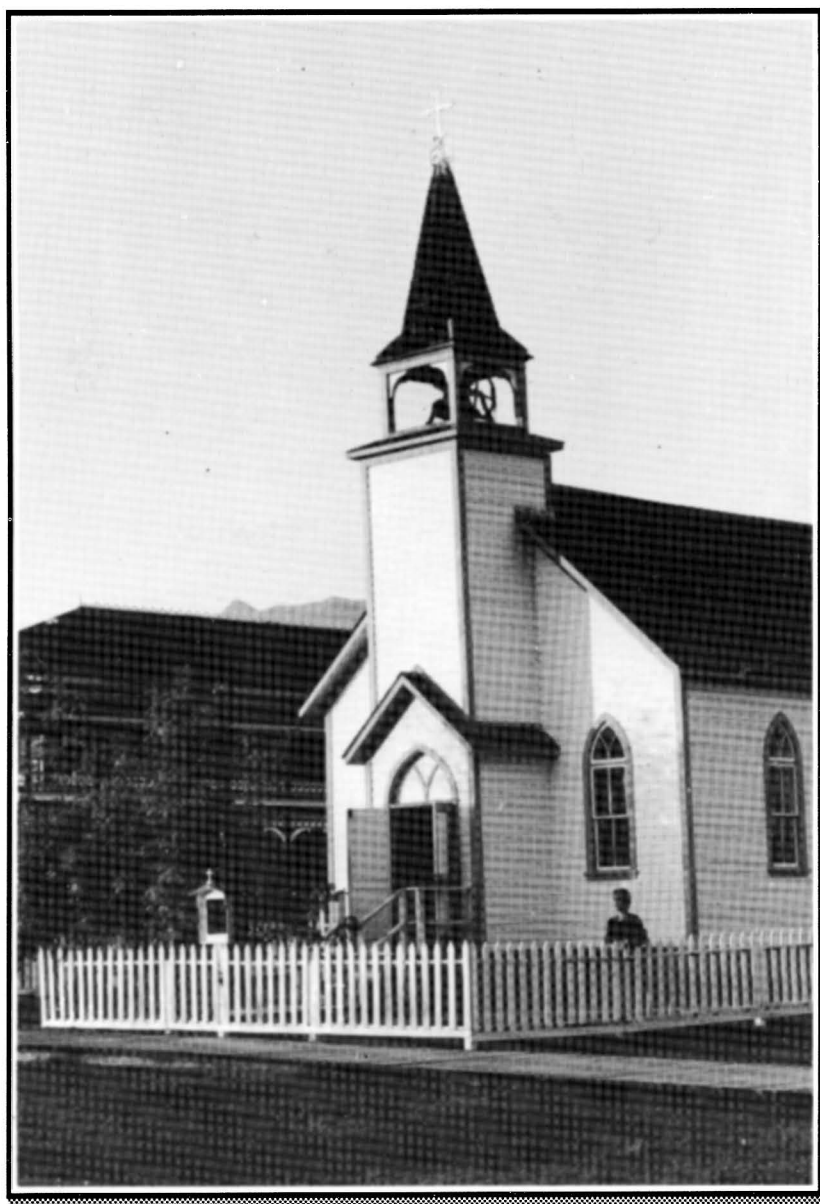


\$4.00
Volume 25, No. 2
Spring 1992

ISSN 0045-2963

British Columbia Historical News

Journal of the B.C. Historical Federation



St. Anthony's Church, Fort Steele 1897

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 Editor at the addresses inside the back cover. The Annual Return as at October 31st should include telephone numbers for contact.

Members' dues for the year 1990 - 91 were paid by the following Societies:

