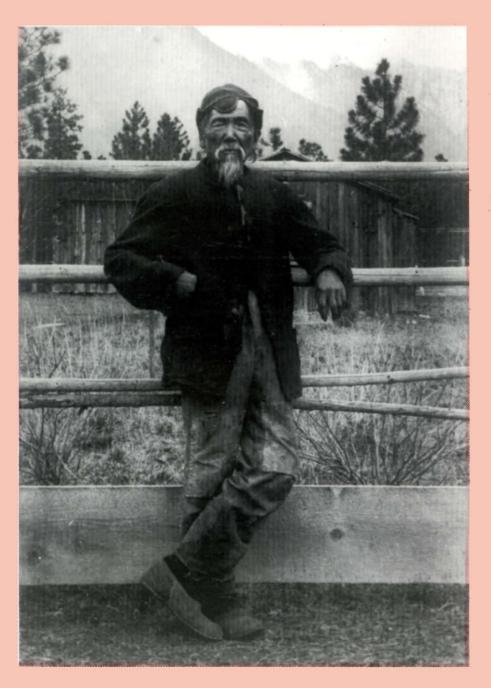
Volume 21, No. 2 Spring, 1988

British Columbia Historical News

Journal of the B.C. Historical Federation



Special Issue

Chinese-Canadians
in
British Columbia

MEMBER SOCIETIES

Member Societies and their secretaries are responsible for seeing that the correct address for their society is up-to-date. Please send any change to both the Treasurer and the Editor at the addresses given at the bottom of this page. The Annual Return as at October 31st should include telephone numbers for contact.

Members' dues for the year 1986/87 were paid by the following Member Societies:

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The B.C. Historical News welcomes submissions of interesting and informative articles or photo essays on any subject relating to British Columbia history. Manuscripts should be typed (double-spaced) with footnotes and/or bibliography, if possible and pertinent. Length to 2500 words. Photos and illustrations appreciated and returned. Authors are asked to provide a very brief "bio" to run at the end of the article. Send to: The Editor, B.C. Historical News, P.O. Box 5626, Stn. B., Victoria, B.C., V8R 6S4.

Back issues of the British Columbia Historical News are available from Micromedia Ltd., 158 Pearl St., Toronto, Ontario, M5H 1L3. Micromedia also publishes the Canadian Magazine Index and the Canadian Business Index.

Editorial

The Spring issue of the B.C. Historical News is proud to recognize in some small way the contribution made by Chinese Canadians to the growth and development of our province.

I regret that we have no articles focusing specifically on either of our two largest Chinese communities. those in Victoria and Vancouver. Nevertheless, the articles in this theme issue present a wide-ranging perspective on the history of the Chinese in British Columbia. I am very pleased with the quality of the submissions that we have received in the last little while.

I once again repeat my request for submissions of typed manuscripts to 2500 words on any subject relating to the history of our province. It would also be nice if more Member Societies were to regularly submit a report on their activities. There are twenty-six of you out there. Is it asking too much for a brief summary of goings on in your area on a quarterly basis? Is there not likely a member in each group who is capable of and happy to type a one page report four times a year? I look forward to some response . . .

The Summer issue of the News will be largely devoted to publishing an updated index of the magazine.

Bob Tyrrell

Report from the Publishing Committee

The News has lost one of its most valuable contributors. Joan Selby has been in charge of mailing your copies for the past year. This sounds like a straight forward task but, in order to maintain our 2nd Class Postal Rate (and thus saving you about \$3.00 a year!), the mailing group have had to bag copies by postal code, following instructions which are extraordinarily convoluted. This has taken Ms. Selby, with a great deal of help from Margaret Waddington and Mary Rawson, up to four days work for one issue. Thank you, Joan, from all of us who read the News.

At the last Council meeting, I gave a report outlining the time volunteered by members of the Federation in putting out the News. During the past two years, I have become increasingly impressed by the willingness of members to write articles, columns and book reports for each issue. Who can estimate how many hours they have invested in this work?

Every three months, the Editor spends the equivalent of a very long work week preparing their output for

the press. The Book Review Editor has already spent hours soliciting and editing the material which keeps us up to date with the increasingly numerous new historical publications.

The other time consuming job is that of Subscription Secretary, and we desperately need a new one. This involves invoicing individual and institutional subscribers and, much more difficult, keeping in touch with branch treasurers in order to make sure that members' subscriptions do not lapse. If anyone is willing to undertake this task, please phone me collect at 539-2888 soon!

We wish to thank the Nanaimo branch for bringing to our attention the bi-centennial of the first Chinese settlement. This issue is perhaps dedicated to those organizing the celebration of that event.

The next theme issue is on Women - whether settlers, visitors, or Indians. If you have an article (on paper or in your head), a diary extract or other material on this topic, please send it to Naomi Miller, whose address is on the inside back cover. As these

topical issues have been very popular, we would like suggestions from readers for future themes, and those who might contribute articles on particular subjects. These also should be sent to Mrs. Miller.

Which brings me to our most important announcement. Bob Tyrrell promised us two years when he became editor and that period ends with the summer issue. We are delighted to tell you that our next editor will be our President, Naomi Miller! She is not only taking over the editorial responsibilities, but has arranged to have the production of the magazine moved to the Interior. Our Committee is pleased to know that the future of the News is in the hands of someone who knows its readership well and has herself been a regular contributor.

This may be a good time for you to send us any suggestions which you may have for changes in, or additions to, the contents of this journal. They can be forwarded to either editor or to the Publishing Committee.

> Ann W. Johnston, News Publishing Committee



NEXT ISSUE

Deadline for the next issue of the B.C. Historical News is June 15/88 Please submit articles and reports to: The Editor P.O. Box 5626, Stn. B

Victoria, B.C. V8R 6S4

Second Port-City

An Overview of New Westminster's Chinese-Canadian Community

Jim Wolf

In writing the history of the Chinese in Canada, historians have largely overlooked the importance of New Westminster's Chinese community. This despite the fact that its Chinatown once served the Lower Fraser Valley, one of the oldest and largest Chinese populations to exist in Canada. This paper presents an overview of the development of New Westminster's Chinese-Canadian community from 1859 to the present. In studying its development, five distinct stages have emerged: the gold rush, 1859 -1880; the railroad era, 1881 - 1898; the great boom period, 1899 - 1913; depression and readjustment, 1914 -1947; and finally dissolution, 1947 present. It will look more closely at the eras prior to World War I, when the community reached its height.

1859 - 1880

In April, 1858 news of the discovery of gold on the Fraser River brought eager prospectors from around the world. As a result of the huge influx, New Westminster was established in 1859 as British Columbia's capital. Among the new arrivals to the city were the Chinese, who travelled from California and the Kwangtung province of China. Although most came by boat, it is believed that "perhaps two thousand came overland from Portland, Oregon to New Westminster, . . . in the first two years of the



Tai Sing and Company Employees outside McInnes St. Store, c. 1902. (Vancouver Public Library Historic Photo Collection)

Gold Rush." As the 'jumping-offplace' for Chinese activities in the interior of B.C., "New Westminster became known to the Chinese as 'yi-fao', or 'second port-city', in relation to Victoria."2 Although the vast majority of these immigrants went directly to the mining country, some stayed in New Westminster to work for white residents and to establish their own businesses. One of the earliest of these was a laundry established by Hi Sing, but purchased in June 1861 by Dong Shoi. Another early business was the Colonial Bakery, operated by Ah Gee until being sold to Chung Kee in 1866.4 By 1869, New Westminster had a small, established Chinese community comprised of twenty-seven residents, including one woman.5

The next decade would see a dramatic increase in the community's population, estimated at 300 by 1880.6 This was a result of individual miners leaving the interior and moving to towns for work as the Gold Rush petered out. Although New Westminster lost its status as provincial capital in 1868, it continued to survive as the center of commerce of mainland British Columbia. Many former miners found jobs in the city as businessmen, cooks and servants, laundrymen, wood cutters, and labourers. Many others worked as farmers in the surrounding Fraser

Valley. Industries which later employed many Chinese were just in their initial stages. In any case, a distinct Chinatown was slowly becoming consolidated along the city's waterfront.

Also at this time the Chinese community began to establish associations to work for common goals.7 Unfortunately, information on the type or size of these groups during this period is indefinite. Indeed, the only documented evidence of mutual cooperation among the Chinese in the city is of an arch erected to welcome Canada's Governor-General Lord Dufferin and his wife on September 5, 1876. It was favorably noted in the Mainland Guardian newspaper that "the Chinese had [erected] an arch on Front Street with the loyal mottoes 'God Save the Oueen' and 'The Dominion For Ever'. it was beautifully illuminated with lanterns at night." The loyal patriotic slogans would seem to indicate that perhaps some Chinese were beginning to think of B.C. as home. However, some whites were just beginning an attack designed to push the Chinese out of the province. The earliest organized group in the city was the Workers Protective Association, formed in 1878 with 40 members.9 This was a branch of a group formed in Victoria in 1873, which, among other concerns, feared the Chinese as an economic threat.

1881 - 1898

Despite opposition, thousands more Chinese were brought to B.C. to work on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, between 1881 and 1886. Andrew Onderdonk, who won the contracts for the Pacific section of the railway, landed over 2,000 Chinese labourers at Yale in 1881 alone. Thousands of these workers passed through New Westminster, and at one point in 1882, "there was a near riot when a group of 900 were kept overnight at a dock . . . like so many cattle." The sudden flurry of activity brought an instant boom to New Westminster. which became an important shipping and commercial center for the railway workers. As a result, the city's Chinatown expanded along Front Street, east of Lytton Square. The city's most prominent Chinese merchant and labour contractor, Kwong On Wo and Company, opened an impressive new brick block on Front Street in May, 1887. Many Chinese found work in and around New Westminster in a surprising variety of tasks including the following occupations: farm labourers, cannery workers, sawmill hands, ditch diggers, fuel cutters, cooks and servants, washermen, barbers, merchants, vegetable sellers, prostitutes, doctors, carpenters and school teachers.11

After the completion of the railway in 1886 many Chinese left the province and returned to China and the United States. Others stayed, unable to find employment or leave the province because of poverty. As a result many Chinese suffered terribly; some even died because of disease, starvation, and exposure. Early in 1886 New Westminster City Council recognized the problem and set up a committee to collect funds for food and to open a soup kitchen.12 Despite these hardships, the Chinese community still found enough spirit to celebrate the New Year. In 1886 the elaborate fireworks display attracted "hundreds of spectators [who] thronged Front Street to witness the illuminations."13

Although Vancouver had become the Canadian Pacific Railway's terminus in 1886, and was booming as a result, New Westminster continued to

thrive. As the center for Fraser Valley trade, the city would remain dominant. This was reflected in the growth of the city's Chinese community, which dominated its Vancouver counterpart in the Lower Fraser Valley trade for many years. Large numbers of Chinese who worked seasonally in canneries, sawmills, and farms called New Westminster home. Chinatown even expanded, as room on Front Street was becoming very limited, sandwiched between the white business center and the steep cliffs and industry to the east. The lowland west of Eighth Street known as 'the swamp' became Chinatown proper as the 1890's progressed. Here, stores and boarding houses were squeezed in among livery stables and Indian shacks. Also, the Methodist Church built a church at McInnes and Carnarvon Streets in 1891, aimed at converting the Chinese to Christianity. However, this Chinatown remained very modest until after the great fire of 1898.

The fire began the night of September 10, 1898 at Brackman and Ker's wharf and quickly spread to Front Street, consuming Chinatown's tightly packed wooden buildings. Here one of the most tragic incidents of the fire occurred. Mun Lee, the head of the Kwong Wing Lung Company, died of a heart attack when he rushed into his burning store to rescue his money box.14 Kwong On Wo and Company lost its impressive brick block and \$20,000 worth of opium stored there. Fanned by the wind, the fire quickly destroyed most of the downtown. Even Chinatown proper, in the swamp, was not spared, the fire having spread as far as 10th Street and Royal Avenue. As soon as news of the fire reached Victoria, its Chinese Benevolent Society met and immediately sent \$1,500 to aid their countrymen.15 Following the fire in New Westminster, over 300 Chinese were fed three meals a day at the Armouries, which was set up as a relief center.

As soon as the smoke cleared, New Westminster's citizens lost no time in rebuilding their city. The Chinese residents were no exception, and led the way in reconstruction. Kwong On Wo and Co. erected the first brick struc-

ture after the fire at their old location. However, the company, along with most Chinese, abandoned the Front Street Chinatown in favor of the swamp. The company's new store, built on Columbia Street, was an impressive brick structure designed by architect T.E. Julian. This and other buildings erected in the 'new' Chinatown after the fire amounted to over \$35,000 in construction by 1899.

1899 - 1913

In the years 1899 - 1913, New Westminster shared in the prosperity brought by an improved economy, new immigration, railways and resource development. These years were also the point of highest development in the city's Chinese community. The economic growth brought new opportunities for the Chinese business community, which expanded and diversified greatly as a result. Organization among the community also was at its height, with a variety of groups established to develop and protect their interests at home and abroad. As a result of their cultural organization the community's festivals and customs flourished. However, the growth of Chinatown also brought a rise in anti-oriental feelings among some members of the city, which marred this period of prosperity.

