,* CM/D49. Map: *Lake District. O.M. 1862, CM/C715, PABC.*
23. *Ormsby, p. 257.*

James Patrick Regan is an archivist with the Saanich Municipality.

R.G. Patterson

Roger Peachey, M.C.
The Last Commissioner of the British Columbia Provincial Police Force

Roger Peachey was born on October 19, 1892, in London, England. After finishing his schooling he took clerical training. Shortly thereafter, he emigrated to Canada and Alberta, where he put his talents to work.

At the outbreak of World War I, Peachey enlisted in the 3rd Battalion, Canadian Mounted Rifles on January 7, 1915, at Medicine Hat, Alberta. He trained in Canada and England and landed in France on September 22, 1915. After nineteen months in the field, he was recommended for a commission, and attended Officer Training Course at St. Omer in France and Bexhill in England.

After training, Lieutenant Peachey returned to France and saw action until August 8, 1918, when at Hangard, leading a party of scouts and snipers of the 1st Battalion, Canadian Mounted Rifles, he suffered severe hand grenade wounds. He spent a month in hospital at Rouen, before being allowed to return to England for further recuperation. For this action, he was awarded the Military Cross on October 7, 1918. During his three years service in France, he was wounded twice, lost a leg as a result of his wounds, and saw action in all the major campaigns of the War, including Vimy Ridge. Lieutenant Peachey was invalided back to Canada on May 21, 1919, and given his final discharge papers in Victoria on October 21, 1919.

On May 12, 1920 Roger Peachey joined the Headquarters staff of the British Columbia Provincial Police Force as a Clerk/Constable under Corporal W.J. Voisey, the head of the newly created Criminal Identification Department.

Provincial Museum

Commissioner Roger Peachey, M.C.

The year 1923 marks a watershed in the history and development of the Provincial Police Force. During that year the Province enacted the Police and Prisons Regulation Act. By this act, the Force underwent a total reorganization. A further result was the creation of the Criminal Investigation Branch on January 1, 1924.

Roger Peachey was commissioned into the Force in 1936 and four years later became the head of the Criminal Investigation Branch. Once head of the Branch, he improved its stature to the point where it had (for its day) the best photographic and fingerprint technology, an up-to-date firearms registry, a modas operandi section, and top quality specialists in ballistics and other sciences available for police investigation work.

During the Second War, Deputy Commissioner Peachey was a member of the Joint Services Security Intelligence Board. Its principal function was to co-ordinate the work of the tri-services and the police forces in preserving the security of Canada's Pacific Coast. This work was over and above his police work.

Like his predecessors, Peachey worked his way up through the ranks of the Force, always remaining in the same branch, to become Commissioner of the Force on March 1, 1950. He held the post for four and one-half months, until the Force was taken over by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police on August 15, 1950. Rather than transferring to the R.C.M.P. as the majority of the members of the Force did, Peachey took early retirement. Shortly thereafter, he became Civil Defence co-ordinator for the Greater Victoria area. He held this, and related posts until resigning in 1957. Once he was completely retired, Peachey took up golf, and often could be found traversing from putting green to putting green, with better than average results. This he pursued up until the day of his death which was July 10, 1964.

From all that one reads and gathers through talking to members of the Force, Peachey was not a flamboyant policeman, in fact just the opposite—quiet and unobtrusive, but highly efficient, in fact a "real gentleman" in the true sense of the word.

ADDENDUM
British Columbia Provincial Police Promotion Record of Roger Peachey: First Appointed to the Force May 12, 1920, Victoria, Clerk/Constable

1/4/24	Appointed First Class Constable
1/4/26	Appointed Acting Corporal I/C Records
1/4/27	Promoted to Sgt. Criminal Investigation Branch, Victoria
1/4/30	Promoted to Staff Sgt.
1/4/36	Promoted to Sub-Inspector
1/8/40	Promoted to Inspector
1/11/47	Promoted to Deputy Commissioner
1/3/50	Promoted to Commissioner
15/8/50	Discharged from the Force

B.C. Provincial Police taken over by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police on August 15, 1950.

R.G. Patterson is a curator with the Modern History Division, British Columbia Provincial Museum.

Jacqueline Gresko

A 1912 New Westminster Sampler

The following excerpts from the New Westminster *British Columbian* are the results of applying Patricia Roy's suggested Miniature Exercise in Historical Research (*Canadian Historical Association Newsletter* Summer 1984) in a first year History course at Douglas College. This assignment required students to read one issue of the 1912 *British Columbian* assigned by individual birthdates. Students were to use this source, plus periodical articles and books, to discuss the life and times of New Westminster and district in 1912. Students could write an essay or a letter to an imaginary correspondent about a trip to New Westminster in 1912.

When the papers came in to be marked I noted the usual problems with English composition. It was uplifting, however, to see that students had enjoyed doing original research and had made some attempts at analysis of their sources. Some students with the help of college or New Westminster Public Library staff looked at the Vancouver *Province*, the Coquitlam *Star*, or the *Financial Post*. A few students interviewed oldtimers about the construction schemes of the pre-war boom period. One student considered the B.C. Orange Lodge 50th Anniversary parade attended by 10,000 as his most interesting "find". Another regarded the Temperance movement as hers. Nearly every student exulted in advertisements; e.g., for Kamloops as the Los Angeles of Canada, for the Palace of Sweets on Columbia Street, New Westminster, for the Edison Theatre presentation of 'The Coming of Columbus' as endorsed by 'Educators, Press, Pulpit, Historians, and the Public'.

Student compositions on New Westminster and district from the *British Columbian* included essays spread through the year. In keeping with the focus of our local history course, the essays discussed themes of community, class and race. Community or local boosterism and race or anti-oriental sentiments were more evident than class conflicts. No doubt, the *British Columbian* editor, Conservative J.D. Taylor, had limited his paper's treatment of them in favour of his prime concerns: British Imperialism and local progress.

Some excerpts from student papers include: February 7, 1912 (Vancouver *Province* as well as *Columbian*) stories detailed the building of a flour and oatmeal mill and terminal elevator at Port Mann. Mr. F.A. Bean, president, International Milling Co., had just announced the proposal. In the *Province*, lots at Port Mann were advertised at $150 a lot, $5 down, 5 months with no taxes and no interest. City workers' wages had gone up to $3 per day from $2.80, according to the *British Columbian*.

The Board of Trade gave a complimentary banquet to Sir Donald Mann, "the railroad builder whose name [was] the magic sesame to an era of progress and development the likes of which the city had not yet experienced." New Westminster would become the "heart and centre of a great industrial region". The *Province* echoed this news from the New Westminster paper with an article on "Great Prosperity Predicted for Royal City."