Alberni District Historical Society - Box 284, Port Alberni, B.C. V9Y 7M7
Arrow Lakes Historical Society - Box 584, Nakusp, B.C. V0G 1R0
Atlin Historical Society - Box 111, Atlin, B.C. V0W 1A0
Burnaby Historical Society - 6501 Deer Lake Avenue, Burnaby, B.C. V5G 3T6
Chemainus Valley Historical Society - Box 172, Chemainus, B.C. V0R 1K0
Cowichan Historical Society - P.O. Box 1014, Duncan, B.C. V9L 3Y2
District 69 Historical Society - 625 Pym Road, Parksville, B.C. V9P 1B6
East Kootenay Historical Association - P.O. Box 74, Cranbrook, B.C. V1C 4H6
Golden and District Historical Society - Box 992, Golden, B.C. V0A 1H0
Gulf Islands Branch -BCHF - c/o Wilma J. Cross, RR#1, Pender Island, B.C. V0N 2M0
Koksilah School Historical Society - 5203 Trans Canada Highway, Koksilah, B.C. V0R 2C0
Kootenay Lake Historical Society - Box 537, Kaslo, B.C. V0G 1M0
Kootenay Museum & Historical Society - 402 Anderson Street, Nelson, B.C. V1L 3Y3
Lantzville Historical Society - c/o Box 274, Lantzville, B.C. V0R 2H0
Lasqueti Island Historical Society - Lasqueti Island, B.C., V0R 2J0
Nanaimo Historical Society - P.O. Box 933, Station A, Nanaimo, B.C. V9R 5N2
North Shore Historical Society - 623 East 10th St., North Vancouver, B.C. V7L 2E9
North Shuswap Historical Society - Box 22, Celista, B.C. V0E 1L0
Princeton & District Pioneer Museum & Archives - Box 687, Princeton, B.C. V0X 1W0
Qualicum Beach Historical & Museum Society - 444 Qualicum Road, Qualicum Beach, B.C. V9K 1B2
Saltspring Island Historical Society - Box 1264, Ganges, B.C. V0S 1E0
Sidney & North Saanich Historical Society - P.O. Box 2404, Sidney, B.C. V8L 3Y3
Silvery Slokan Historical Society - Box 301, New Denver, B.C. V0G 1S0
Surrey Historical Society - 8811-152nd Street, Surrey, B.C. V3R 4E5
Trail Historical Society - P.O. Box 405, Trail, B.C. V1R 4L7
Vancouver Historical Society - P.O. Box 3071, Vancouver, B.C. V6B 3X6
Victoria Historical Society - Box 5123 Stn. B., Victoria, B.C. V8R 6N4

AFFILIATED GROUPS

Fort Steele Heritage Park - Fort Steele, B.C. V0B 1N0
The Hallmark Society - 207 Government Street, Victoria, B.C. V8V 2K8
Nanaimo Centennial Museum Society - 100 Cameron Road, Nanaimo, B.C. V9R 2X1

Publications Mail Registration Number 4447

Published winter, spring, summer and fall by the British Columbia Historical Federation, P.O. Box 35326, Station E, Vancouver, B.C. V6M 4G5. A Charitable Society recognized under the Income Tax Act.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: Institutional, \$16.00 per year; Individual (non-members), \$10.00; Members of member Societies - \$9.00; For addresses outside Canada add \$4.00.

Financially assisted by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, Recreation and Culture, through the British Columbia Heritage Trust and British Columbia Lotteries.

Back issues of the **British Columbia Historical News** are available in microform from Micromedia Limited, 20 Victoria St, Toronto, Ont. M5C 2N8 (416) 362-5211 • Fax (416) 362-6161 • Toll Free 1-800-387-2689
- Micromedia also publishes the **Canadian Magazine Index** and the **Canadian Business Index**.

Indexed in the **Canadian Periodical Index**.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL NEWS

Volume 25, No. 2

Journal of the B.C. Historical Federation

Spring - 1992

EDITORIAL

Readers will be shuttled on these pages from Rogers Pass to Tahsis, Victoria to Nelson, Chemainus to Kelowna, and up the coast to Loughborough Inlet. Summertime coastal navigators will appreciate the dilemma described in "Perigean Tides" while the ordinary motorist will be astounded at the 17 hours travel time taken in 1917 over a route which today takes 55 minutes. Our sincere thanks to the contributors of these diverse pieces.

The only constant in our lives is Change. Change of address usually means that the subscriber has moved. Recently, however, Canada Post has made numerous adjustments. Parksville and Qualicum residents have "graduated" from a downtown post office box to a street address. And our Honorary President, situated in his home for 20 years, was assigned a different Rural Route and Postal Code.

SO, if you have a change of address be it self imposed or designated by administration, please notify Nancy Peter (address inside back cover). The Post Office still has postcards to simplify this notification.