By 1901 New Westminster's Chinatown had 36 businesses, mainly general merchants and grocers (17), laundries (12), and other services such as tailors (4).16 The largest of the general merchants was Kwong On Wo and Co., which was involved in several enterprises. Besides selling goods it contracted labour, milled rice, processed opium, and canned fruit and salmon at its 'Westminster Cannery' in Queensborough.17 Many of the grocers received fresh produce from Chinese farms throughout the Fraser Valley, including Queensborough. Although the majority of customers were Chinese, many whites were attracted by competitive prices. The importance of Chinese laundries to the city's white residents is illustrated by their number and also by scathing front page news articles whenever prices were raised.18

Like most other Chinese communities in Canada, the Chinese of New

Westminster had a variety of community, political, fraternal, clan and district associations. The earliest and most important was the communitywide New Westminster Chinese Benevolent Association. It was established sometime between 1884 and 1896, probably by the wealthy Chinese merchants.19 In 1904 the Association built an 'old mens home' on Victoria Street, which also served as its headquarters. From here the Association fought battles on behalf of its members and later operated a Chinese language school among other activities. Associations in New Westminster which combined political and fraternal functions during this period were the Empire Reform Association, the Chinese Freemasons, and the Chinese Nationalist League or Kuomintang. There were also quasi-political bodies called 'reading rooms' where meetings were held and newspapers and books provided. A number of clan or family associations which restricted membership to those with the same last name operated in the city. Similarly, those Chinese from various provinces in China also banded together for meetings. Other associations such as labour and employer groups also held meetings in the city during this period.

Chinese culture was not only present in their associations, but also in celebrations and customs which fascinated the general public. The New Year's celebration was of particular importance to the Chinese, and introduced many white residents to their culture. In 1907 the *British Columbian* noted:

White visitors are always treated with the utmost courtesy by the Chinamen. This morning a crowd of boys invaded Chinatown and went from one house to another and were provided with sweetmeats of all kinds at each place. Grown-ups are generally offered cigars, 'sam suey', or even champagne.²⁰

Another tradition which caught the public's attention was the custom of funeral parades and burial rites. In March, 1902, the funeral for city merchant Tai Kee attracted so much attention as the coffin was paraded through city streets, that many curious residents followed the parade two miles to witness the last rites.²¹ Since the



Funeral Parade for Chinese Merchant Tai Kee, 1902. (New Westminster Museum)

1880's the Chinese had been using the present day High School site as a cemetery. After a body had been buried there for three to six months the bones were removed and sent back to China. After World War I this Chinese Cemetery closed and more westernized burials took place in the Fraser Cemetery.

Throughout this period of growth the Chinese community in B.C. was continuously faced with racial prejudice. This racism came to a head when members of the Asiatic Exclusion League rioted in Vancouver's Chinatown on September 7, 1907. Although no one was hurt, some Chinese merchants who feared further attacks sent their wives and children to the safety of New Westminster.22 After the riot the Asiatic Exclusion League moved to establish a branch in New Westminster. When asked by the press if they were thinking of a similar riot there, its secretary responded "if such would do the cause any benefit then it would not be discouraged."23 In light of this attitude, the city's Chinese community must have been apprehensive when about one hundred people signed up at the branch's first meeting in November 1907.24 Although no riot occurred, this group did have a significant effect on the city's racial climate.

1914 - 1947

World War I had a grave impact on

New Westminster's Chinese community because it signalled its demise. Unemployment during the war was severe, resulting in a significant drop in Chinatown's population. After the war, jobs were taken by returning soldiers and new immigrants. The merchants of Chinatown also declined as a result of financial losses in the realestate boom prior to the war and a loss of customers.25 The population decline was compounded by the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, which cut Chinese immigration severely. This, combined with a lack of Chinese women, effectively ended the growth of Chinese communities in Canada for the next twenty-five years.

The decline in New Westminster was accelerated by the systematic demolition of wooden buildings condemned by the Fire Chief and Building Inspector. These properties were purchased from financially strapped merchants, and soon Chinatown was replaced by light industry, gas stations, automobile dealerships, and automotive supply stores. During the depression, the remaining community was a shadow of its former self. However, despite these significant changes the community survived. Many of the older Chinese men moved into the Riverside Apartment Building at Royal Avenue and Eleventh Street and to other homes in the area. Businesses became dispers-



View of New Westminster's Chinatown, c. 1909. Businesses on Columbia between McInnes and McNeely. (Vancouver Public Library Historic Photo Collection)

ed at different locations throughout downtown New Westminster. Those which served the Chinese community more directly moved to small shops in or near the Riverside Apartments. Organizations like the Chinese Benevolent Society and the Freemasons continued to operate at their old locations. The Chinese Nationalist League moved to a house on Royal Avenue and held meetings in the Riverside Apartments.

1947 - present

In 1947, as a result of hard lobbying by Chinese-Canadians, the disastrous Immigration Act of 1923 was repealed and changed to allow the immigration of wives and unmarried children.26 Also that year, the B.C. Legislature granted the vote to Chinese-Canadians.27 Although it would be many years before the revival of Chinese communities in Canada began, these events signalled the beginning. However, it was too little, too late for the smaller Chinatowns in B.C. like New Westminster, which had suffered significant decline. A population of over 900 people in 1910²⁸ had dropped to only 400 by 1941²⁹. This decrease can be partly attributed to the close proximity of New Westminster to Vancouver's vibrant Chinatown; only 30 minutes away via the Central Park Interurban line.

The visible presence of the Chinese in New Westminster was reduced further by the expansion of business and industry into the remaining Chinatown in the post-war era. This encroachment into the Chinese district resulted from the suggestion of "Harland Bartholomew and Associates, town planning experts, who advised [the city of] the need for developing the western section of the city for commercial enterprise"30. It was on this firm's advice that City Council had decided to move the City Market from its old location, to Columbia Street near the foot of Eleventh Street in 194731. The result was the destruction of houses, apartments, and stores occupied by Chinese residents during the 1940's and 1950's. The Riverside Apartment, which had replaced Chinatown after the 1920's, was demolished about 1948. By the 1970's the only remnants of the once vibrant community were the Chinese Nationalist League, on Royal Avenue, and the Chinese Benevolent Association. Remarkably, the Benevolent Association survived in the building it had constructed in 1904 as its headquarters, on Victoria Street. However, by 1979 both Associations, which had been inactive for sometime, disbanded. Finally, these two buildings, the last physical reminders of Chinatown, were demolished in 1980. Today, with the exception of the comraderie felt among former residents of Chinatown, nothing remains.

As can be seen in this brief overview, the study of New Westminster's Chinatown can contribute significantly to understanding the growth of Canada's Chinese community. It also reveals the interdependence of Whites and Chinese in the Fraser Valley. Just as Chinatown's prosperity was determined by the well-being of the City and District, the White community needed the presence of Chinese labour. The growth of the salmon canning, lumber and agricultural industries depended on a large supply of cheap labour. In addition, the city's residents relied on Chinatown to supply cooks and servants for their homes and competitively priced groceries, goods and services. The success of Chinatown was reflected by the development of a strong community, apparent by the numerous associations. This close inter-relationship was only broken after the depression during World War I. and the ultimate loss of traditional jobs for Chinese workers. This combined with other detrimental factors, led finally, to the end of New Westminster's Chinese-Canadian Community.

(cont'd on p. 12)

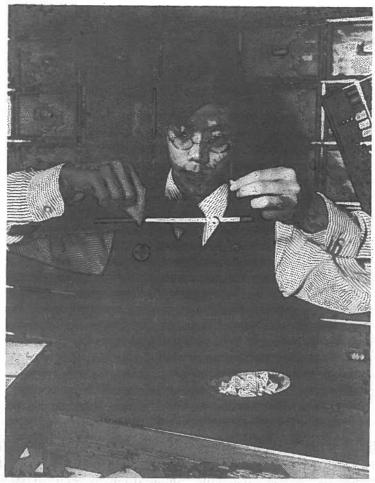
A Chinese Herbalist in British Columbia

John Adams

Modern history in British Columbia began in 1858 when tens of thousands of gold seekers converged on the sparsely settled fur territories of the Hudson's Bay Company and almost overnight created cities in the wilderness. Chinese gold miners from California were in the vanguard of this mass immigration and played an important part in mainland British Columbia's entire colonial period (1858 - 1871). In the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island, too, although the main gold fields were not located there, a large Chinese population soon grew up, mainly in Victoria which was the largest supply base and commercial centre for both island and mainland colonies.

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway brought thousands more Chinese labourers to British Columbia in the early 1880's. The presence of these additional Chinese, especially when they glutted the labour market following the railroad's completion in 1886, increased the anti-Chinese agitation which had been present in the province since the earliest gold rush days. Thus the Chinese, one of the Pioneer ethnic groups in the province, became the target of increasing racial discrimination which culminated in the passing of federal legislation in 1923 restricting further Oriental immigration to Canada.

One of the arguments often used by whites against the Chinese in British Columbia in the late 19th and early



(Photo courtesy of Burnaby Village Museum)

20th centuries was that they kept their traditional beliefs and habits. Chinese stores with wide selections of Oriental dry goods and food catered to the many Chinese who knew no other way of life than that which they had led in China and who eventually intended to return there. Even in such remote places as Barkerville where the Chinese population reached as much as one third of the total in the 1870's, Chinese residents could buy food and clothing, and could worship, gamble and relax without going beyond the confines of their own quarter.

One of the traditions the Chinese brought with them to British Columbia was Chinese medicine. This is a type of natural medicine, based primarily on the curative powers of herbs, minerals and animal products. It is centuries old in China where it was practiced extensively, especially in the south near Canton, where it was often mixed with astrology and black magic. Since it is largely from this region that most of North America's Chinese

came, it is not surprising that Chinese doctors (often referred to as herbalists even though they dealt in other medicines too) were among those who soon appeared wherever Chinese settled in British Columbia.

Frequently the herbalist operated in a corner of a Chinese general store, as in the case of New Westminster's Kwong Sam Sing store which in 1879 advertised groceries and general merchandise as well as Chinese medicines. Sometimes, however, entire shops were devoted to the herbalist's practice. One such shop was the Way Sang Yuen Wat Kee business which opened in Victoria in about 1905 on Government Street in the heart of the city's Chinatown.

In 1971 the owner of this shop, Lum Chuck Yue, died. Because the market for traditional Chinese medicines was small no one wished to operate the business, consequently it was sold to a private antique dealer. Then in 1974, after having passed through several other hands, it was purchased by Heri-



(Photo courtesy of Burnaby Village Museum)

tage Village (now Burnaby Village Museum) with money made available by the Vancouver Foundation and the Province of British Columbia. This collection now forms the nucleus of the museum's re-assembled Chinese herbalist's shop. Most of the equipment and fixtures purchased had originally been imported from China or Hong Kong, although some shelves and showcases were made locally.

The main feature of the store, one of the pieces manufactured in China, is an elaborate set of dispensary drawers contained in two side-by-side mahogany frames which stand on a single mahogany base. In total, there are 70 Asian cedar drawers, with rosewood fronts, each divided into three or four compartments to hold a separate natural remedy, and dovetailed together. The rosewood drawer fronts are treated in a reddish brown varnish, in contrast to the burgundy coloured stain of the mahogany frame. Both of these original finishes are still in excellent condition in spite of 70 years of frequent handling.

A wide covered shelf mounted on top of the drawer units provides extra display space for round lacquered bamboo containers which hold an assortment of dried medicinal flowers. Surrounding this covered shelf is a sectional frame of hand-carved wood in a lichee nut motif. This has been finished in gilt with red edging and is truly one of the outstanding features of the collection. Altogether, there are four separate sections comprising the drawer and top shelf units, all of which are held together by means of mortise and tenon joints. When assembled, the entire piece measures nine feet high by nine feet wide and dominates the retail or public area of the shop.

In China an herbalist's shop with fixtures as fine as those in the Way Sang Yuen Wat Kee shop, with their varnished finish and gilded carvings, was considered a high-class establishment. In British Columbia such fixtures were probably unique. Even in San Francisco only a few herbalists could boast of having their equal because most North American herbalists used much plainer fixtures, usually consisting of either painted or unvarnished drawer units with no carving of any type, although gilded wood carvings were sometimes found in other contexts, such as around door frames, or on altars in temples.

Although each herbalist would be-

come familiar with the configuration of his own dispensary drawers, some preferred to put labels on each drawer face to identify the contents. In the case of the Way Sang Yuen Wat Kee shop, not only are such labels affixed to the front of each drawer, but also a unique identifying character is placed on the side of each drawer, a practice which was not common among the other herbalists in North America. These Chinese characters, each a separate word, when read in the correct sequence constitute a traditional Chinese poem which describes the creation of the earth. Among Chinese this poem is frequently used instead of numbers as a means of counting or keeping order, but it is particularly apt for a Chinese herbalist's shop because of the universal aspect of Chinese medicine which has as a main premise the harmony of the human body and its earthly environment.

A glass-fronted mahogany cabinet, also with a gilded wooden carved frame above, matches the drawer unit and stands beside it close to the front of the shop. But in spite of the quality of cabinetry in this piece, it contains only rows of unmatched jam and pickle jars which contain a variety of prepared powders.