Newcomers were already doing well according to a front page *Columbian* story about the petition sent to the Honourable R. Rogers, federal minister of the Interior, from Hindus and Sikhs in Vancouver. They were "doing very well as a community" and, they asked if their families could join them. That reunion would be "an act of moral and civil justice which every well-wisher of society would desire." [See *The Canadian Family Tree*, 1979, p. 112. Between 1909 and 1913 only 29 Sikhs were admitted to Canada.]

Vancouver *Province* July 10, 1912, advertisement for development of Hardy Bay boasted of a bridge to be built from the mainland to the Island across Seymour Narrows.

Financial Post July 13, 1912, "Real Estate in the West Nearing a Crisis" headlined one article, while another, "The Half Year in Real Estate Investment", included a table showing prices in British Columbia cities higher than those in other regions of Canada.

October 1, 1912, the real estate boom continued. A small house on 160 acres in Alberta was advertised for the same price as a bare lot on Eighth Street, New Westminster. The Brunette Sawmill Co. had purchased the street along the river from the city for private use in order to expand. Job advertisements for women were mainly housekeeping positions and for men mainly construction work.

In social life, lodges such as the Sons of Scotland and the Orangemen predominated. Soccer, cricket, croquet and lacrosse merited mention in the sports columns. The Provincial Exhibition began October 1 but the Duke and Duchess of Connaught would formally open it October 3. The *Columbian* boosted it as the largest in Western Canada.

In international headlines the "Balkans [were] on the Brink of War".

Back Issues of the News

Back issues of the *News* can be ordered at $3.50 each plus postage from the Editor.

Thinking of Publishing?

A seminar on publishing local history, given by Helen Akrigg, may be arranged for your historical society. Please contact Leonard G. McCann, #2, 1430 Maple Street, Vancouver, V6J 3R9.

Writing Competition

The British Columbia Historical Federation invites submission of books or articles for the third annual competition for writers of British Columbia History.

Any book with historial content published in 1986 is eligible. Whether the work was prepared as a thesis or a community project, for an industry or an organization, or just for the pleasure of sharing a pioneer's reminiscences, it is considered history as long as names, dates and locations are included. Stories told in the vernacular are acceptable when indicated as quotations of a story teller. Writers are advised that judges are looking for fresh presentation of historical information with relevant maps and/or pictures. A Table of Contents and an adequate Index are a must for the book to be of value as a historical reference. A Bibliography is also desirable. Proof reading should be thorough to eliminate typographical and spelling errors.

Submit your book with your name, address, and telephone number to:

British Columbia Historical Federation
c/o Mrs. Naomi Miller
Box 105
Wasa, B.C. V0B 2K0

Please include the selling price of the book and an address from where it may be purchased.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

There will also be a prize for the writer of the best historical article published in the **British Columbia Historical News** quarterly magazine. Articles are to be submitted directly to:

The Editor
British Columbia Historical News
1745 Taylor Street
Victoria, B.C. V8R 3E8

Written length should be no more then 2,500 words, substantiated with footnotes if possible, and accompanied by photographs if available. Deadlines for the quarterly issues are September 1, December 1, March 1, and June 1.

C.L. Hansen-Brett

LADIES IN SCARLET: An Historical Overview of Prostitution in Victoria, British Columbia 1870-1939

In the past, prostitution was often ignored as a topic for research, not only because it concerned women but because those women were devalued members of society. "Prostitution has been tolerated throughout much of western history, but because of its 'unspeakable' stigmatized and clandestine nature, it has been largely unrecorded."[1] Serious interest in women's history is only a recent phenomenon, and prostitution, as a part of that history and as a social and economic reality, is worthy of study. The subject of prostitution is a difficult one to research, but by relying predominantly upon Victoria City Police archival documents this article will attempt to trace the history of prostitution in Victoria from the 1870s through the 1930s. A chronological approach will outline prostitution in the context of other types of criminal offences, locations of prostitution activity, ethnic and other characteristics of prostitutes, and prevailing community attitudes. In addition, attention will be given to social and economic circumstances underlying the choice of prostitution as a viable occupation,

Prior to 1900

Typical charges of the last three decades of the 19th century, as noted in the Victoria City Police charge books, include desertion by sailors, assault, being a "rogue and a vagabond" and most common, drunk and disorderly. Charges for prostitution appear infrequently, and are often combined with drunk and disorderly arrests. Indeed, during the 1890s more charges are laid against men as "frequenters" or "habitual frequenters" of brothels than against prostitutes. Records for the 1870s and 1880s would seem to indicate that most prostitution was in the form of street soliciting. Not until May 16, 1894, does a house address appear in connection with prostitution, in the soon-to-be-notorious Chatham-Herald Street district.

Prior to 1870, most prostitution seems to have been conducted by native Indian women. As Fisher observes for this early period,

> ... *Large numbers of Indian women from the north came to Victoria annually to earn money by prostitution. Apparently some were able to raise their husband's social position with the wealth that they acquired in this way. Women could earn twice as much as prostitutes in Victoria as they could further up the coast.*[2]

In the Victoria City Police charge books examined for the 1870s and 1880s, the only record of prostitution concerns soliciting by native women. A typical notation is the following: "April 7, 1873, Lucy a Hydah Indian woman charged by Inspector Bowden with being on the public street at the hour of 1:00 a.m. for the purposes of prostitution."

Prostitution does not seem to have been considered as more than a minor offence. Women charged with soliciting were discharged the same day, or the following day at the latest, with no fines imposed. In contrast, fourteen days' hard labour was the usual sentence for theft by males and females, native or non-native. Drunk and disorderly carried the most severe penalty, particularly for native women:

> *March 25, 1876, Jennie an Indian woman charged with drunk and disorderly. Sentence 14 days in gaol on half food rations and to be confined in a dark cell every second day.*

Charges against frequenters were more often than not dismissed, but habitual frequenters received a fifty-dollar fine.

In 1892, "keeping a house of ill-fame" was an

indictable offence subject to one year's imprisonment.[3] Victoria City Police records indicate keeping a house of ill-fame resulted in a fine of $75.00 to $100.00 while charges against inmates and frequenters resulted in fines of twenty-five to fifty dollars. What is interesting is that prostitution itself was not regarded as an offence in English Common Law, and came into conflict with the law only when it was associated with street soliciting, or with the operation of a bawdy house as to be an annoyance.[4] In other words, the test of the offence was the fact of public annoyance.

Prostitution does not appear to have been regarded as a serious problem by police, and there is no record during these three decades of community complaints. However, in 1889 the Women's Christian Temperance Union opened the Refuge Home at 2 Work St., Victoria for "...the rescue of the fallen and the care of the unfortunate woman"[5] The Refuge Home was approximately five blocks from the main centres of prostitution in the late 1880's. Perhaps Women's Christian Temperance Union officials reasoned that fallen women should be kept at some distance from sources and scenes of temptation.