Naomi Miller

COVER CREDIT

St. Anthony's Catholic Church, Fort Steele, was built in 1897 for less than \$1000, and is still in use today. A priest would come from nearby St. Eugene's Mission to give services. One notice read, "Mass at 10 am SHARP. Now that we have Standard Time no tardiness will be tolerated."

photo courtesy of Martin Ross, Fort Steele

CONTENTS

Features

Two Attorney's General <i>by Bernard Webber</i>	2
Franz Biberstein: Painter of the Canadian Rockies <i>by Peter C. Merrill</i>	4
West Coast Carpenter <i>by Eleanor Witton Hancock</i>	8
The Kootenay District Zinc Rush <i>by Edward L. Affleck</i>	12
To Nelson by Car in 1917 <i>by Henry Stevenson</i>	15
The Barn with a Social Life	18
Gray Creek <i>by Bruce Paterson</i>	19
John Christie Goodfellow: Historian <i>by Margaret Stoneberg</i>	22
Not a Single Wheel Can Turn <i>by A. Stephen Brewer</i>	22
Living History at Fort Steele <i>by Naomi Miller</i>	24
The Lone Scout of Chimu-Nesu <i>by Toyo Takata</i>	25
Perigean Spring Tide in Loughboro Inlet, July 1792 <i>by Nicholas A. Doe</i>	28

NEWS & NOTES	32
--------------	----

BOOK SHELF	33
------------	----

The Journal of Duncan McGillivray <i>Review by George Newell</i>	33
---	----

A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Co. and Two Centuries of Mapping <i>Review Frances M. Woodward</i>	33
---	----

Noticias de nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792	34
--	----

Malaspina & Galiano: Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast <i>Reviews by Barry Gough</i>	34
---	----

This Was Our Valley <i>Review by Frank Leonard</i>	35
---	----

Manuscripts and correspondence for the editor are to be sent to P.O. Box 105, Wasa, B.C. V0B 2K0
Correspondence regarding subscriptions are to be directed to the subscription secretary (see inside back cover)

Two Attorneys – General: A Glimpse Behind the Scenes

by Bernard Webber

[This item was written prior to the October 17, 1991 election when the provincial Liberals became the official opposition party. Since then Colin Gabelmann, not a lawyer, has been appointed Attorney-General in the N.D.P. Government.]

A few years ago, in 1988, there was much public discussion about whether a non-lawyer could be Attorney-General as though such a circumstance would be establishing a precedent. Actually, a non-lawyer and a Premier to boot had been Attorney-General of British Columbia in 1941.

The facts were these: A provincial general election had been held 21 October, 1941. Afterwards, no political party had an absolute majority of the seats in the Legislative Assembly. The Liberals who had controlled the previous administration held 21 seats under the leadership of T. Dufferin Pattullo, the M.L.A. for Prince Rupert and still Premier. The Conservatives held 12 seats with their leader being R.L. (Pat) Maitland, the first M.L.A. for Vancouver – Point Grey. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, (CCF) held 14 seats under Harold Winch, the first member for Vancouver East. The Labour member, Tom Uphill of Fernie, completed the then 48 seat Legislative Assembly.

Between the election and December 4, 1941, the Legislature did not sit but a minority cabinet continued under Duff Pattullo. One can only speculate about what went on behind the scenes in the meantime. From the date of the election, there had been talk of a coalition government, possibly representative of all three major political parties in the province. It was wartime and some believed or at least argued that a government of all the talents was desirable, the better to fight the war.

Duff Pattullo thought otherwise. He wanted to carry on with a minority government. As he was likely the wildest provincial politician of his day, he might have been canny enough to make it work. However, more and more Liberal

members of cabinet capability were attracted to the idea of coalition. One by one, Liberal ministers resigned their portfolios in the cabinet. As they did so, Mr. Pattullo picked up the vacated portfolios. That is how he became Attorney-General.

The House was eventually called to sit on 4 December, 1941. The "Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of British Columbia" for that day (there being no Hansard then) record that five Reports or documents were presented to the House by "the Hon. Mr. Pattullo (Attorney-General)"; and the Public Accounts for the preceding fiscal year were presented by "the Hon. Mr. Pattullo, (Minister of Finance); and the Annual Report of the Department of Education was presented by "the Hon. Mr. Pattullo, (Minister of Education)."

Even the dogged Mr. Pattullo could not stem the tides of change. No one amongst his natural supporters believed his Cassandra-like warning that eventually coalition would destroy the parties associated with it. Ever since, the provincial Liberals and Conservatives have found nothing but heavy going in British Columbia. Finally, on that day, (4 December, 1941), Duff Pattullo accepted the inevitable and read a statement to the House in which he, first, recognized that a recent Liberal Party convention in the province had opted for a coalition government; second, stated that he released his cabinet ministers from any ties of loyalty to himself; and, third; announced that he had asked the Lieutenant-Governor, W.C. Woodward, to call upon Liberal John Hart to form a new administration. The House was then adjourned until 8 January, 1942.