Other improvised containers for herbs and medicines indicate that the owner of the Way Sang Yuen Wat Kee shop had not been able to maintain the type of fashionable shop he had originally intended, probably due, at least in part, to a decrease in the Chinese population in Canada during World War I and after the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1923. For example, tea, lard and jam tins are very common in the collection, as are wooden crates and tea boxes in which goods had been received from China. Also, a set of glass-fronted shelves near the rear of the shop prominently displays rows of cheap late 19th century Chinese porcelain bowls, most of them cracked or broken, in which herbs were stored.

Before the herbs were put in the dispensary drawers or other containers for display, they underwent many hours of preparation in the kitchen and other work areas. To start with, the herbs which arrived from the Or-

ient in wooden packing crates needed washing before further processing. A sink for washing and a multi-tiered rack which fits seven woven bamboo drying trays are placed in the kitchen for this purpose.

Once clean, some herbs needed further attention before being ready for sale. This might entail steaming in a wok on the brick coal and wood stove, or chopping, grinding, flattening, or pulverising in one of the preparing rooms. These work rooms contained two pieces of equipment which were trademarks of Chinese herbalist shops, the foot-powered grinder and the table-top chopper. The grinder is used for grinding large quantities of hard medicines such as shells and certain minerals. As its name implies it is operated by foot, the feet resting on a wooden dowel which fits into the centre of a 14-inch diameter cast-iron grinding wheel which is worked in a back-and-forth motion in the trough of a separate cast-iron grinding receptacle. The grinder at Burnaby Village Museum measures 35 inches in length.

The table-top chopper consists of a small table on which is mounted a cleaver-like blade hinged at one end. It is used for chopping softer medicines such as roots or skins into useable sizes. Another item typical of herbalist shops is the herb plane, used for slicing thin pieces from roots, bark, or other hard herbs in stick form. The one in the museum collection is made of rosewood and in shape resembes a wood plane, but is wider than those commonly used by carpenters. Unlike a wood plane, however, it is used upside down with the blade facing upwards. It is sometimes mounted on a wooden block, as is the one at Burnaby Village Museum, or in a specially made bench which the user can straddle as he slices. One more piece of equipment, the sieve, was indispensable in the herbalist's preparing room. At Burnaby Village Museum seven round sieves of various diameters hang from the preparing room wall. Each consists of a round wooden frame with a silk cloth mesh stretched across one end. Chinese characters on the rims indicate which ones may be used for sifting particular types of powders.

Once the herbs or minerals had been washed, steamed, ground, cut or sifted they were placed in the dispensary drawers or other containers ready for sale. When he made up a remedy the herbalist took the raw medicine from them, weighed it on a ching (a finger balance), then bruised it in a double mortar and pestle set mounted on his counter. Such a double set has one brass mortar used for bruising internal medicines and a cast-iron one used for poisons or external medicines. If the customer was taking the medicine home the herbalist then wrapped it in a paper packet.

The method used most frequently when preparing herbs for consumption is to boil them, usually for long periods of up to ten hours. The infusion is then drunk. If the customer did not take the raw medicine home, the herbalist would prepare the herbal teas in his own kitchen while the customer waited. As a result, two telltale indications of an herbalist's shop were the aroma of fresh herbal teas being boiled, and the collection of men sitting at the rear of the store chatting, reading, or playing cards while they waited for their herbal concoctions to be brewed.

The herbalist's served the useful social function of meeting place for both customers and friends. The rear of the herbalist's also acted as a sort of unofficial post office for transient or illiterate Chinese who needed a permanent mailing address, so a wire rack containing letters is a prominent feature in the display at Burnaby Village Museum.

Also at the rear of the store, but hung high above where the men sat, is a mirrored glass sign measuring 56 by 24 inches across the front and which faces all who enter the store, stating in gold leaf characters that this is the place of business of the Way Sang Yuen Wat Kee and Company. This sign, one of the few artifacts in the collection that bears a manufacturer's label was made in Hong Kong by the Wing Yik Lee Company.

In the absence of any written records about the Way Sang Yuen Wat Kee shop, and even of oral accounts that can accurately clarify events in Victoria's Chinatown at the turn of the

century, it is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusions about the shop's origins. However, oral accounts do hold that the Way Sang Yuen Wat Kee shop as it was dismantled in 1974 was a combination of two separate shops, both founded in Victoria shortly after the turn of the century. All of the more elaborate fixtures came from a shop bearing the name Way Sang Yuen Wat Kee whose owner bought out the other shop, called Wah Sun, and moved into its premises in the Lee Block at the corner of Government and Fisgard Streets in 1924. At the time the two shops were combined, the plainer fixtures from the Wah Sun shop, including a small set of dispensary drawers, were removed to storage and work areas. The exact dates of manufacture for the pieces from either shop are not known, but their styles indicate they could have been made any time in the last quarter of the 19th century.

But putting a date on the shop for museum display purposes involved considering more than just the date of the fixtures or of the shop's founding. The main other point taken into account was the Chinese Revolution of 1911 which brought about major changes in dress, even in Chinese communities in North America. Before this time most Chinese, even those living outside of their homeland, continued to wear the queue and traditional costume. Dr. Sun Yat Sen, however, attempted to westernize his country and directed that queues be cut off and encouraged the wearing of western clothing. A photograph that hung in the office of the original Way Sang Yuen Wat Kee shop shows Sun with short hair and dapperly dressed in a tweed suit complete with watch and chain. So that this photograph could legitimately hang in the re-assembled store, and so that the costumed attendant would not have to wear the demeaning queue, the date of the display was set at 1911 or shortly thereafter. Three years before this date, too, the sale and manufacture of opium had been made illegal in Canada. Thus the display does not contain any reference to this drug, although earlier Chinese herbalist shops may very well have sold it.

The History of Nanaimo's Three Chinatowns

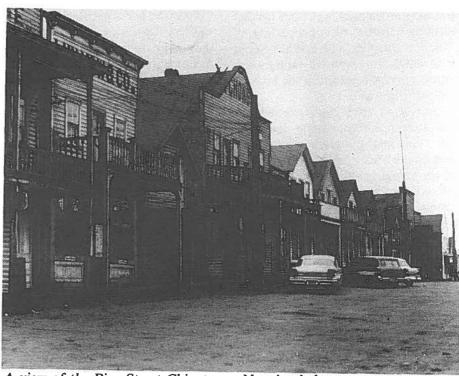
Pamela Mar

"CHINATOWN" — the very word still emits an aura of excitement, intrigue and mystery. Indeed, for many years Chinatowns were a mystery to those who lived outside of them. Today, all over the world, Chinatowns are being revitalised, expanded and opened up. Their facades are attractively re-painted, shops and restaurants abound and traditional arches are set up. They are a mecca for tourists, and only rarely a home for their ethnic population.

The dictionary defines "Chinatown" as part of a large town, especially a seaport, where Chinese live as a colony. In British Columbia the early Chinese migrants set up both on the coast and in the interior, as first gold and then the building of the railway drew them away from the coastal region.

The Chinese were meticulous and patient gold miners. Some made fortunes, others may have done so. Many merely existed. Perhaps those who did best in the long run were the merchants who set out to supply their fellow countryment and the white population with whatever was needed, from picks to provisions.

When the first flush of gold mining was over and gleanings were poor, it was necessary to find other work.



A view of the Pine Street Chinatown, Nanaimo's last.

Quick to learn, the Chinese saw an opportunity in the expanding coal fields on Vancouver Island, and some made their way to Nanaimo.

Their first settlement was by the water, where today's harbour is situated. In the late 1860s Nanaimo was a growing town, though one with few big houses. The Chinese began working wherever a mine would take them on, usually moving to the vicinity of their work. So, in time, small communities of Chinese could be found in Ladysmith and Extension and a fairly large one in Wellington. They were sometimes tolerated in the mines and at other times banned — especially from underground working. Much depended on the labour situation. Sometimes they were employed directly by the companies; at others sub-contracted by white miners who used them as quick assistants, to enhance their own earnings.

Whatever their employment, they earned less than the white workers and generally less than the Indians. Early rates quoted per day were \$1.75 to \$3.75 for white miners, \$1.25 to \$1.50 for Indians and \$1.12 to \$1.25 for the Chinese. This differential continued as time went on and rates rose.

There were considerably fewer Chinese than whites in the workings. More

were employed by the Dunsmuirs than the other mines. The many explosions and pit accidents over the years took their toll, though the names of the Chinese who died are not always recorded as most were given a number rather than a name on the payroll.

Gradually the Chinese were becoming a recognised part of Nanaimo's community. There were Chinese shops in the vicinity of the first Chinatown and a number of laundries were opened. When in October 1882, the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne. visited Nanaimo, the Chinese built one of the seven arches put up to greet him. It stood opposite the Hong Hang store on busy Victoria Crescent. The arch was traditional in style and was decorated with lanterns and silk flowers. Its inscriptions in English read "God Save All The Royal Family" and "By Industry We Prosper". On the reverse side was "Coal Is King" and "Unity Is Strength". In Chinese characters was "The Great Ching Nation". Descriptions in the Press refer to the arch as "unique and tasteful". It was reported to have cost the Chinese community about \$750, a very large sum in the currency of those days, especially considering their

Hong Hang advertised himself in

the 1882 - 83 Directory as a Merchant Tailor, and general dealer in dry goods, groceries, tinware and Chinese merchandise. Among other oriental businesses listed were another tailor, a grocer, a grocer and butcher, a general merchant, two laundries and a labour contractor. The Nanaimo newspapers of the early days did not carry much in the way of Chinese advertising, though Victoria's Kwong Lee regularly publicised his wares here. In the Free Press of October 20, 1875, Ma Look, who had a butcher's shop on Victoria Crescent, informed readers that "a Chinese Intelligence Office" was carried on in connection with the above business, and he could supply cooks, workmen, etc., at short notice. The Chinese were versatile as well as industrious.

Another sphere in which the Chinese found a niche was market gardening. Small holdings were obtained or leased and the Chinese pedlar became a regular sight in town delivering fresh vegetables. Here, too, there was opposition, complaints being made on health grounds about the unsanitary nature of their gardens, the writer noting with strong emphasis that the competition from the Chinese was entirely unfair to the white market gardener.

By 1884 there were several thousand more Chinese in the province, due to the recruiting of workers by Andrew Onderdonk to help build the Trans-Canada railway. The increase was creating an even greater backlash. The appointment of the Chinese Immigration Commission in July to review the problems led to several news items and editorials in the Free Press against further immigration. Not only were the Chinese a threat to the men working in the mines, it was noted, but they were also keeping women from working by taking up many available domestic positions. This, of course, ignored the fact that it was not easy to get "domestics", the single girls usually finding husbands soon after their arrival.

In Nanaimo a White Labour Laundry was opened, which stated it would be employing "no Chinese labour". Nevertheless, Nanaimo evidence to the Commission was not expressed in racist terms, as it was from some areas,

but pointed to the unfair competition. Still the mood was certainly ugly, and the Chinese found themselves harassed both at home and in business. In a rare letter to the paper a "Citizen" protested against the hoodlums who were beating and robbing the Chinese.

Mr. Samuel Robbins, manger for the Vancouver Coal Mining and Land Company, took matters in hand. The Company set aside eight acres of land to the south of town and decreed that all Chinese living on Company land must move there. The 1892 B.C. Directory notes that "the Chinese storekeepers and residents are located at a point entirely isolated from the dwellings of the citizens, and only laundries in the City are tenanted by Chinese". That directory does not list the Chinese merchants, but later editions and other advertising show that the Chinese were still trading and working on the main streets.

In 1908 the land on which Chinatown stood was purchased by entrepreneur Mah Bing Kee. Rents paid to the Company had previously been low or non-existent, but with the change of ownership rents were raised. This did not sit well with the residents, who formed a mutual company and bought land on the edge of town for a third and definitive Chinatown. Dismantling their buildings they moved everything to the new location.

It is this Chinatown which people most remember.

The corporate body alloted various locations for business premises, boarding houses and other residences. Rentals were fixed at very nominal cost to attract additional settlers, the aim being to centralise the Chinese population rather than to make great profits. A school and a 400-seat Opera House were built. The Chinese Church (later United Church) rose on its own land, and there was a Chinese temple.

A Chinese mission had begun in Nanaimo in 1894 when Mr. Thom Chu Tong was sent there from Victoria. In the first year he succeeded in collecting about \$1000 from Chinese people in Nanaimo, Ladysmith, Cumberland and elsewhere to erect the building in 1895. In 1898 Mr. Fong Dickman was placed as missionary in charge at Nanaimo. He stayed until

1906 and was followed by Mr. Chan Yu Tan, who remained on Vancouver Island for many years.

As male family members arrived the clan and fraternal associations grew. Each society or company had its own representative to a local council that made the Chinatown by-laws and settled disputes with binding decisions.