After 1900

The turn of the century saw the development of specific crime areas in Victoria. Gambling, opium-related offences, prostitution, and drunk and disorderly became centered in the area from Cormorant Street to Discovery Street. Gambling and opium possession or use were the most commonly cited offences in the Victoria City Police charge books, with drunk and disorderly still a major problem, particularly in the Herald and Chatham locale. The *Colonist*, April 6, 1911, recalled "the district lying in the vicinity of Herald and Chatham was, at that time [1903], about the toughest part of town." The houses of prostitution in this area were "principally in the hands of the Chinese" and were rented out to the madams.

There appear to have been two classes of prostitution in early Victoria. In addition to the lower-class 'red-light' district on Chatham and Herald, "carriage trade" houses, catering to a more prosperous clientele, were located in the Broughton, Courtney and Douglas Street area. In 1906-07, Mayor Morley instigated a major clean-up of prostitution in Victoria. He boasted of having rid the city of white slavery. "On the moral issue there have been important changes, notably the elimination of the Red Light district..."[4] However, it appears that Morley succeeded only in moving the prostitutes into the residential areas outside of the downtown area. The "carriage trade" houses were also closed, supposedly in 1907, but the *Times* reports

> *... they never actually closed, but ran on quietly ... A Police Commissioner is quoted as saying ... these places were run orderly [sic] and he did not see why they should be closed.*

In 1910 and 1911 major complaints by Victoria residents were being received by the Victoria City Police regarding bawdy houses located in residential areas. In the Police Chief's Report, J.M. Langley stated,

> *In dealing with the social evil, some 33 keepers and inmates were arrested and 36 houses closed. These were scattered throughout the city, mostly in residential areas.*

In 1911-12, a "restricted district" was imposed, at Morley's urging, which confined prostitution houses to the Chatham and Herald areas. However, the "carriage trade" houses continued to operate quietly in the downtown area, and were not required to relocate. There is little evidence of street soliciting at this time.

The ethnic breakdown of prostitutes appears to consist mainly of white, Chinese and a few black women and very rarely, native women.

The native women, who solicited the streets apparently worked in gangs. A single Indian woman would take a man under the E&N bridge on Johnson Street where she would then be joined by one or two other women who would gang up on the customer and roll him.

In the Chatham and Herald Street area, white women and Chinese men were cited as keepers. Although Chinese women were inmates, apparently they were not allowed out of the brothels, and for reasons unknown, their names never appeared in the charge books.

Records indicate that Chinese women would stand at their windows and were notorious for making lewd and suggestive comments to passers-by.

The women in the "carriage trade" houses, unlike the Chinese women in the "red light" district, were visible about town, often dressed in red velvet. The "Ladies in Scarlet" operated the "carriage trade" houses as high class, carefully controlled businesses, and were selective of their clientele. The police report book in 1915, records a telephone message from a woman of considerable notoriety living on Broughton Street, in which she lodges a complaint that "she is annoyed by men getting into her yard and that

Victoria City Police Archives

she had not let them in." Sergeant Clayards writes underneath, "some she lets in and some she doesn't."

Houses of prostitution appear to have a *quasi*-business status at this time. Apparently there was an agreement among the madams of the "carriage trade" house, City Hall officials, and the City Police. Because City Hall could not collect legitimate business licence fees from these houses, the police raided them twice a year and the owners or keepers were fined $100.00 in *lieu* of license fees.

The Chatham and Herald Street area did not appear to have the same agreement. The same houses were raided frequently with no apparent consistency in time or fines. Keepers were charged $75.00 to $100.00, inmates $25.00 to $50.00, and frequenters $25.00 to $50.00. A high proportion of the charges resulted in warrants issued with no subsequent action recorded.

The "carriage trade" area appears to have been quietly and more tastefully run, according to community standards of the time, thereby causing little concern to the police or to the public in general. Although there were occasional complaints logged in the Police report books regarding alleged houses of ill-fame in residential areas, and most of the complaints seem to have no substance, it appears that houses in the downtown area were, if not accepted, at least condoned. However, the profession of prostitution and the women themselves were not part of acceptable society. The local Council of Women was a powerful group who submitted many petitions opposing prostitution to the Legislature and to City Hall. The response from the Legislature is unknown, but it is suspected that City Hall didn't pay much attention. Since City Hall had a vested financial interest in houses of prostitution, the lack of interest in the petitions is understandable.

The women who managed the houses in the "red light" area were at the mercy of the landlords, most of whom appear to have been Chinese. In some cases the owner lived on the premises to ensure collections of the rent. The amount of rent paid by the keepers came to light in 1910 in an enquiry regarding the Police Commissioners "...The rents were extortionate, the owners having women in their power owing to the limited number of houses."

With the exception of the "carriage trade" houses, houses of ill-fame could operate only in the restricted area. Four keepers of houses in that area testified at the enquiry. Rents for houses were reported from $150.00 to $500.00 per month. One allegation at the enquiry was that high rents were charged because part of the money went to the Police Commissioners as protection money. "...It was suggested that as ... the rents were so out of all proportion, a fair inference would be that the landlord was contributing out of the rent for the purposes of protection." One of the keepers stated that "she had heard that people 'running downtown' had protection. She had been harassed while others were let alone." The outcome of the enquiry was that no acts of bribery were established.

Not all residents looked on prostitution with disdain. W. Marchant, a columnist for the *Vitoria Times* in 1910, suggested that houses of ill-fame should be legalized. He acknowledged "the degradation of womanhood" but suggested the government should protect the earnings of prostitutes and exercise supervision. He further stated,

Victoria City Police Archives

The brutal callousness of robbing the fallen woman of the very earnings for which she had entered the gates of hell is so despicable that language has not been invented strong enough to portray it.

Although City Hall officials and Police do not appear to have been overly concerned with the removal of prostitution, they were concerned about juvenile prostitution and about the number of young women who were frequenting the Herald Street area in the evening.

The annual crop of young girls who are allowed to stay out at night were in evidence in the past year and a number of cases were called to the attention of our officers who, in most cases took them home, only to see them back around their old haunts viz. auto and fruit stands.

This concern continued, as noted in the Report of the City Detective Dept., January 1917.

It is rather deplorable to see so many [young girls] on the street at night with their latest make-ups [sic] on, talking and mixing with entire strangers. This class of the community ought to be taken in hand by their parents or juvenile officers.

Charges relating to procuring juveniles for the purpose of prostitution were harshly dealth with:

Sept. 15, 1910 Fred R. did unlawfully inveigle or entice one Florence J. a woman under the age of 21 to a house of ill-fame or assignation at 5½ Chatham for the purpose of illicit intercourse. Sentence: 1 year imprisonment of hard labour.