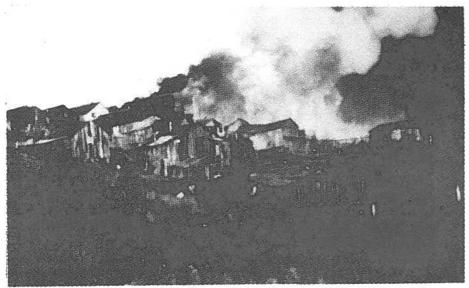
Although there were many bachelors, and "single" men who could not afford the costly head tax to bring their wives from China, a number of families had settled. The new generation, born in Canada, needed to be taught Chinese culture, history and geography as well as the proper use of the Chinese language and ethics. A succession of teachers instructed the pupils, who attended the Chinese school after ordinary school and probably after helping in the family business as well.

Restaurants and other businesses thrived in Chinatown. The establishments with a gambling room were very popular and sometimes merchants were moved from their premises to make room for a new gambling house. The Opera House regularly featured touring companies from Hong Kong and China. In the various clubs the art of self defence was taught.

In the early 1920s Chinatown expanded to adjacent streets. The population fluctuated over the years but at its zenith was reported to number about 2,500 as other Chinese "came to town" on weekends.

In 1923, however, the Chinese Exclusion Act all but stopped further immigration. Little had taken place for some years, partly because of the prohibitive \$500 head tax. The Chinese had been disenfranchised, and Canadian-born Chinese were debarred from certain professions and however well qualified were often excluded from Government employment. Although greatly resented, the law did at least defuse anti-Chinese tension.

With the gradual closing of the mines by the late 1940s, many Chinese left Nanaimo. The younger generation had been better educated in western ways and they and others found work within the local white community. Tolerance returned and many Nanaimoites speak affectionately of visits to



The fire which destroyed the Pine Street Chinatown in 1960.

Chinatown, especially at holiday times, to see a Lion Dance, to stand clear of the firecrackers, or to enjoy a delicious Chinese meal. It was also a place where you could get bootleg liquor! There are warm recollections of Chinese generosity at festivals, of gifts of lichee nuts and sweetmeats. People recall how the Chinese would shuffle along the wooden sidewalks or walk single file along the roads or railway tracks on their way home from the mines.

On September 30, 1960, a careless fire spread through the tinder-dry houses and in a few hours Chinatown was no more. The "City within a City", which had found permanence in a multitude of artists sketches and as a Hollywood film set, was little more than smouldering ash.

The outpouring of help was instantaneous and extensive. Total rebuilding of Chinatown was not feasible. Many former residents had already moved a little way out into the community, but a senior citizens home was necessary and was built on the old property. It housed the elderly and bachelor Chinese. Nanaimo no longer has a Chinatown to display to the world, but the recollections are there.

With tremendous thought for the future, however, artifacts were collected and stored to be the nucleus of the fine exhibit that can be seen today in the Nanaimo Centennial Museum. Mr. Edward Hoy Lee was the prime mover in this endeavour, and members of the Chinese community still add

items from old Chinatown to the collection.

In 1973 the City was sounded out about accepting a piece of property from the Chinese community as a memorial garden to the early Chinese pioneers of Canada. It was a welcome gift, located in a recreation area near the water. The old burial ground, long ago emptied of its "golden bones", which were sent back to China for traditional burial in the homeland, was converted to a tranquil Memorial Garden, honouring these early pioneers. Opened with much ceremony in 1976 after substantial fund raising and with the help of Government grants, the Garden is the first such memorial in North America. In more recent years, the newer Chinese cemetery, which is still in use, has also been upgraded.

The rights to citizenship and re-enfranchisement were finally restored to the Chinese in B.C. in 1949. The lifting of the Exclusion Act in 1947 had allowed families to be reunited, though full immigration equality was not given until 1967. Today, Nanaimo can point proudly to the achievements of her 120-year old Chinese community in many walks of life, as part of the mosaic of multiculturalism which is Canada.

The writer would like to acknowledge the contribution of members of the Chinese community in Nanaimo in recording over the years the history of the Chinese in the area. Among these, special mention is due to Mr. Ed Lee, Mr. Chuck Wong and Dr. Jacque Mar.

Port-City cont'd

Footnotes

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 p. 14
- 2 Ibid. p. 80
- 3 The British Columbian. 6 June 1861: p. 3
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- 5 The Mainland Guardian, 6 May 1871: p. 3
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- 8 The Mainland Guardian. 6 September 1876: p. 3
- 9 Ward, W. Peter. White Canada Forever. (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1978) p. 34
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- 11 Ma, Ching. Chinese Pioneers. (Vancouver: Versitile Press, 1979.) pp. 61 62 (Note: the table in this book has been incorrectly marked 1878, See: Morton, p. 120.)
- 12 The Mainland Guardian. 27 January 1886: p. 3
- 13 Ibid. 20 February 1886: p. 3
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- 25 Personal Interview with Chinatown resident Chung Koo. New Westminster, October 6, 1986.
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Chinese Opera Costume

Thelma Reid Lower

There are 271 items of Chinese Opera costume at the Museum of Anthropology, UBC. This valuable collection of Cantonese Opera costumes was made c. 1900 - 1940 and used in performances at Hong Kong. During World War II the opera group sold the lot of its theatrical properties to the Jim Wah Sing Theatrical Association. On August 28, 1973 the entire collection was bought by the Museum of Anthropology. Financing for the purchase was through the Museum's Donations-Purchase Fund.

The costumes are kept in a dark textile storage area of the Museum in order to preserve them. Without this careful attention they would suffer fading and fabric deterioration. The environment of the textile storage area is strictly controlled, having constant humidity, constant temperature and no light. The costumes are therefore not on continuous public display but anyone who has a special interest in opera costumes may make an appointment to view the collection.

On the occasion of the opening of the Museum in May 1976 a whole gallery was given over to a full display of these magnificent Chinese Opera robes and their theatrical accessories.

One ornate costume for the role of an immortal princess, the seventh daughter of the Heavenly Emperor, is a "double robe" designed for the quick changes needed during performance as the action of the princess develops in the story.



Chinese opera costumes at Museum of Anthropology, UBC. (Photo by Ken Kuromoto, courtesy of UBC Museum of Anthropology)

The top surface of her "double robe" has opening buttons at the front, customary extended sleeves and slits at the sides. The bodice and sleeves of purple silk appliqued with thickly padded white peonies and chrysanthemums, are embroidered in twisted metallic gold thread. "Twocash" symbols, round like coins are embroidered on panels to signify wealth.

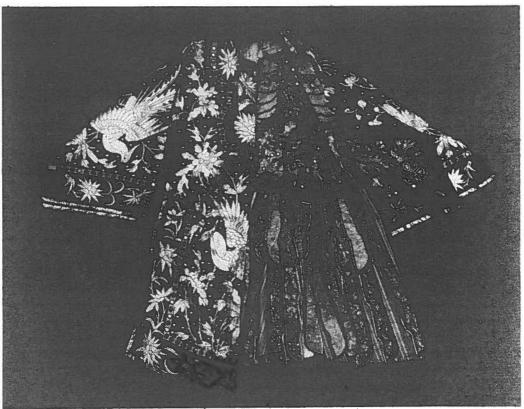
The skirt part of the garment has thirteen overlapping panels of bright colours which drape from the hips. The central widest panel features three motifs of the Monarch — Canopy, cloud and mountain. At the hem green tassels dangle to and fro to disclose the tiny feet of a high-born princess.

In a twinkling this costume can demonstrate its versatility for quick change. The front buttons are swiftly undone, the sides flung open and secured at the back and suddenly a large dazzling white phoenix on blue satin is revealed front and back. A complete change of colour from purple to blue has been effected in the

princess' robe. Brass buttons, tiny mirrors, tin reflectors and glass eyes shimmer among the floral patterns. A lining woven of natural colour linen gives the costume its form and durability for demanding functions throughout many performances.

The headdress to accompany a princess' costume is probably the most dazzling and breath-taking of all opera accessories except, of course, the headdress of the ruling Empress. It is a confection of white mesh shaped onto a twisted silver metallic wire frame and mounted on a wide bandeau lined with white silk. The whole is elaborately and profusely bejewelled with bewildering patterns of pearls which quiver like heavenly bodies from the Celestial Kingdom. Two delicate medallions in the form of peacocks and studded with rhinestones fit into slots at each side of the headdress. Yellow and white silk tassels swing and sway with every movement of the princess' head.

Another costume in the museum collection is for a male character, Chang Kuo Lao, one of the Eight



Robe for an immortal princess. (Photo by Bill McLellan, courtesy of UBC Museum of Anthropology)

Taoist Immortals. As a group they symbolize Taoism, Transmutation and Happiness. It is a single robe with wide extended sleeves, side slits, side opening and a banded neck edge. A fourtoed dragon and fish design are embroidered on back and front on an orange ground of silk fabric. The collar, sleeves and border bands have four symbols — wheel, double gourd, endless knot, and rare vase. All have meaning for a Chinese audience and they will identify this character as a noble warrior.

Generally speaking costumes for the Chinese opera stage represent what people wore during the Ming Dynasty (1368 - 1644 AD). The costumes have now become symbolic rather than realistic. Monarchs always wear yellow silk embroidered with dragons, the royal symbol. Scarlet and other strong colours are freely adopted for a gentleman's wardrobe. Gallant young men are distinguished by bright attire.

With no exception male characters must wear some form of headdress. A prime minister's headdress has a wing on each side. A monarch's headdress has no wings but is decorated with a cluster of tufts and silver jewellry.

Officials wear black gauze hats and may have their character indicated by the shape of the wings. Oblong wings symbolize high integrity. Diamond-shaped wings denote a dubious character. Circular wings indicate an official who likes bribes better than anything else.

A scholar's hat, usually black, is in plain style. Even a beggar must wear a headdress. Anyone who appears on stage without a headdress is presumed by the audience to be in great danger.

Chang Kuo Lao's hat is almost twelve inches high. Shaped on a cardboard base edged with white fur it folds and opens to fit onto the Immortal's head.

Enormous trunks were used for transporting the wardrobe and theatrical properties of the Cantonese Opera company when it was on tour and when it was shipped to Vancouver. One bright red chest at the Museum has a false bottom with holes front and back for the insertion of carrying poles. Inside the lacquered lid is a list of costumes and accessories

stored within — belts, flags, fans, drums, padded boots on high platform soles and ladies' embroidered slippers with center heels.

To portray a courtesan's bound feet. Chinese actresses wear a tilted shoe with a wooden support inside which is secured under the instep with ribbon ties. The embroidered slippers give the appearance of a tiny-pointed shoe of two or three inches. With this false foot attached to her toes female performers appear to be walking daintily like a lady with bound feet, the "golden lilies" of bygone days. Only those actresses who have had long years of strenuous training can master the art of walking and fighting as a female warrior on stage tiptoe, much like a western ballerina's "en pointe".

Fortunately we are not limited to admiring Chinese opera costumes only when an opera company is in town. A special request to the Museum of Anthropology, UBC, will reveal the theatrical wonders of a Chinese backstage—even though it is in fact in the textile storage room.

Chinese Medicine and Home Remedies

Don W. Lim

Thousands of years before the advent of Western medicine, the Chinese have developed their own beliefs and customs regarding their health and medical remedies. The state of health, they believed, meant that his psyche and physical body were inwardly in perfect harmony, and together, outwardly with the universe at large. Broadly speaking, this is the basis of the Yin and Yang principle. To maintain this balance and to avoid any deviations from this, the Chinese have developed some fascinating ideas in their folk lore and home remedies.

In medicine, the Chinese have developed a strong leaning towards the spiritual teaching as opposed to the objectively, scientific approach of "Western medicine". Because of their traditional and ancient family worship, and reverence for the bodies of the dead, dissection of the human body was highly unacceptable. Partly because of this, development of human anatomy and the surgical sciences lagged that of Western medicine until the 20th century. Also partly because of this, the Chinese developed and refined the fine art of "pulse reading" as a sophisticated method of medical diagnoses. This is done by the palpation and study of the radial pulses at the wrist. Both sides are carefully examined. A complete study could take an hour or more. No less than 24 characteristics of the pulse is carefully studied by the physician using his index, middle, and ring fingers. Upon completing the examination, the physician then usually prescribes the appropriate herbal medicine, composed of 8 or 10 ingredients, each of which has a specific purpose in the treatment of the disease of the patient.

Examination of the tongue is also thought to reveal the state of general health, the digestive system, and the degree of hydration. Certain sectors of the tongue, that is the top, the sides, the root, or the tip, reflect the condition of certain specific internal organs. Dehydration is treated by the prescribing of boiled tea of honey suckle blossoms, licorice and sweetened with honey. Also by Chinese reasoning, soups made with winter melon, naturally will be "cooling" in effect, as would the soups made from watercress or seaweed. These are used to reduce fever. If the patient feels cold and heat generating effects are desired, then hot spicy herbal potions are prescribed. When the patient develops a cold, fat meats and especially chicken, should be avoided. For nursing mothers, in the immediate post partum period, copious amounts of soup prepared by using pig's feet, boiled in vinegar and ginger, is said to increase the production of mother's milk and also would replenish and enrich the blood. Calcium and minerals are also restored to the system.

For the male patients, one of the best tonics was the highly coveted rattle snake wine. It is said that the best grade of this wine is obtained from a live rattle snake, brewed in strong whiskey. The efficacy of this prepara-

tion is greatly enhanced by storing it for several years.

In the warm climate of southern China, particularly in Hong Kong, there are specialty shops of Chinese medicine, where they specialize in the sale of snake bile, which is highly regarded as potent cure-all, supposedly, especially effective in the treatment of rheumatism. The ultimate form of this tonic is a "bile of 3 snakes" cocktail. This preparation is sold by these snake shops in a most fascinating manner. It is prepared before the very eyes of the patient/client, (incidentally one of these three snakes is usually a cobra, which could be a snake of three or four feet in length). The snake handler selects the proper donor from the numerous baskets at the rear of the shop and proudly shows the client what a vigorous and healthy speciman he has a hold of. He then produces a clean wine glass, which he places on the counter in front of his surgical cutting board and deftly holds the head of the snake steadily with one hand, firmly pressing the snake against the counter with his body and with his scalpel-like knife in his right, he makes a slit incision directly over the gall bladder with uncanny accuracy and slips out the sac-like structure with ease. Then he removes the gall bladder itself and empties the bile into the wine glass. This procedure is repeated with two other snakes and the biles are co-mingled in the glass. An ounce or two of fine wine is then poured into the glass and the contents gently stirred. Needless to say, the cocktail is served cold. The patient's eyes light up as he savours and downs his tonic. On this particular visit, I was offered a taste of this potion, but at the last moment I declined. Later I asked the snake vendor what happens now to the cholecystectomized snake. He replied that it will be used as meat and will be transformed by a renowned Chinese chef into an exquisite delicacy!

Chinese fold lore abounds with wonder herbs. The most famous of which undoubtedly is the Ginseng (panax schinseng). This herbal plant grows to a height of 10 - 15 inches and the root system develops into one main spindle-shaped root of up to 5 - 6 inches in length. This plant takes 6 - 7

(cont'd on p. 20)

Chinese in the East Kootenays

Naomi Miller

Prospectors and would-be settlers drifted into the East Kootenays in the 1850's. Small finds of gold tempted miners to keep searching. Wild Horse Creek, which empties into the Kootenay River near the present site of Fort Steele, proved a good gold bearing area in 1863. 1864 saw a major goldrush up that creek, and the town of Fisherville sprang up as the centre for over a thousand miners. Victoria Ditch was dug and water from that ditch enabled miners to work claims on the hillsides commencing early in 1865. In September of 1865 the Dewdney Trail came into Fisherville. But Fisherville was disappearing almost as quickly as it had sprung up. The gravel under the residents shacks was very rich in gold. The bench was dug and the gravel sluiced. Dwellings were torn down and moved. Miners filled their pokes and went out for the winter; some returned, some did not. If there were no available claims incoming miners signed on as helpers of claim holders. Many helpers soon became partners. or bought out the original miner. The mining population was fluid.

Chinese miners appeared on the Wild Horse in 1867, and by 1872 held most of the leases.¹ They carefully worked the Fisherville bench very methodically stacking large stones in conical piles to show where they had worked. It is said the Chinese miner cleared each plot to bedrock then



Lee Jack, last of the Chinese placer miners on Wild Horse Creek — 1918.

swept that rock with a broom. The dirt swept into a pan often washed to give very good return of the precious dust. When the Fisherville bench area had been explored to the satisfaction of the diligent Chinese miners a new village was built there. This persisted as Chinatown until after World War I.

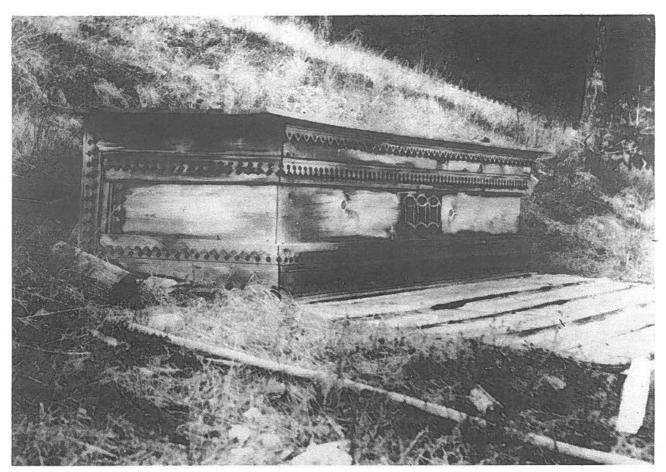
The Gold Commissioners Record Book Wild Horse Creek 1872 - 1886² reveals in scratchy writing that the Englishman had some difficulty in understanding the names of registrants. Entries in the book list names such as "Win Chiew Co." or "Kee Chin Co. from miners Harry Hing 514, Tha Kin 516 and Kee Chin 515", Ah Foon, Ah Sin and Ah Foo, Young Hang, Eh Chay, Ah Cong. Some descriptions

showed that Chinese were working beside white miners as this March 11, 1878 entry specifies.

"Fan Yee Co. W.H.Cr.

Recorded in favor of Fan Yee 8527 and Ah Sam 8576 two hill claims on Wild Horse Creek Northwest side, commencing at the upper line of Schroeder and Evans Co. claims — and continuing 200 feet in front and from base to summit level. \$2.50."

There were Chinese on claims on Perry Creek and Moyie River, but the concentration of Chinese miners was on Wild Horse Creek. A later entry reveals that several Chinese were going out of the Wild Horse, perhaps to Vancouver, perhaps home to China. November 1884 saw Ah



Altar located in Chinese cemetery on Wild Horse.

Lum and Fan Yee transfer their claims to long time resident David Griffiths for \$1327, "the receipt of which is acknowledged."

Various newspaper clippings reveal how white settlers evaluated their quiet, hardworking neighbours.

Cranbrook Herald — October 17, 1901

"the late census shows there are 67 Chinamen on Wild Horse Creek, who are principally engaged in placer mining and in sluicing gravel that has been worked over and over again. No one knows what their earnings are but when a payment on their lease falls due they turn up with a supply of coarse gold, weigh out the amount and return to their work. A white man might spin a fairy tale of his earnings but the celestial is too busy with his sluice boxes to talk."

The Chinese community up the Wild Horse had a cemetery where they buried fellow miners who died due to accident or illness. Pete Lum recalls

attending a funeral there. Each mourner would bring some prepared food to be left on the table for the deceased. An accompanying photograph shows the ornate box (labelled altar by Fort Steele archivists) which in fact was the table for serving the meal for the dead. The cemetery now consists of 21 depressions evenly spaced on the hillside. Pete Lum was called upon to assist the residents of Chinatown remove the bones of the deceased in order that they might be shipped back to China. The last shipment of the remains of Chinese who died here in North America took place in 1914. The practise was discontinued because ship owners had restrictions imposed during World War I and opportunity was not granted again following the war.

Chinese laborers made the Baillie-Grohman dream a reality when workers were brought in to dig the canal between the Kootenay River and Columbia Lake. A brigade of 200 men formed themselves into a conveyor-

like machine which maintained a pace and rhythm which amazed everyone who watched them. The canal was just over a mile long, 45 feet wide and from 8 to 10 feet deep. The Lock had to be 100 feet long and thirty feet wide but work slowed at this point because the laborers had to dig far deeper than expected to sink the footings for the structure. The Chinese did this work in 1887 but were then released to find work, and recognition elsewhere.

Community acceptance was restricted to market gardeners, houseboys, or laundry operators. The Chinese were not allowed to walk on the sidewalks of early villages. As a group they were distrusted and resented. There were many legal restrictions on their activities, even to the exclusion of wives and families coming from China. For a period they were not permitted to buy property so the market gardeners had to rent acreage from European settlers. Jealousy of the thrifty style of life was compounded by resentment that the average Chinamen sent most

of his money back to his homeland. Some communities went so far as to refuse access to a Chinese person at any time, for any reason. One such community was Moyie, a mining town that favored Indian miners to help the Occidental owners and workers. Later Fernie forbade the entry of Chinese to that community. Chinese were not accepted as coal miners after the episode in Nanaimo when Dunsmuir kept his colliery running using Oriental Strike Breakers. Kimberley, likewise, ordered Chinese out of that mining camp.

Collectively the Chinese were distrusted, feared, and treated like slaves. Individually, many won acceptance, friendship, and even respect from their neighbours. Some became a legend in their locality. Golden had "Casey" Wong, the grocer. That gentleman brought in several "apprentices" who in turn acquired businesses. Casey returned to China several times to visit and add to his family (who eventually joined him in Canada.) Sam, the Chinese cook, was a prominent figure in memories of riverboats running between Golden and Invermere. And Lee Jack was a legendary figure who mined in the Wild Horse from gold rush days of the 1860's almost till his death in 1930. Chang, a C.P.R. worker was invited to supper at the home of his section foreman c. 1930. During the meal he tearfully declared, "Forty years in Canada and this is the first time I am asked inside a white man's house." Individual neighbourlines can be documented; collectively our European ancestors were distrustful, uncharitable, and unwilling to understand the immigrant from Canton.

Some immigrants learn English more quickly than others. Those who mastered the new language were pressed into service as interpreters. The role of an interpreter was not always regarded as neutral. A Fort Steele resident inserted this declaration in the *Prospector*, December 11, 1987.

Public Notice — I the undersigned Tai Yee who have acted sometimes as Chinese interpreter in the courts at Fort Steele, wish to make it public that while I am willing to act in friendly cases, I do not wish to act when the case is likely to make enemies for me among my own peo-

ple. I came to Fort Steele some years ago, and I have no relations here. I am all alone. Some Chinamen make trouble and want to take me to court, but I will not go, for I am not concerned in their trouble and do not want to make enemies. I want to take care of myself in my business." Tai Yee.

A few issues later the *Prospector* described the Chinese New Year.

The Chinese New Year's Day occurs on the 21st of January. Our old time citizen, Tai Yee, did the honors of the occasion by shooting off millions of firecrackers to keep off the evil one, and keeping a well heaped table of Chinese dainties for the good ones. (ie. his Occidental friends).8

Editor A.B. Grace had written on the Chinese New Year in 1897.

A large number of Fort Steele residents visited Chinatown on Wild Horse Creek to see how John Chinaman celebrated their only holiday.

New Years Eve in China is the greatest holiday in the year. The people stop all work, put on their best clothes (new, if possible), and rejoice and celebrate in their own way; shoot fireworks, firecrackers, and bombs, make all the noise possible, give presents wrapped in red paper, call on friends, pay their debts, and enjoy themselves. A peculiar New Year's custom is the little children running through the streets offering their vices for sale in order to start the year with a clear record. Most sit up all night, for there is a superstition that the one who for ten successive years sees the sun rise on New Year's morning will have a long life.9

Some from that Chinatown did have a long life. They moved from the goldfields and became market gardeners or store owners. The district boasted thirty-five market gardens so productive that "nothing had to be imported". An excellent garden grew at the site of Cranbrook's largest shopping mall. Other sites were adjacent to the St. Eugene Mission, at Cherry Creek, Skookumchuk, Wardner and Windermere. The gardeners were prepared to dig miles of ditches to ensure water supply. Alternative projects such as Ban Quan's pool hall in Cranbrook were successful until the fighting in Europe siphoned off the men who were patronizing the establishment. The few that had families made sure their children went to school in an attempt to overcome the status as "alien". The hard work of Chinese residents contributed much to the well being of their fellow settlers in the East Kootenay. Their efforts are now acknowledged with admiration and respect.

Footnotes and Bibliography:

- 2, and 4. Gold Commissioner's Record Book — Wild Horse Creek 1872 - 1886.
 Viewed courtesy Fort Steele Archives.
- 3. Numbers following lease holders names are miners licence numbers.
- 5. Cranbrook Herald October 17, 1901
- 6. Scott and Hanic East Kootenay Chronicle
- p. 120 121
- 7. The Prospector December 11, 1897
- 8. Ibid January 22, 1898
- 9. Ibid February 6, 1897

Grateful acknowledgements to: Derryl White, Archivist, Fort Steele Historic Park

Gail Lum, Fort Steele resident Pete Lum, Sheep Creek, B.C. near Skookumchuk

Joe Ban Quan, Cranbrook
Photographs courtesy Fort Steele Archives

The Lum and Ban Quan Families

Naomi Miller

The Lum family came to Cranbrook in 1907 and leaves many descendants in the East Kootenay area. Ah or Chin Lum was born in Canton, China in 1846 and came to Canada as a very young man. (Ah is a prefix given by a British civil servant; Chin was his Chinese family surname). He arrived in Rock Creek during a gold rush. For a time he obtained work as a helper to a Shuswap Indian who freighted goods between Hope and Rock Creek over the first leg of the Dewdney Trail. Later he married sixteen year old Lucy Williams, daughter of the packer at Hope, then set up a grocery-dry goods store in Rock Creek to supply settlers and prospectors. The Lum children, four boys and three girls were all born at Rock Creek and commenced schooling there. Ah Lum moved to Cranbrook with his older children early in 1907 where he set up a Chinese grocery store. Lucy Lum followed later with the youngest boys, Peter and Jimmy. That same year daughter Lillian married Chu Ban Quan, owneroperator of the Invicta Mine on Wild Horse Creek. Her sister Caroline went as cook for the crew at the Invicta. George Lum found work with liveryman Al Doyle at Fort Steele.