In the 1920s Victoria City Police were making an extreme effort to close down gambling houses in the restricted area. The charge books list up to fifty people arrested in one gambling raid. The raids in 1923 resulted in a substantial number of arrests, often once a month, for gambling. Indecent exposure and indecent assault became fairly common in the 1920s as did charges relating to juveniles. Women, for the first time, were being charged with opium and cocaine possession, and procuring abortions was also cited with come frequency.

Keepers of gambling houses were fined $100.00, while guests of the houses were fined fifteen to twenty dollars. Indecent exposure resulted in fines of $25.00 to $50.00, while women charged with procuring abortions were sentenced to one year in prison. Charge records regarding drug possession reveal that a warrant was issued, but further information is unrecorded.

Charges relating to prostitution in brothels virtually disappears by 1924 with hotels being commonly cited as replacements. With the instigation of prohibition in 1917, most of the hotels were suffering financially. Many went broke, but, gradually reopened and became bawdy houses.

The Occidental Hotel, 1319 Wharf Street and the Western Hotel on Store Street, regarded as the location of better-class prostitutes, and the Strand Hotel on Johnson Street, where lower-class prostitutes worked, appear to have become the main centres for prostitution.

Black women from the United States were appearing in the city in the 1920s with some regularity and notoriety. Black women were usually madams of brothels and seem to have operated business-like establishments. A black woman who sold her brothel in Alaska, moved to Victoria and succeeded in operating a chain of brothels. The brothels were located in Langley, Duncan and the Occidental Hotel in Victoria. She also built a house for the purpose of prostitution on the outskirts of Victoria. This house, known then as The Chantecler and now as Fort Victoria,

contained closet-size rooms with hidden doors that could not be seen from the outside. The present owners of Fort Victoria mention finding these rooms and that they were accessible only from the attic. It would appear that when a raid was to occur, the woman had an arrangement with the Provincial Police whereby she would be notified, giving time for inmates and frequenters to hide.

During the depression of the '30s, charges for prostitution decline markedly. A typical charge of the depression years is for "being a loose and idle person ... who did unlawfully wander around and beg." Being intoxicated in a public place, particularly by native Indians, occurs with some frequency and indecent exposure and indecent assault continue. In the 1936 and 1937 charge books examined, there were no prostitution or prostitution-related charges recorded. Nevertheless, prostitution was still in existence, and hotels were still the major location of brothels. They do not appear to be located in a specific area, and as in the early 1900s, some hotel brothels were of better class than others. The rapport between the police and prostitutes or madams is unknown, as police report books for this period are unavailable.

The discussion to this point has presented a chronological account of some of the major characteristics of prostitution in Victoria from 1870 through the 1930s. Undoubtedly, the depression of the thirties created as severe economic hardships for prostitutes as it did for other segments of society. However, for prostitutes, economic hardship was probably a reality throughout Victoria's history and in all likelihood may be regarded as a major contributing factor to women entering this occupation.

Prostitution as an occupation may be seen as an indictment of the limited range of opportunities that late nineteenth and early twentieth-century women faced in their daily struggle for economic, social and psychological well-being. Most women chose to enter prostitution not because they were mentally deficient, not because they suffered unresolved Oedipal complexes, not because they were the helpless victims of sinister procurers, nor because they were merely passive individuals, but because they perceived prostitution as a means of fulfilling particular economic, social or psychological needs.[5] "Female labour in Vancouver ... [and no doubt in Victoria] was restricted to occupations of a low-paying and expendable nature.[6]

Victoria City Police Archives

Given the economic circumstances in Victoria, prostitution was one of the few alternatives open to women workers. Options available for working women included low-paying, unskilled menial work, prostitution and marriage. Whether widowed with children to support, deserted, seduced under promise of marriage and then cast aside, or disgraced by illegitimate pregnancy, women entered prostitution for survival. In a world of limited employment opportunities for women, they perceived prostitution as a rational economic choice. It afforded them higher wages, shorter hours and a camaraderie with women in a similar situation. Some women perceived prostitution as a means of upward mobility.[7] Some, too, perceived prostitution as the only option available for the "fallen woman" whose virtue had been lost to rape or to seduction. "The brothel served as a warehouse for damaged property."[8] Thus, the major causes of prostitution during the period under discussion were economic: actual poverty, fragile family economics, the need for supplemental income, and lack of, or contempt for, other occupation options.[9]

Denied access to social and economic power because of their gender and class status, poor women made their choices from a vulnerable position of socially-structured powerlessness. All too often, a woman had to choose from an array of dehumanizing alternatives: to sell her body in a loveless marriage contracted solely for economic protection, to sell her body for starvation wages as an unskilled worker, or to sell her body as a "lady

in scarlet". Whatever the choice, some form of prostitution was likely to be involved.

Although women generally profited economically from prostitution, they suffered the social cost of community, and often family, ostracism. They were characterized as outcasts with no place in society, but in actuality they held an important economic function. Prostitution in the City of Victoria provided an essential income to the City in the form of fines paid in lieu of licence fees. Hotels, particularly during prohibition, remained viable businesses due to revenues from prostitution. Liquor interests were served as the consumption of alcohol was an integral part of brothels. Finally, the women themselves were consumers in the marketplace and many had more disposable income from prostitution than they would have had in more socially-acceptable occupations.

Socially, prostitutes held the position of moral object-lessons. They were reminders to respectable women of what they might become and of how they would be treated if they failed to live up to the moral expectations placed upon them. Prostitutes were "the ultimate most efficient guardians of virtue."

Notes:

1. R. Rosin, *The Lost Sisterhood* (London: The John Hopkins Press Ltd., 1983), p. xi.
2. R. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), p. 113.
3. W. Waterman, *Prostitution and its Repression in New York City* (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1968), p. 12.
4. Ibid., p. 12.
5. Rosin, *Lost Sisterhood,* p. 137.
6. D. Nilsen, "The Social Evil, Prostitution in Vancouver, 1900-1920," *In Her Own Right,* ed. B. Latham (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980).
7. M.E. Hawkesworth, "Brothels and Betrayal: On the Functions of Prostitution," *International Journal of Women's Studies* (Montreal: Eden Press, 1984) Vol. 7, no. 1, p. 84.
8. Ibid.
9. Rosin, *Lost Sisterhood,* p. 147.

Unless otherwise footnoted, information was obtained from the Victoria City Police Archives.

At the request of the Victoria City Police Department, full names are not recorded in this paper.

The photographs are mug shots of women charged with prostitution.

Lacey Hansen-Brett is a student in History at the University of Victoria, and recently helped to establish the Police Archives for the City of Victoria, and for the Municipalities of Oak Bay and Esquimalt.