Soon Ah Lum moved to Fort Steele where he opened a butcher shop.



Pete Lum on Hydraulic Monitor on Wild Horse Creek. (Courtesy of Fort Steele Archives)

Daughter Maggie married Hop Yuen who had a market garden near the village. Dick Lum found work on a ranch in southern Alberta. Peter and Jim attended school in Fort Steele. In 1920 Ah Chin Lum felt his end was near. He burned his shops records to indicate he forgave his debtors, then sailed for China escorted by son George. Ah Chin died within six months. George attended to his burial then returned to Fort Steele. Lucy Lum lived in Fort Steele, first caring for foster children, then cared for by her family until her death in 1951 at the age of 97.

George did not bring a bride from China as his father had planned. He remained a bachelor till 1931 when he met and married an English girl working at Chateau Lake Louise. They worked at Lake Louise during ensuing summers but made their home at Fort Steele. George sired seven children most of whom achieved professional status.

Caroline Lum married Fort Steele's blacksmith, Jim Buckman, in 1910. Buckman came to Canada from California and made a good living as a blacksmith and rawhide expert. He made custom leather goods for Great West Saddlery in Calgary. A surviving daughter describes her upbringing

as "very English".

Peter Charles Lum, born 1898, is the self appointed historian for the Lum family. He was a hardworking jack of many trades in his lifetime. While a teenager he helped Astor William Drayton install penstocks feeding half a mile of heavy steel pipe for hydraulic mining up the Wild Horse. The following summer he operated the hydraulic monitor to flush the gravel down specially constructed sluice boxes. At seventeen, as soon as he finished school, he and a classmate rolled up their blankets, purchased cork boots on credit and walked sixteen miles to Bull River to seek work driving logs. They were taken on and told to walk to the upper camp 14 miles upstream. The log drive lasted almost two months. The boys were paid \$8 per day plus board. Later that year (1915) Pete was recruited to help a young man develop a claim up the Skookumchuk River - but while in Cranbrook to purchase supplies the prospective employer was recruited for the army. In the fall he assisted big game guide Arthur Nichol on pack outings with rich hunters. He then spent several winters logging on the Bull River. In 1921 when fire wiped out logging operations on the river, Pete found work where he could. Peter

married Matilda Samson, native from Washington state in 1925. He lost her in 1932 but has one son to comfort him.

One major contract was the cutting and clearing of a ten mile trail from Wild Horse to the Kootenay King mine. Once the trail was serviceable Pete packed supplies into the mine for its first year of operation. An early bulldozer operator was hired to turn the trail into a road then to transport supplies in a truck. Pete was then assigned to assist a geologist survey and stake other sites on Kootenay King mountain.

Between 1929 and 1939 the Lums catered to tourists at Lake Louise with a pony stand and trail rides. Pete and George Lum had twenty-five horses; Dick Lum and son Ira had a separate stand with eighteen horses. The family and their summer employees lived in tents near their horse corral. The journey from Fort Steele to Lake Louise took six or seven days, following the Banff-Radium highway to near the summit where there was a trail to their destination. The summer of 1939 was their last because Brewsters had opened competition, and war in Europe curtailed the number of tourists.

Pete's home in the meadows across the river from Fort Steele was flooded in 1948. He took his horses to much higher ground near Premier Lake. This new home was an ideal head-quarters for hunters, and pack trips to big game areas. Pete was a licenced guide and trapper until 1977 when he reluctantly sold his horses and stayed home with his dogs.

Chu Ban Quan became a brotherin-law to Pete Lum in 1907. At that time he was owner-operator of the Invicta Mine on Wild Horse Creek. He had a crew of twelve men, all Chinese, working the first hydraulic operation on the west side of the creek. Not far away, on the opposite bank, another group of Chinese manned the Nip-n' Tuck mine.

Ban Quan came from Canton, China to San Francisco in 1868. He worked his way up the western mountains "with his gold pan", coming through Bonners Ferry to the Kootenays and arriving in the Wild Horse in 1882. It is believed he made one visit home to

China, married, but was frustrated in every attempt to bring his bride to Canada.

Kootenay Indians went to hunt or fish up the Wild Horse, and to observe miners on their claims. White men rebuffed any natives who came near their camp. Ban Quan treated them graciously and won their friendship. At Christmas many natives came to visit. Ban Quan looked around for some way to show hospitality. He opened a big box of soda crackers and gave one to each visitor. By the end of the day he had emptied four boxes of crackers. Other miners were occasionally harassed when travelling between town and claim, but Ban Quan went unobstructed.

In 1912 Ban Quan moved to Fort Steele where son Joe was born. In 1913 he opened a billiard room in Cranbrook, but moved away from there in 1915 because his patrons had joined the army for service in World War I. Ban Quan and Lily rented five acres from the priests at St. Eugene Mission to establish a market garden. The Ban Ouan children attended school at the Indian boarding school at the Mission, girls in the morning, boys in the afternoon. Ban Quan hired Indians to work that garden and moved his family into Cranbrook. Joe Ban Quan recalls travelling in a horse drawn Bennett buggy to sell a load of produce in Marysville, staying overnight with a friend, and driving home the following day.

Chu Ban Quan died in 1947. Lily continued to run the market gardens with the assistance of her sons Charlie and Joe until her death in 1966. The work ethic was left with their seven children. All worked into their later years. Joe, aged 76, still works for a local restaurant.

Credits; Aural history taped in 1977 in Fort Steele Archives. Interviews with Pete Lum and Joe Ban Quan.

Chinese Medicine cont'd

years of growth before the root is medicinally mature and potent. The best Ginseng in the world reputedly grows in the wild state in the forests of Manchuria, where, because of the ideal temperature, climate, water and soil, together with the suitable altitude, which factors combine to uniquely produce the finest quality in the world. The cultivated plants grown in Asia. Korea, United States and Canada do not appear to have this same vigor and potency of the wild variety. The medicinal power of this plant has been studied for thousands of years, dating back to the famous, legendary father of Chinese medicine, Emperor Shen Nung (circa 2700 B.C.). The Ginseng root is reputedly a panacea capable of curing a wide range of illnesses, including anemia, colds and fever, colic, depression, eye weaknesses, insomnia, rheumatism, impotence, infertility and a legion of other illnesses.

The enduring faith that the Chinese have in some of their other favorite remedies are quite amazing. Thus they believe that for a weak back or back pain, they would prescribe soup made from pork kidneys. Poultices made from a mixture of ground up onions and ginger, cooked with chopped up chicken, (rooster) can quickly mend any fractures of bones. For a bedwetting child, dried beetles are prescribed as a cure. For some obscure reason, pork liver soup can be beneficial to the improvement of eye sight. If improvement of night vision is desired, then bat droppings should be used!

To our Western mind, some of these concepts are weird and far-fetched, but to the Chinese mind, despite the in roads of Westernized medicine, they are not. Furthermore, it would appear that the Chinese people are quite comfortable in adhering to their ancient school of thought and philosophy.

It is interesting to note that in recent years, there has been established in Victoria, B.C. an institute of higher learning called the "Academy of Science for Traditional Chinese Medicine" to further expand our knowledge in this fascinating field of medicine.

Don W. Lim is an ophthalmologist practising in Kelowna, B.C.

Ed Lum — Man of the Moment

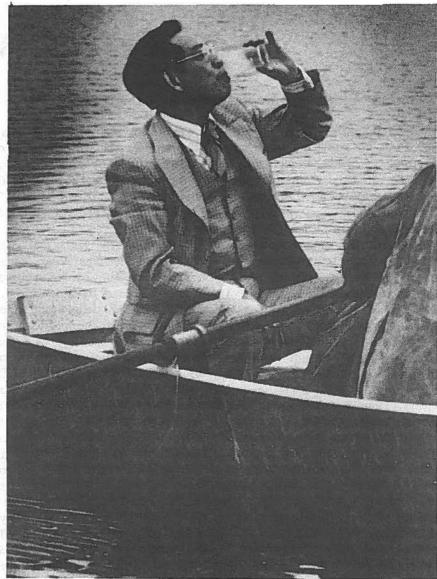
Geoffrey Castle

Edward Lum is one of the one per cent of the Saanich residents with a Chinese background. He was born in Victoria, August 16, 1928, and grew up to become a prominent businessman who, after serving four terms as an alderman for Saanich, served two terms as mayor from 1974 to 1977. He remembers his father with respect and admiration and recounts his interesting background.

Hearing about Gum San (mountain of gold), his father came to Victoria from Sun Wai Village in 1903 at the age of 18. He was an expert pistol shooter, a skill acquired because of the trouble with bandits in Quangton Province. After working 14 - 16 hours a day for only \$3.00 per month, he found that he could not support his parents back home so he obtained work with Gore and McGregor, surveying in the Prince George area.

With encouragement from friends, Lum bought 4 acres of land on Shelbourne Street and started his greenhouse business in 1924. Three years later, with his business nicely established, he married Lee Don Kuai.

During the Great Depression food was difficult to obtain for many people. The Lums helped others survive the dismal economic bad times. In 1934 when Ed was 6 years old, his mother took him back to China for a visit. When he started school at Cedar Hill, Ed could speak only Chinese. Fortunately, his teacher was very pa-



Mayor Ed Lum sampling the water of Swan Lake — 1975. (Saanich Archives Photo 1980 - 14 - 10B)

tient. As a teenager, Ed did well in sports and worked for his father in his spare time, gaining valuable business experience in the expanding importexport, grocery and marketing fields.

Ed started his own business. It was a coffee shop on Yates Street. Then he started Victoria's original Chinese food delivery service. His biggest customer proved to be the navy. Later, he took over the Cyril Cafe, located next to what is now the Capitol 6 movie theatre on Yates Street. It was there he started Ming's Kitchen which he ran until 1961.

When Ed Lum's father died in 1956, Ed and his brothers bought more greenhouses and soon owned over 400,000 square feet of them, making their operation the largest of its kind in British Columbia.

In 1952, Ed married Rose Lee, a high school sweetheart. Born in Victoria, she was the first lady of Chinese extraction to work for a Canadian bank because she was fluent in Chinese and the bank conducted a great amount of oriental business.

After 8 years as a Saanich alderman, Ed decided to return to his business interests but his many friends persuaded him to run for the office of mayor. He succeeded using for his platform, "good common business sense" — an approach he still uses in managing his varied business interests.

Geoffrey Castle is past president of the Victoria Section of the B.C. Historical Federation and Municipal Archivist for the Corporation of the District of Sagnich.

News and Notes

Burnaby Historical Society

One highlight of our achievements has been our success in persuading Council to establish a Burnaby Heritage Advisory Committee under the Heritage Conservation Act.

The original request was postponed in 1980 and since then the former Mayor and 4 aldermen, who were less than enthusiastic in supporting our request, have been replaced by a Mayor and 4 aldermen at the November 21, 1987 elections. Indeed, Mayor Bill Copeland stated in his Inaugural Address that he would ask Council's Heritage Advisory Study Committee to bring forward terms of reference for the establishment of a Heritage Advisory Committee that would report directly to Council.

With this encouragement, the President of our Society, Evelyn Salisbury, made a sixth Presentation to Council on Monday February 15th, the first day of Heritage Week, 1988. She noted that it was Heart Month and Heritage Week and expressed the hope that Council would have a heart and give favourable consideration to this sixth request to establish a Heritage Advisory Committee. The resolution was passed unanimously and at present the composition of 'the Committee and terms of reference are being prepared.

In 1992, Burnaby will celebrate its Centenary. Our Society believes that as soon as possible a Burnaby Heritage Advisory Committee should conduct an inventory of Burnaby's heritage resources and formulate a Heritage Policy.

On the basis of our achievements, our Society members submitted their President's name as a nominee for the Kushiro Cup, donated by our twin community in Japan, to be awarded to a person who has made an OUT-STANDING CONTRIBUTION TO OUR COMMUNITY IN 1987. The President, if selected, will accept the honour on behalf of the Burnaby Historical Society.

In 1992, the year of Burnaby's Centennial celebrations, the Burnaby Historical Society would like to host the B.C. Historical Federation Conference. The dates will be May 7, 8, 9, 10; Thursday afternoon until Sunday noon.

The Burnaby Historical Society celebrated Heritage Week '88 at its monthly meeting by featuring slides and commentary by our archivist, Jim Wolf. About 50 people were expected but 80 crowded the hall to hear the story of early settlers who carved homes from the wilderness around Burnaby Lake and Deer Lake. There were log cabins, pre-fab and modest homes. There were also mansions such as Hart's "Avalon"; Mather's "Altnadene", Ceperley's "Fairacres"; Townley's "Deerholme"; Bateman's "Elworth" and the Woodward house, used as a home, school and Burnaby Lake post office. Many of these former dwellings are now in use by the Art Gallery, Art Council and Village Museum. Along with the slides were costumes displayed by Ruby Johnson of the Canadiana Costume Society. Of particular interest was a costume with accessories donated by Mrs. Violet Eagles, life and founding member of the Society. (BHS)

The Burnaby Historical Society celebrated Heritage Week by staging a Photo Contest among members. Buildings and structures up until 1940 were entered and judged at Irving House by Curator, Archie Miller, Doreen Lawson and Jack Bain. Winning photos were displayed in large frames on the wall of the Kingsway Branch of Van City Credit Union, thanks to manager Mr. Allan Campbell. BHS member Mary Forsyth coordinated this successful event.

(Submitted by President of BHS, Evelyn Salisbury.)

Chemainus Valley Historical Society

At our September 1987 meeting our guest speaker was Phil Dobson, Manager of MacMillan Bloedel in Chemainus.

Our November meeting which should have been our Annual meeting had to be postponed until January 25, 1988 due to very windy wet weather. Speaking at the January meeting was Mrs. Elsie Kennedy of Chemainus who is interested in Canadian women who have left their mark in history.

The Lamalchi Bay Cemetery on Kuper Island was deeded to our Society by Audrey Ginn. We are hoping that John Adams will get over to see that historic cemetery this year and also the cemetery on Thetis Island.

We are getting closer to having a Chemainus Historical Museum. The Ladysmith Train Historical Society has donated a 91 foot, 85 ton railcar. The only problem we are facing is finding a suitable location. We are fortunate in that the Chamber of Commerce and Ladysmith Train Society are backing us for both renovations and locations. Also the mayor of North Cowichan and MLA of the Cowichan Valley are both History buffs and interested in our project.

In Memorium

The Sidney and North Saanich Historical Society has borne a great loss in the passing of Mrs. Ray Joy on October 28, 1987. She was a founding member in the establishment of the Sidney Museum which led to the formation of the Sidney and North Saanich Historical Society in 1971 of which she served for many years as its conscientious and genial secretary. She will be greatly missed as a friend and fellow worker. Her many talents enabled her to extend her services to other cultural activities on the Peninsula and she was always there to help where needed.

Britannia Mill Declared a National Historic Site

The Britannia Beach Historical Society, the governing body of the British Columbia Museum of Mining, is proud to announce that the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada has found the ore concentrating complex at Britannia Mines to be of national historic and architectural significance. This is the first time that a mining heritage resource of this magnitude has been so designated in Canada.

The announcement is timely because 1988 marks the centennial of the discovery of copper ore at Britannia in 1888. To celebrate this anniversary, the Museum will host a Discovery Day special event for the general public on May 14th. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board will unveil a commemorative plaque at the site within the year.

Recognition as a National Historic Site means that the Society can now focus on developing a Mining Museum of national status. Although no immediate funding will accompany the commemorative plaque, increased public awareness will assist the Society in its fund raising campaigns. Also, the incentive is there to enter into negotiations with the Federal Government, the Provincial Government and the private sector on a cost-sharing agreement for Museum and Historic Site development.

Britannia's significance as a major world copper producer has been well documented. During its 70 year history, Britannia employed over 60,000 people and produced over 50 million tons of copper ore. From 1925 to 1930, it was known as the largest copper producer in the British Empire.

The Mill is a magnificent structure, a marvel of industrial engineering and technology. It is a superb example of the ingenuity of the Canadian mining industry. The Mill is the last remaining gravity-fed concentrator in North America that is accessible to the general public. Britannia is only 52 km from Vancouver on the well-travelled "Sea to Sky" designated tourist route.

The Britannia Concentrating Mill Complex provides a rare opportunity to study and illustrate early 20th Century mining and milling practices. The remains of the two early mills, the tunnel network and the existing Mill provide rich material evidence for scholars, industrial archaeologists and the general public.

The Thirteenth USAF Academy Military History Symposium

The Department of History at the United States Air Force Academy will sponsor the Thirteenth Military History Symposium 12 - 14 October 1988 on the topic, "The Intelligence Revolution: A Historical Perspective." The symposium's first session will analyze intelligence activities before 1939 and features papers by Dennis E. Showalter (Colorado College) and Peter Maslowski (University of Nebraska), with comments by Ernest R. May (Harvard University). The day will conclude with the Thirty-first Harmon Memorial Lecture, "World War II: An Intelligence Revolution," by Professor Sir Francis H. Hinsley (Cambridge University). Professor Hinsley will assess World War II as a watershed in the evolution of military intelligence.

Sessions on the second day will examine the effect of intelligence on World War II's major belligerents. Gerhard L. Weinberg (University of North Carolina) will comment on papers by Jurgen Rohwer (Bibliothek fur Zeitgeschichte Weltkriegbucherei), Christopher Andrew (Cambridge Uni-

versity), and Colonel David Glantz (U.S. Army, Soviet Army Studies Office) dealing with the European Theater, while Roger V. Dingman (University of Southern California) will discuss papers by Alvin D. Coox (San Diego State University) and Hisashi Takahashi (Japanese Institute for Defense Studies) analyzing the Pacific Theater. In an evening banquet address, Lieutenant General Samuel V. Wilson, former Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, will probe the intelligence revolution's impact on counterintelligence activities.

The final day examines legacies of the intelligence revolution and features presentations by William E. Burrows (New York University), John L. Gaddis (Ohio University), Robert F. Futrell (Air Power Research Institute), and Walter Laqueur (Washington Center for Strategic and International Studies).

The symposium will conclude with a panel discussion analyzing the intelligence revolution's effect on current military postures. Ray S. Cline (U.S. Global Strategy Council), Richard M. Helms (Former Director, Central Intelligence Agency), Lieutenant General James A. Williams (Former Director, Defense Intelligence Agency), Admiral Pierre La Coste (Fondation pour les Etudes de Defense Nationale), and Major General Jack E. Thomas (Office of the ASDI) will serve as panelists.

For information concerning symposium registration contact: HQ USAFA/DFH, Attn: Captain Mark A. Clodfelter, USAF Academy, Colorado Springs, CO 80840-5701.

B.C.H.F. Research Assistance Committee

A new service offered by your Federation . . .

If you are researching local or other British Columbian historical topics and need assistance in locating source material, etc., send a stamped, self-addressed envelope together with \$10 * research fee to:

Peggy Imredy 304-2425 Brunswick Vancouver, B.C., V5T 3M1

* Any additional cost of photocopying, postage, etc. will be billed later.

Lake Cowichan Heritage Advisory Committee

Lake Cowichan Heritage Advisory Committee and Kaatza Historical Society are busy working on Lake Cowichan Heritage Days to be held the Victoria Day Weekend May 20, 21, 22 and 23, 1988.

A Vintage Fashion Show and Tea will be held on Friday afternoon from 1 - 4 p.m. with a Silver Tea being served and pictures of local heritage sites on display.

The Kaatza Historical Society will be celebrating the Grand Opening of their new wing in the Museum on May 21, 22 and 23; 1 - 4 p.m. This new wing will feature displays depicting early pioneer life in the Cowichan Lake area. It is 75 years since the first train arrived in Lake Cowichan. The old E&N Railway Station houses the museum and a small section of railway with a pump car located outside the front door. We are very proud of our museum and commend the many volunteers for the excellent job they are doing and thank them for the countless hours they have given to this project.

A display from the Forest Museum will be located at the Council Chambers on Friday and Saturday May 20 and 21 from 12 - 4 p.m. As well the Forest Museum is bringing up a couple of pieces of large logging equipment which will be placed on the grounds between the Village office and the Council Chambers.

The International Woodworker's of America has a large collection of photographs of old time logging and loggers. These will also be on display in the Council Chambers. They are hoping for some assistance in identifying people and activities from the citizens in our area. Lake Cowichan is where the I.W.A. started and it is of great significance that this is the first community where the pictures will be publicly displayed.

Other Activities include Heritage Displays in shop windows, self guided heritage walk-about (maps available at Council Chambers) and the local RCMP detachment is holding an Open House on Saturday May 21 with coffee and donuts being served and a demonstration by a Police Dog, noon to 4:00 p.m.

Cowichan Historical Society

On March 7, the City of Duncan was 75 years of age. Open House was held at the City Hall in the morning and afternoon. Refreshments were served at both occasions. Later in the year, the City hosted a Gala Ball at the Community Centre. It was attended by the new Premier, Bill Vander Zalm and Mrs. Vander Zalm. Many notable people were recognized for their community work at this time.

The Registered Nurses of B.C. celebrated their 75th anniversary with a dinner and entertainment at the Village Green Inn. Attending were some nurses who had trained at the Kings Daughters Hospital in Duncan.

The Kings Daughters Hospital was opened one hundred years ago. This event was recognized as well as the R.N.A.B.C., by the Cowichan District Hospital with a tea given for all former staff R.N.s and all the R.N.s of the Valley.

In August, Cowicahn Bay celebrated the 110th Anniversary of the Arrival of H.M.S. Hecate with approximately 100 settlers. the South Cowichan Lawn Tennis Club was 100 years old and still functioning with grass and clay courts. These two events were the occasion for our B.C. Lt. Governor Rogers and Mrs. Rogers to visit Cowichan Bay. There was a sail past of four Navy ships, the Wooden Boats Club of Cowichan Bay and the Cowichan Yacht Club. To add to local interest, members of pioneer families were escorted in Vintage cars from the Ten-

nis Courts to the Government Wharf and then presented to the Lt. Governor and his wife. Tea followed at the South Cowichan Lawn Tennis Club.

In September, the Cowichan Exhibition celebrated 120 years with a Heritage Costume contest judged by members of the Cowichan Historical Society.

November saw the Cowichan District Hospital Auxiliary hold a Heritage Hat contest at their Annual Bazaar. The judges were Mayor and Mrs. John Coleman, Roma Croy and Myrth Haslam of the Cowichan Historical Society.

Truly a year of anniversaries!

Myrth Haslam

IN MEMORIUM

Christian Scheisser, founding member of the Golden and District Historical Society, passed away November 8, 1987.

Chris, born in Altringham, England August 15, 1902, came to Calgary as a teacher in 1926 and to British Columbia as a bride in 1929. In 1939 the family moved to Moberly in the Columbia Valley. Mrs. Schiesser moved into Golden to open a Book Shoppe which she operated from 1967 - 81. She held various offices in the Golden & District Historical Society, and made a major contribution as author/editor of the 1972 publication Kinbasket Country. This good citizen will be missed but not forgotten.

S.S. Moyie "The Last of the Sternwheelers"

The Moyie at Pilot Bay. Sunday School Picnic.

Against a backdrop of the rugged Purcell Mountains and sparkling Kootenay Lake, this graceful old steamer lies in retirement on Kaslo Beach. It is now a museum in the care of the Kootenay Lake Historical Society. In 1898 the metal hull was shipped in sections from Toronto, and the wooden superstructure was constructed on the shores of Kootenay Lake. The S.S. Moyie saw service until 1957, and was the last of dozens of sternwheelers to ply the inland waterways.

The following account of two memorable trips on the S.S. Moyie reached the Kootenay Lake Historical Society as a result of a nation-wide fundraising appeal carried by the C.B.C. "Morningside" program.

The author of this account is Mrs. A. Marian W. Robertson whose father was a provincial policeman in the southern interior in those early days. Mrs. Robertson now resides at Brights Grove in Ontario but retains a lasting interest in the Kootenays, and has a special fondness for the S.S. Moyie.

I regularly follow Peter Gzowski's programme "Morningside" on radio and was especially interested to hear about the preservation fund for the restoration of the old S.S. Moyie so that it can continue to serve as a museum and a link with that period in British Columbia history when the sternwheelers plied both Kootenay Lake and the Arrow Lakes as well.

I have a special affection for the *Moyie*, and have visited Kaslo twice in recent years just to see her again.

She rests in an idyllically beautiful and appropriate setting.

Sternwheelers have always fascinated me. My first trip on one was in 1927. Our family was moving from Kamloops to Fernie. There was no direct road or rail link at that time, so the journey involved taking the C.P.R. train from Kamloops to Revelstoke where we changed trains for Arrowhead, the port at the northern tip of the Upper Arrow Lake. There we embarked on the S.S. Minto for the trip down the Upper Arrow Lake, through the Narrows - quite an exciting experience because it required very capable seamanship to get the boat safely through — then on down the Lower Arrow Lake to the port of Robson a sail of some 120 miles.

There were small towns and rural communities located along the shores of the lakes. Many were settled by new immigrants who had come to Canada after World War One. The sternwheelers were the only mode of transportation and communication so it is not surprising that the high point of the day for everyone was the arrival and the departure of the boat, for it brought not only supplies but letters and papers from home. There was great excitement when the first puff of smoke was observed on the horizon, and some sense of loss, too, when it disappeared again into the distance.

I had just turned eleven, my brothers were eight and six. The hubbub and excitement each time the boat nosed into the dock intrigued us and absorbed our attention. It was late October. There was still a hint of Indian summer in the air. The last few stubborn leaves were left clinging to the trees. Like the squirrels, people were stocking up with supplies for winter, such as 100 pounds of flour, 50 pounds of lard, rolled oats, tea, coffee, cocoa, cases of tinned milk, matches, and remedies such as castor oil. There might be a parcel of winter clothes from Eatons or Simpsons too. We loved to watch the big paddle wheel revolving, and we though it was just great to have our meals in the dining saloon and to sleep in a berth in a cabin instead of a bed.