Financing the British Columbia Historical News

The attention of all readers of *The British Columbia Historical News* is drawn to the following table:

Subscribers	Member	Individual	Institutional	Total Amount	Grant	Publication Cost
1981-82	1180	57	97	$3,325	$3,333	$ 7,541
1982-83	1198	80	97	4,406	3,333	9,982
1983-84	772	61	98	4,832	3,333	11,853
1984-85	833	37	33	4,143	4,000	9,731
1985 to Nov. 22	458	32	67	3,270	1,250	5,142

The figures given above are compiled on the basis of when the money was received or paid out irrespective of the financial year. Arrears from one year to the next did occur so numbers are not fully accurate for any particular year.

Up to 1983 fees paid by members to the then B.C. Historical Association included a subscription to the magazine. In that year the bylaws were changed to create a Federation of Member Societies with a separation of dues to the Historical Federation from subscriptions to the magazine. This resulted in a drop of member subscriptions because there was also an increase in rates. The effect of the reduction in business activity and the concomitant government restraint from 1984 on is very noticeable. Our small financial reserves are being eroded steadily.

The Historical Federation Council has appointed a publication and marketing committee to examine the situation and make recommendations. This committee asks that suggestions from Federation members, either individually, or through a Member Society, be sent to the Federation P.O. Box as soon as possible.

News and Notes

British Columbia Historical Federation Annual Conference

The Vancouver Historical Society will be host to the British Columbia Historical Federation's annual conference, May 8, 9 and 10, 1986. Conference sessions will be held at the Gage Towers on the University of British Columbia campus. There is easy access and parking. The Student Union Building is nearby for inexpensive meals.

Speakers will be Maria Tippett, Leonard McCann and Frances Woodward, while the dinner speaker is Charles Humphries. A panel of Antiquarian booksellers will further our knowledge on this fascinating business.

Ivan Sayers will present historic costumes from the sublime to the absurd, and Phil and Hilda Thomas will discuss the origins of British Columbia folk songs, and sing them for us.

Saturday afternoon you will have a choice of several conducted tours.

A detailed program will appear in the April issue of the News.

NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the *B.C. Historical News* will have a Vancouver Centennial theme. Please submit news and notes from various branches, by February 15, to guest editor Esther Birney, 1240 Shorepine Walk, Vancouver, V6H 3T8.

Vancouver Historical Society

1986 PROGRAMME

January 22
"Vancouver Mayors 1: "Gerry McGeer" - David Williams
Arguably Vancouver's greatest mayor (1935-6, 1947), the flamboyant Gerald Gratton McGeer read the riot act to Vancouver unemployed in 1935, hosted the city's 50th birthday celebrations in 1936, and was responsible for the erection of the new City Hall and the fountain in Lost Lagoon.

February 27
"Vancouver Mayors 2: Art Phillips" - Art Phillips
Political reminiscences of the founder and first president of TEAM (The Electors' Action Movement). Currently B.C.'s Commissioner of Critical Industries, Art Phillips served as alderman (1968-73), mayor (1973-6) and Liberal MP for Vancouver Center (1979-80).

March 27
"Vancouver Mayors 3: Bill Rathie" - Bill Rathie
An accountant and tax consultant, Bill Rathie, Vancouver's first native-born mayor, served as alderman (1959-62) and was elected mayor (1963-6) on the slogan "Let's Get Vancouver Going".

April 27
To Be Announced

May 28
A.G.M./*"Vancouver Mayors 4: Louis D. Taylor"* - Mary Rawson
Vancouver's longest serving mayor (1910-11, 1915, 1925-26, 1941-44), L.D. Taylor arrived in the city in 1896 and worked for the *Vancouver Daily Province*. In 1905 he purchased the *World*. During his reign, the Lions Gate Bridge was built and the fire department completely mechanized.

Each lecture starts at 8 p.m. in the Vancouver Museum Auditorium, 1100 Chestnut Street.

Light refreshments will be served after each meeting, and members of the audience will have an opportunity to meet the guest speaker.

Visitors and new members welcome.

For further information contact: Peggy Imredy 738-0953; Margaret Waddington 266-4709.

Burnaby Historical Society

Windows To Burnaby's Past

The Burnaby Historical Society was on the verge of disbanding in 1983 for lack of interest. What influenced them to produce a three-volume heritage report in 1985 and lobby Burnaby Council to establish a Municipal Heritage Advisory Committee? It was due primarily to an injection of enthusiasm and challenge by three young people: Robert Powys of Delta, Ann Watson of North Vancouver, and Jim Wolf of Surrey. Their efforts resulted in a record of buildings erected by early settlers during the first 38 years of Burnaby's 93 year history.

It happened that a citizen of Delta, Robert Powys, wanted to buy the old Powys home, built in 1900, located at 7356 - 11th Avenue, Burnaby. Robert's family and his sea-captain grandfather had owned and occupied the home for about fifty-six years. Robert's father had recently died and Robert thought it a fitting memorial to purchase the old home, restore it at his own expense, and live in it. He encountered problems in locating the owner and arranging a trade of near-by property. The owner simply wanted to demolish the house and divide the 62' by 145' lot into two 31' lots, and sell them. In desperation, Powys appealed to the Historical Society to write to Burnaby Council on his behalf, asking that the house be saved. It was expected that Council would reject any plan to subdivide lots that would result in 31' frontage, a figure below the normal minimum frontage standards. To divide a 62' lot seemed a poor precedent to set. In reply to the Society's letter in support of Powys' request, Council tabled the letter, "pending further information." It was stated that, "No further action is proposed to be taken by staff in this regard unless specific direction is given by Council" (April, 1984).

At the end of the summer of 1984, Robert Powys and the BHS learned that on June 25, 1984, a demolition permit had been issued to the owner of the old Powys property, and soon afterward there was complete obliteration of the house, trees, shrubs and hedges. In the bare ground were stakes marking the two 31' lots.

At this point our Society said there should be an advisory body qualified to evaluate the historical/architectural merit of buildings, and requested that Burnaby Council establish a Municipal Heritage Advisory Committee. We know that there is a limit to what may be saved, but we must strive to keep the best of our heritage resources. Immigrants of diverse backgrounds have enhanced our rich cultural heritage that is preserved in buildings, photographs, documents and stories, all of which give a sense of pride, security and belonging. To ignore history and past achievements is to negate memory, and where there is loss of memory there is loss of identity. Burnaby has ninety-three years of history and her heritage resources should be recorded before neglect, deterioration and demolition take their toll. Unfortunately, the motion to establish a M.H.A.C. was defeated by Burnaby Council.

Following the demolition of the Powys property and the refusal of Council to form an active advisory committee, the Historical Society created a Heritage Advisory Committee and applied to the B.C. Heritage Trust for a grant under the Student Employment Program, to conduct an initial survey and inventory of Burnaby's pre-1930 buildings.

The committee set three goals:

1. To survey and list many of the best buildings and structures;
2. To apply to the Trust for a student grant to employ a student to do survey;
3. To request that Council re-consider our previous request for a Municipal Heritage Advisory Committee.

In mid-March, Pauline Rafferty, Program Manager for B.C. Heritage Trust Student Employ ment, informed our Society that our project had been selected as one of 50 from about 300 applications. The maximum time allotted for the project was from mid-May to Mid Aug., 62 working days to cover 36.9 sq. mi. and approximately 780 streets. It was a prodigious task; however, Ann Watson, a student a Simon Fraser University tackled the job and overcame such obstacles as barking dogs, the absence of an occupant in a house, or lack of knowledge by occupant of the age, architect or builder of the dwelling, traffic and parking hazards, and dense foliage that defied photo-taking.

When a further grant under the Challenge '85 Summer Employment Program of the Ministry of

(l to r) Jim Wolf, Alderman Don Brown, Evelyn Salisbury, John Adams, and Ann Watson

Labour was approved, Jim Wolf, BHS archivist, joined Ann's survey project. When the final report was completed it was titled *Windows to Burnaby's Past*.

In recognition of Burnaby's 93rd birthday in September, the BHS conducted a special general meeting in September, giving prominence to the birthday theme. "On September 22, 1892, Burnaby ceased to be an unorganized territory of 250 residents and by legislative charter became the Corporation of the District of Burnaby." It was appropriate at this time to make presentations of *Windows To Burnaby's Past* as a Birthday Book to Burnaby, Burnaby Arts Council, Burnaby Public Library, and Burnaby Village Museum.

At the close of the memorable meeting, Allan Corbett, BHS and Heritage committee member, read a motion requesting that Burnaby Council re-consider our previous request that they establish a Municipal Heritage Advisory Committee. The membership passed the motion and when it was dealt with in Council, the eight aldermen voted to accept in principle the establishment of a M.H.A.C.

At a final gala presentation, at the Robson Square Media Centre, before the B.C. Heritage Trust Directors and the representative of the B.C. and Yukon Division of the Board of Governors of Heritage Canada Foundation, the Hon. Henry Bell-Irving, the students and sponsors made their reports. It was a tribute to the authors of the BHS report that additional time was given for their presentation.

Evelyn Salisbury is chairman of the BHS Heritage Advisory Committee and Vice President of the BHS.

Jewish Historical Society
Leonard Frank Display

When this giant of Canadian photographers passed away February 23, 1944, the Victoria *Colonist*, in a rare editorial, said eloquently what his contemporaries already knew;

> *The death of Mr. Leonard Frank of Vancouver removes a figure widely known in British Columbia. For many years Mr. Frank specialized in industrial photography. His pictures of British Columbia logging, mining, fishing, and other scenes were celebrated, and they have appeared literally all over the world. The cut files of this journal and many another British Columbia newspaper bear eloquent testimony to the art and industry of a man who was a patient, tireless craftsman, and a master of his calling.*

Leonard Frank's name is assured of becoming known all over again. Since his death much of his collection of negatives, photos and enlargements have been quietly preserved in the estate of his successor, Otto Landauer.

But, now, good news!

The Jewish Historical Society of B.C. has just acquired the entire residual collection, and goes on record in promising to make the priceless, historical photos available again.

To start with, a Vancouver centennial Leonard Frank Display will be open to the public March 4th to 21st, 1986, in the Shalom Gallery of the Vancouver Jewish Community Centre, 950 West 41st Ave.

Mr. Frank served British Columbia and the world for fifty years, and his fine photographs number well over 20,000. This unique legacy will now be publicized and shown by the Jewish Historical Society.

Leonard Frank's portrait was made by another famous British Columbia photographer, Jack Savannah.

Bookshelf

CAPTURED HERITAGE: THE SCRAMBLE FOR NORTHWEST COAST ARTIFACTS. Douglas Cole. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985. Pp. xv. 373, illus., $24.95.

Douglas Cole's *Captured Heritage* deals mainly with the collection and export from coastal British Columbia of Indian artifacts to museums outside British Columbia. It begins with the visit of the *Santiago* in 1774, and takes us through the nineteenth century, when Franz Boas, C.F. Newcombe and their agents collected on an extensive and often rapacious scale for museums in the United States and, to a lesser extent, for museums in Canada. The book is well-researched and written, and Cole's anecdotal style is well suited to the richness of the historical record. The strangest part of the book must be the story of the journey of fifteen Kwakiutl to the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, where they were displayed, like zoological specimens, as part of an "open mart and caravansary of nations" alongside Indonesians, Eskimos and Irish villagers (pp. 127-128).

Why were most coastal Indians, sooner or later, willing to part with their most precious possessions? First, Cole notes, the decline in the native population in the nineteenth century "created a surplus of many objects at precisely the period of most intense collecting." Second, "while population declined, creating a surplus of ceremonial items, the introduction of European manufactured goods rendered many utilitarian objects obsolete and therefore disposable." (p. 295) Against this background, Cole documents how rival collectors competed for a diminishing number of artifacts in the most intensive period of collecting between 1875 and 1914.

From the point of view of what Cole terms a "nativist" (p. 91), it is sad how American collectors simply absorbed the coast in a sort of "ethnological Monroe Doctrine". (p. 74) Canadian collectors, like I.W. Powell and C.F. Newcombe, may have lamented the dispersal of artifacts from Canada, but they realized that, with an absence of interest in this country, their exportation at least ensured their preservation. It is lamentable that government officials from Powell in the 1870s to Francis Kermode in the 1930s were unable or unwilling to prevent the export of important collections. One inevitable result of the Monroe Doctrine-like, cultural imperialism was the appearance, in 1980, of a Bella Coola ceremonial mask on an American postage stamp!

Captured Heritage will be of fundamental interest to the worldwide audience of museum curators, anthropologists, archaeologists and ethnohistorians with a special interest in the rich material heritage of the Northwest Coast culture area. The book will become a textbook for university courses in British Columbia history and anthropology. One of the many connections that Cole reveals, in his understated way, is the one between museum collecting and the evolution of the Boasian ethnographical method. Boas, who first came to the coast as a collector in 1886, subsequently encouraged his field collectors to provide complete documentation for each artifact they acquired, and instructed them not to overlook objects of everyday use. As a museum curator, Boas championed the display of artifacts not by type but by ethnic group. This concern was thoroughness and with a group's cultural integrity provided Boas with the inspiration for his later ethnographic field work (Ch. 5).

The book's greatest value is as a guide to the origin and evolution of the great museum collections of artifacts from the Northwest Coast. The book is written for an international scholarly audience, and as such, it is a work of great importance. The effect, however, of Cole's familiarity with outside museums and outside record groups is that British Columbia remains something of a frontier in the book. Just as early collectors saw the coast as a frontier, rich in available artifacts, so British Columbia comes across as Boas perceived it—as a "remote place" where scholars would have no chance of viewing artifacts (p. 289).