At last we arrived at Robson where we boarded another train for Nelson. We stayed overnight at the Hume Hotel. Next morning we embarked on another lake boat which I believe was the Kuskanook. We sailed along the west arm of Kootenay Lake and crossed the main lake to Kootenay Landing. There we boarded another train, finally arriving at our destination, Fernie.

Alas it is impossible to make that trip today. All that remains of the sternwheelers is the old *Moyie* at Kaslo. The building of the High Arrow Dam turned the beautiful valley

into an enormous storage area flooding thousands of acres of orchards and farms, obliterating forever a host of small communities such as Renata, Edgewood, Graham's Landing and Halcyon Hot Springs, to name just a few. The construction of the C.P.R. around the south shore of Kootenay Lake when the Kettle Valley line was completed, and the extension of the road from Nelson along the north shore to Kaslo made the lake boats redundant. In recent years the building of the southern route of the Trans Canada highway and the advent of the era of air travel have made the trains redundant. The Kettle Valley line is no longer in existence.

By the time my father was transferred from Fernie to Nelson, six years later, a railway line had been built around the southern shore of Kootenay Lake. We set off on the 19th of December in a blizzard. Although the winter had been severe there were no problems as the train rolled through Cranbrook and Creston and on towards the lake. The railroad track had been built on a narrow shelf of rock at the base of a very steep mountain. Only a few yards separated the tracks from the water and about the same amount from the mountain.

When the train approached the lake it began to slow down until it was barely moving. When the conductor came through the train I asked him why. Just then the train came to a complete stop. I looked out of the window and up at the mountain peak. Near the crest a small clump of snow broke away and began to roll down the mountain. I watched, fascinated, as the tiny snowball grew and grew as it gathered speed. With a roar the avalanche thundered down the mountain, across the tracks and into the lake. spewing out trees and rocks and huge chunks of snow. The train was directly in its path. Miraculously the avalanche just missed it, leaving a mountain of debris which extended right up to the cow catcher on the engine. It all happened so quickly there wasn't time to be frightened. Then, just as we began to realize our good fortune at still being alive there was another thunderous roar. Another avalanche

had broken away and was roaring down this time behind the train, barely missing the last car. Again luck was with us. Nobody was injured and the train was intact. However we had a serious problem. There we were sandwiched between two avalanches, a hostile mountain, and a very cold and forbidding lake.

One of the crew members scrambled with some difficulty over the mountain of snow and hiked along the track to a section house where he tapped the telegraph line and sent out an S.O.S.. He returned after some time with the message that an attempt would be made to send out the S.S. Moyie to rescue us. However, the Moyie was tied up for the winter at Nelson. It would take some time to get a crew together and get the boat fired up and able to sail. There was nothing to do but settle down and wait.

The afternoon wore on. We were all getting hungry. The sandwiches my mother had brought had long been eaten. There was a dining car on the train, but only enough food to feed a few people. We had expected to be in Nelson by dinner time. As the evening dragged into night the train became colder and colder and the lights grew dimmer and dimmer and finally flickered out. All the coal had been burned so there was no heat and no power. We all huddled together trying to keep warm and hoping that there would be no more avalanches. Third time might not be so lucky!

Morning came, Still no sign of the Moyie. In the meantime the current day's train had caught up to us and was stopped behind the second avalanche. The hours dragged by well into the afternoon.

At last, smoke on the horizon! In the distance we could see the *Moyie* steaming along towards us. She drew up to a sandbank as close as possible, and one way or another we all managed to get on board — all two trainloads of us. She was a fairly small boat so it was standing room only. She was grimy and bitterly cold. There was no food or drink aboard, but it was with a great sense of relief and gratitude that we watched as she pulled away from the shore.

In due course we arrived at the small town of Proctor on the west arm of Kootenay Lake. There we were able to transfer to another train that was awaiting us. There were already a number of passengers on board so that it was standing room only once more. Some of us were put in the baggage car. I vividly remember being squashed against a wall of very cold, very dead turkeys destined for delivery to the butcher shops in Nelson!

It was dark when we arrived in Nelson. Our father met us and soon whisked us off to a hotel to get warmed up after which he took us to a restaurant for a really memorable meal.

Because the rail line was blocked for over two weeks the freight trains were unable to get through. We had a house but no furniture to put in it. We had brought some trunks and baggage with us. They contained clothes, and more importantly in our view the Christmas presents and goodies my mother had baked. My father managed to get an old table and some cots, so we were comfortable enough. We ate our Christmas dinner sitting on upturned orange boxes. It was a good dinner with brussels sprouts (little green roses) and other traditional dishes but no turkey! We had pork instead! We had a great deal to be thankful for — not least the gallant S.S. Moyie! She will always be a very special boat to me!

If you would like to help save the Moyie, please send your donation to S.S. Moyie Preservation Fund, Box 537, Kaslo, B.C. V0G 1M0. (Tax receipts will be issued for all donations of \$10.00 or more. Thank you.

Bookshelf

Book Reviews should be sent directly to the book review editor, Anne Yandle, 3450 West 20th Avenue, Vancouver, B.C., V6S 1E4.

The Journal of Lady Aberdeen: the Okanagan Valley in the Nineties. Annotated and edited by R.M. Middleton. Victoria, Morriss Publishing, 1986. 91 p. \$8.95

The Journal of Lady Aberdeen: The Okanagan Valley In The Nineties, annotated and edited by R.M. Middleton, gives British Columbia regional history yet another boost. This is a primary document skillfully edited and arranged to reveal some of the character of an emerging regional and cultural landscape. At the same time it is an autobiography that exposes some of the sensibilities and sensitivities of one of the region's most influential pioneers.

Lord and Lady Aberdeen bought their 480 acre estate in Kelowna (Guisachan), sight unseen, in 1890 and first visited the ranch in the autumn of 1891. Describing the scenery, enumerating some of the pioneer personalities, speculating on the area's agricultural prospects and commenting on the local social circumstances, Lady Aberdeen characterized the region as delightful and healthy. Much of this early text has a relaxed tone and reflects Lady Aberdeen's conclusion that, "... we have enjoyed a more real holiday than (sic) we have ever had before."

The much larger Coldstream Estate (13,000-plus acres) was purchased by Lord Aberdeen in 1981. In this ranch the Aberdeens seemed to expect a setting and operation more becoming their place in late Victorian society. Accordingly, the journals deal more with economic matters and with a wide range of events that have an impact on the viability of their new holding than with the social climate of the Okanagan.

Given the title of the book, the fifth chapter, "A Visit To The Kootenays", is somewhat a geographical non-sequitor. Its inclusion does, however, show Lady Aberdeen returned to relaxed circumstances, and her discerning eye turns from one topic to another easily and clearly as the family toured Revelstoke, Nelson and Kaslo.

In the final chapter, dealing with visits in 1896 and 1898, the focus is again economic. By this time both Coldstream and Guisachan were straining the purse of the vice-regal couple and, while their hearts may have been in the Okanagan Valley, Lady Aberdeen could not help but conclude ". . . the results of our investments in B.C. have been very sad."

There are occasions when primary documents should be allowed to stand, more or less, on their own, and Middleton has kindly spared the reader the academic dogma and trendy historical theory one might expect of a publication such as this. No psychohistorical dissection taints these pages. Instead, Middleton's tour through these transitional years of Okanagan history is guided by the observations of Lady Aberdeen herself. And from the purchase of the McDougall pre-emption in 1890 to the family's last visit to the Valley in 1898, both the region and Lady Ishbel are seen to change perceptibly.

Middleton deserves credit in heightening our appreciation of this Lady and her time in this place. We need more of this type of publication.

Wayne Wilson

Mr. Wilson is Exhibitions Co-ordinator at the Kelowna Museum, and is preparing an M.A. thesis for the University of B.C. on irrigation development in the Okanagan Valley.

The Life of Emily Carr. Paula Blanchard. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1987. 331 pp., illus., bib., appendices. \$24.95.

This recent biography of Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), one of Canada's and British Columbia's most famous women artists, adds considerably to the literature already available on her. Both the biographies by Maria Tippett (1979) and Doris Shadbolt (1979) are in print. Furthermore, a paperback edition of the Shadbolt appeared at the end of 1987. Other earlier books written about Carr and her work are still available as are paperback editions of her writings. Nevertheless, Blanchard, an American who spent seven years researching the material for the book, has provided a balanced and thoughtful account of Carr's life and, in so doing, has treated her subject with considerable sympathy and understanding.

Blanchard, through the extensive use of pertinent source materials, has developed what she considers to be the reasons for the deep sense of guilt, frustration, and anger that Carr experienced throughout her life as she struggled to gain recognition as an artist. It was difficult for a woman to obtain support in any field of activity in the early part of this century but for a woman artist, it was almost impossible. Carr, however, persisted and finally received a measure of support and recognition from members of the Canadian art world: the Group of Seven, especially Lawren Harris, and others who were influential in the Canadian art scene of the period. Today, as the author says in her preface, "Emily Carr herself is a national treasure."

Carr found the restrictive Victorian attitude of family, friends, and environment both frustrating and, at

times, defeating, Her health often let her down and her finances were always precarious. Only through persistence was she able to continue with her painting and, in her latter years, with her writing which brought her more recognition in her life time than had her art. Blanchard believes that Emily Carr, the artist, needed this constant struggle against the difficulties of life, as she saw them, in order to continue to develop her art. Each experienced difficulty created a greater determination to overcome it and to prove herself as an artist.

Blanchard's writing is lucid and flowing despite the inclusion of so many quotations. She has clarified and re-interpreted episodes and events in Carr's life which have often been either neglected by other writers or interpreted in a different manner. A selection of ten colour plates of the artist's work is included, also fourteen black and white reproductions of photographs. Unfortunately, as is often customary today, these do not accompany the text as in Tippett's book but are clustered in two separate groups.

The numerous references are organized by chapters and appear after the text and appendices. An excellent index and a selected bibliography add to the usefulness of the work for the scholar.

Blanchard is to be congratulated on writing a very thoughtful analysis of a most complex person. One, who due to her family background and personal nature, preferred to maintain an inner privacy which frequently created a barrier between herself and her associates. In this biography, the author presents the reader with probably the most accurate picture of Carr's life which has been written to date. It is also a valuable addition to the study of the development of Canadian art and, at the same time, a work of interest to those who pursue the cause of feminism.

Melva J. Dwyer

Miss Dwyer, a member of the Vancouver Historical Society, recently retired as Fine Arts Librarian at the University of B.C.

The Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt: Captive of Maquinna. Annotated and illustrated by Hilary Stewart. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1987. 192 pp., illus., maps. \$29.95

This handsome large-format volume is a fitting tribute to the lasting significance of Jewitt's account of the three years he spent as a captive of Chief Maquinna at Nootka in 1803 -1806. Jewitt contrived to keep a diary of sorts, which was published in Boston in 1807. A few years later it caught the attention of Richard Alsop, a wellknown writer of the day, who guestioned Jewitt at length and expanded the diary into a much longer account, published in 1815 as A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt. Since then his story has been reprinted, in one version or another, at least 26 times, five of them in the last 20 years. Few if any narratives relating to the Northwest Coast can match this printing record.

There are several reasons for its popularity. To begin with, it is a good adventure story. Jewitt had just passed his 20th birthday when his ship, the Boston, was seized and all but two of the crew massacred. He was a blacksmith by trade, and he survived because his ability to produce such items as daggers, knives and harpoons made him a valuable acquisition for Maquinna. Jewitt was evidently a cheerful soul, who bore his tribulations with remarkable patience, and who found life with the Indians interesting, if not always pleasant or comfortable.

He was also observant, and in his talks with Jewitt, Alsop was able to secure added details of native manners and customs that make the *Narrative* an important source for ethnologists. Jewitt's years in captivity have been termed "the first sustained contact" by a European with the Nootka, a judgement that overlooks the year spent at Nootka by John Mackay in 1786 - 87. But Jewitt took a far more intelligent interest in the Indians and observed them much more closely than Mackay, and the result is a valuable glimpse of the Indians before their way

of life was seriously eroded by extensive contacts with traders and others.

Miss Stewart provides a score of footnote references to the original diary which illustrate the relationship between it and Alsop's expanded text. Her sketches, some two hundred in number, add much to the attractiveness of the book. Scenes, personalities, Indian artifacts, plants, animals, birds, whales and fish that figure in the narrative are all well represented. Her reading list, confined to books, might well have made an exception to include the article by Edmond S. Meany, Jr., entitled "The Later Life of John R. Jewitt" (BCHQ, July 1940) which is still the fullest account of his life after Nootka.

Accounts of captivities amongst the Indians, whether fact or fiction, were popular when the *Narrative* first appeared; five editions were published within a year or two. Jewitt abandoned his profession and became an itinerant salesman for his book. In 1817, in Philadelphia, he took to the stage and was featured in an "historical melodrama", *The Armourer's Escape* based on his story. There is little to indicate that he prospered, and he did not live long to enjoy whatever fame the *Narrative* may have brought him. He died in 1821 at the age of 38.

The late Judge Howay took a special delight in acquiring copies of early editions of Jewitt, and as a result the Howay-Reid Collection in the UBC Library probably has more editions than any other institution.

W. Kaye Lamb

Dr. Lamb is Honorary President of the B.C. Historical Federation, and, incidentally, was a friend of Judge Howay.

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