That nineteenth century British Columbia was a materialist, immigrant society where "racism was conspicuous and unabashed" (p. 228) is beyond doubt. But there were a few British Columbians with a social conscience or with an interest, official or unofficial, in Indian welfare. Cole makes no mention of colonial British Columbia's 1865 legislation entitled "An Ordinance to Prevent Violation of Indian Graves", which was extended to Vancouver Island with the union of the colonies, and which was not repealed upon union with Canada. Presumably it was this ordinance that provided the basis of the objections to Boas and the Suttons' grave-robbing exploits at Cowichan in the 1880s (pp. 119-121). Who framed this pioneering ordinance, why was it made into law, and when if ever was it repealed?

Similarly, the role of the Hudson's Bay Company is not adequately assessed. Cole remarks that the Company "did little collecting", and that the officials of the Russian-American Company "seem to have been more conscientious." (p. 6) Yet toward the end of the book, we are told the fundamentally important fact that "The Northwest Coast was one of the few North American areas of rich and striking material cultures which remained relatively unshattered at the advent of the Museum Age." (p. 294) How did this come to be? This cultural survival was a result of the lateness of white settlement; was it also a result of the patriarchal but generally benign rule of the Company's bureaucracy? Perhaps the Company's main legacy to British Columbia's coastal Indians was in allowing their culture to remain relatively undisturbed until the mid- or late nineteenth century, at which point the coast was ransacked by museum collectors. While Company officials in a formal, corporate sense may not have collected artifacts, they did, on a level of individual initiative, provide much help to visiting collectors. Cole mentions in this incidental context James Deans, Robert Cunningham, Alexander McKenzie, William Charles, C.E. Morrison, Robert Hunt, W.F. Tolmie and R.H. Hall. How many other Company employees, or former employees, had a hand in collecting between the 1820s and 1920s?

Three other groups of indigenous whites are brought into the book, but in an incidental and unsystematic fashion. These are clergymen, government officials and naval officers. We hear of Bishop Hills, William Duncan and Rev. J.H. Keen, but not of the collections of Bishop Ridley or Canon Beanlands. We learn that the Department of Indian Affairs "did not recruit highly competent men," (p. 351) but this statement is confounded by the work of George Blenkinsop, J.W. McKay and Hamilton Moffatt, whose careers spanned the fur trade, colonial and provincial eras. We are told that "a large number of naval officers gave to a variety of local or national museums in the United Kingdom," (p. 7) but we are told no more. Each of these groups of professional men was well-established here before the first formal museum collections were made in the 1870s. Does not the work of these officials warrant a separate chapter?

British Columbia's late nineteenth century intellectual community, referred to as "small and ineffectual" (p. 228) nevertheless was responsible for the founding of the British Columbia Provincial Museum (1886), the Natural History Society of British Columbia (1890), the Vancouver Art, Historical and Scientific Institute (1890s), and came close to founding a provincial university (1890). Not bad for a society only a generation or two old! The explicit purpose of the Natural History Society was to collect artifacts for the provincial museum. The society was the meeting place of interested clerics, naval officers, retired fur traders, government officials and other professional men and women. Its membership included C.F. Newcombe, collectors James Deans and Canon Beanlands, Indian reserve surveyor Ashdown Green, and photographer Oregon Hastings. Guest lecturers included Franz Boas and Father Brabant of Hesquiat. Yet Cole makes only a passing reference to the society.

While *Captured Heritage* will serve as an indispensable reference book and guide to museum collections in Victoria, Ottawa, and the United States, it is not (nor does it claim to be) the intellectual or the bureaucratic history of British Columbia. Another book is needed that documents more fully the collecting activities of those who lived and worked among the Indians on this frontier.

Richard Mackie is a doctoral candidate in History at the University of British Columbia.

THE IRON CHURCH 1860-1985, Stuart Underhill. Victoria: Braemar Books, 1984. Pp. vi, 99, illus. $6.95 pa.

The Iron Church is a loving chronicle of St. John's Anglican Church, Victoria, by Stuart Underhill. A retired journalist and a member of the congregation, Underhill tells the story of his church and its community from 1860 to 1985. The name iron church came from the first St. John's, built of pre-fabricated iron plates shipped out to Vancouver Island on the orders of Bishop Hills. The Hudson's Bay Company people, colonial officials and miners who attended the pioneer church had difficulty hearing preachers over the sound of rain on the roof. St. John's parish survived that small problem as well as the larger problems of the late nineteenth century Anglican churches in Victoria notably a split between pro and anti-ritualist factions. The latter, in the mid-1870s, separated to form the Reformed Episcopal Church of God under former Church of England minister Edward Cridge, while the 'high' Church people remained with the cathedral or St. John's. St. John's congregation, and particularly its ladies' aid fund raisers, had to make adjustments for a further decline in the parish when the establishment of Vancouver as C.P.R. terminus took business and population from Victoria. The boom of 1900 to 1910 saw St. John's grow and gave its members the opportunity to sell the old iron church property to the Hudson's Bay Company for a department store site. Rector P. Jenns barely moved to the new church at Quadra and Mason Streets before the boom ended and the war began.

When Jenns retired, the first Canadian born rector, F. Chadwick replaced him. Under Chadwick, St. John's served newcomers and temporary residents, as well as its own members, with social and spiritual care. Yet, when Reverend G. Biddle became rector in 1940 the congregation had dwindled. The Depression as

well as the previous rector's illness had taken their toll. Under the dynamic and community-minded leadership of Rev. Biddle, St. John's congregation was more than rebuilt before the church celebrated its centenary in 1960. The unfortunate destruction of the church building by fire at the end of that year did not daunt the parishioners or the pastor. The rebuilding process showed their ability to renew themselves once more.

It is good to see that the 125th anniversary of St. John's and another aspect of Victoria history have been recorded with this volume. It should inspire further archival collecting, research and interpretation on St. John's, its staff, and its congregation—part of the neglected British aspect of British Columbia history. The photographs of the original and renovated churches might be studied as documents on the architectural and social history of the community. The ministers and their congregations might be examined too. Their origins and experience lay in Scotland and Canada as well as in England. Did many church members share Reverend Biddle's British birth and Canadian prairie experience and education? What of the ladies in the guilds? Who taught in the Sunday Schools and what and why? How did St. John's contribute to the shaping of Victoria as a little bit of old England *and* as part of the Anglican Church in Canada?

Jacqueline Gresko, an active member of the Vancouver Historical Society, teaches History at Douglas College.

HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD IN BRITISH COLUMBIA in 1874. ed. Pat Vibert. Vancouver: British Columbia Geneaological Society, 1984. Pp. vii, 117, maps, no price given. (Obtainable through the B.C. Genealogical Society, P.O. Box 94371, Richmond, B.C. V6X 1W9)

In recent years the historiography of British Columbia has been enriched in sum and in kind by a growing body of scholars committed to the use of census data and other such routinely generated material. The use of this type of primary documentation has increased among both amateur and professional researchers. Pat Vibert's work is noteworthy as an addition to reference documents on nineteenth century British Columbia.

Heads of Household in British Columbia in 1874 combines information from two important historical sources: *The Victoria Directory* (1875), and "A List of Persons Entitled to Vote" contained in the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia* (1875) Vibert has compiled over 15,000 entries containing information such as the name, occupation, location and electoral particulars for individual, primarily male, heads of households in B.C.

While this work is a laudable attempt to integrate two existing historical sources into a single reference volume for social historians, its utility is diminished by a few but important organizational errors. Most importantly among these is Vibert's alphabetical arrangement of the data; while this is very convenient for researchers who already possess the surname of a research subject, it is a severe hindrance to historians wishing to use the work for regional studies. For a social historian who wished to study say, occupational structure in the Cariboo, one would literally have to scan all 15,000 entries to pick out the relevant individuals. Obviously, alphabetical listings are convenient to geneologists, but such an arrangement limits the scope of the volume's audience.

Vibert's work includes three pages of helpful and generally useful maps of the province, including detailed insets of the more important regions. This particular feature could, however, have been rendered even more valuable had the author included a brief index indicating which map to consult when locating a given city or town.

Final criticisms of this work are of a very minor nature. Vibert does not clarify why a separate list of Chinese household heads, partially derived from the "Voter's List," is included in this work when the volume's Preface implies their exclusion from political activity. Vibert also fails to point out the absence of virtually all native peoples from inclusion in either the *Directory* or "List" data; with population estimates as high as 40,000 for the year 1871, the native presence should at least be mentioned if only to place non-native figures in their proper perspective.

Finally, it should be mentioned that census data, albeit inadequate in some instances, *is* available for selected areas of the province prior to the federal 1881 census. For example, the census conducted in Victoria in 1871 was used as a partial basis for H.L. Langevin's findings in his *Report on British Columbia* of the following year. At the moment work is being undertaken by an independent researcher to compile a comprehensive list of early census data for the province—a point which some historians and geneologists may wish to keep in mind.

Despite the aforementioned drawbacks, Vibert's work is important in that it gives researchers easy access to two historical resources and stimulates interest in the era as well as the use of these forms of historical documentation.

Irene Moorhouse has worked with census data and is currently completing an M.A. thesis on Social History in Colonial Victoria at the University of Victoria.

ROLLING WITH THE TIMES, Wallace Baikie. Campbell River: Campbell River Museum and Archives, 1984. illus. $20.00

This is an engrossing collection of stories which focus on pioneer life and logging exploits on the North Island. Baikie wrote the book to record some

local history that might otherwise be lost. Fortunately for the reader, he never lets too many names and dates bury a good story. The tales revolve around Baikie's personal experience beginning with the arrival on Denman Island of William Baikie, Wallace's father, and the Piercey clan, Wallace's mother's family, in the late nineteenth century. The first stories recount the hardships of pioneer life and Baikie's own experiences as a child.

Baikie's unique writing style brings his recollections to life. The anecdotes read like an oral history. One seems to hear, rather than read, accounts such as the following:

> *Killing a pig was a big event, as far as we kids were concerned. I don't thing (sic) my Dad ever got proficient at the job. To do the job right, the process is to shoot the pig between the eyes with a twenty-two, roll him over and slice his throat with the butcher knife. Well, on this occasion, my Dad's aim was off or the pig moved his head and the bullet did not hit the vital spot. Mr. Pig wandered off and got into a little low shed (where the pig slept) and wouldn't come out so that my Dad could get on with the execution. We kids got to laughing at my Dad trying to pull the pig out of his abode by the hind leg. My Dad got mad and sent us scurrying into the house. Mum came out bawling Dad out for being so tough on the pig. I think he ended up hitting the pig with an eight pound hammer and then cutting his throat.* (pp. 10-11)

Although there are several anecdotes from Baikie's personal life, the book is largely an account of his experiences as a logger on Northern Vancouver Island and its surroundings. From logging with horses, oxen, a steam donkey, to more recent methods, Baikie describes the jobs he held with large companies and as a "gypo" logger when he and his two brothers formed their own company. So accurate and detailed are his descriptions of logging techniques that the reader might decide he knows enough to go into the woods and log his own timber, after finishing the book!

There are also some great tales about log rolling competitions and some of the loggers' hijinks on and off the job. A tale that particularly comes to mind involves a cougar that attended a Pacific Logging Congress and met up with a mysterious blond.

Rolling With The Times covers events up to the 1980s. The stories are accompanied by pages of memorable photographs, gleaned from various sources, including Baikie's personal albums. Other reviews have emphasized the book's appeal as a local history written by a prominent local figure. As a newcomer, unfamiliar with much of the area's history and its makers, this reader can claim that *Rolling With The Times* will appeal to a broader readership for its readable style as well as its historical documentation of pioneering and logging life from the turn of the century.

Rolling With The Times is available from local bookstores and the Campbell River Museum at a cost of $20.00.

Lorna Holyer is a Campbell River resident.

Patricia Roy is the Book Review Editor. Copies of books for review should be sent to her at 602-139 Clarence St., Victoria V8V 2J1

Contest

The winner of our current contest is Evelyn Goddard of Duncan. The prize: *Sunlight and Shadows, The Landscape of Emily Carr,* **(Oxford University Press, 1984) by Kerry Dodd and Michael Breuer. Entry for the contest was a constructive suggestion for improving the** *News.* **Ms. Goddard's letter contained a number of useful ideas.**

For our new contest we have a very handsome book, *Barns of Western Canada: An Illustrated Century,* **by Bob Hainstock (Braemar Books, Victoria, $26.95). The book is generously illustrated with colour photographs of extant barns, and with historical photographs and sketches in black and white. Most of the barns are on the Prairies, but there is a photo of an early hop barn near Victoria, of buildings on the B.X. Ranch, and of Toad Hall in the Kettle Valley.**

This book will appeal to anyone with an interest in the history of agriculture in Western Canada. To win it, send your answer to the following question, to the Editor of the *News* **before March 1, 1986. The question is:**

What was the name of the Hudson's Bay Company's agricultural subsidiary?

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The British Columbia Historical News

invites applications for the position of Editor.

This voluntary position begins in May 1986 with preparation for the Volume 19, Number 4 issue. Send applications to:

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Deadline for applications is April 1, 1986.