When the House met again, John Hart, now premier, announced the names of the four Liberals and three Conservatives who constituted the cabi-

net at the time. In that statement, Mr. Hart said that the CCF (Now the NDP) had been invited to participate in the government but "was not disposed to join a government of the kind contemplated . . ." Harold Winch for the CCF argued that any government needed an alert and well informed opposition to keep it on its toes. Duff Pattullo, holding to his principles, refused to join the coalition but continued resolutely to sit in the House as an unreconstructed Liberal.

Those were the days when Members of the Legislative Assembly, of whatever stamp, usually respected each other, observed the social courtesies, and, apart from politics, were genuinely concerned about each other's welfare – which is not to say that politics did not have its rough and tumble edge. One poker-playing foursome consisted of Duff Pattullo, Harold Winch, Harry Perry, (Minister of Education), and Sam Guthrie, CCF Member for Cowichan-Newcastle.

Certain things were simply not done in the clubbable atmosphere that prevailed then. One of the Ministers occasionally imbibed not wisely but too well and as a consequence was sometimes absent from the House for days on end. Everyone knew what was happening. No one said a public word about it. Colin Cameron (CCF, Comox), brilliant, a wit, but a chronic mischief, once rose in his place to ask in disingenuous vein when the Minister would likely be recovered from his (pause) "indisposition." John Hart, straight-faced, replied in like manner that he confidently expected the Minister to resume his seat at the next sitting of the House on Monday next. Colin did not have to be told the answer. He knew, as we all did, that his leader Harold Winch was helping the Minister regain his equilibrium.

As a novice in the House, I went one

day to see Pat Maitland, the new Attorney-General, an eminent Conservative lawyer, about constituency business. His was a spacious and elegant office on the main floor of the Legislative Buildings, facing front over the lawn to the statue of Queen Victoria. I was the youngest member of the House, still somewhat in awe of eminences like an Attorney-General. He sensed my nervousness and made things easy for me. After we had finished our business, I was looking at the framed pictures of all previous Attorneys-General which at that time ringed the Minister's office just above the level of the picture rail. The last of these pictures was that of the Hon. T. Dufferin Pattullo, K.C., LL. D.

Pat Maitland saw me looking at the pictures. I had heard that he sometimes had a short fuse, but as he contemplated the picture of the recent Premier cum Attorney-General, I thought he was about to go off like a firecracker. "What do you think", he asked "of anyone other than a lawyer being Attorney-General?" At that time, I had not thought about the matter but I gathered that in the corpus of Mr. Maitland's beliefs few things could be more reprehensible. He said that it had always been assumed that the A-G. would be a lawyer but that requirement had not been written into the Constitution.

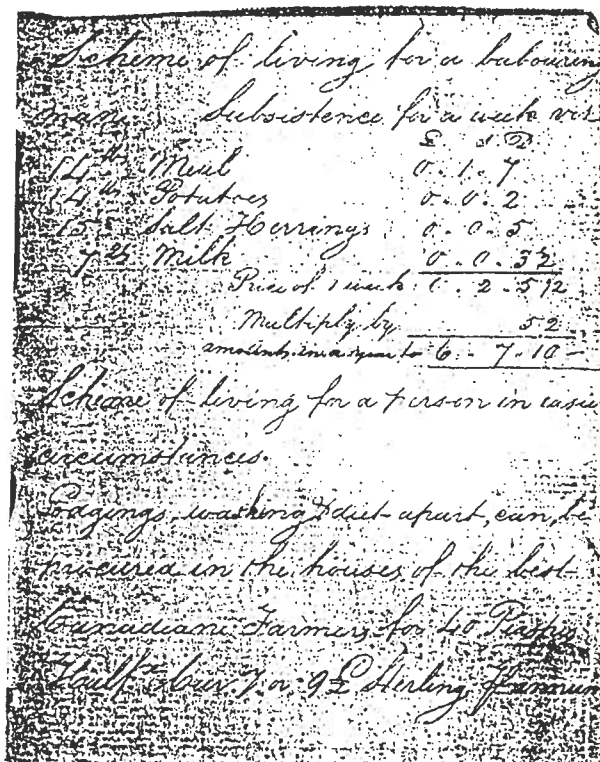
"What, moreover, do you think of a non-lawyer being created both a K.C. and an LL.D.?" Again, I had no opinion. He said that it was because it was stated where it counted that any person on being appointed Attorney-General, automatically received a K.C. and an LL.D. This accounted, much to Mr. Maitland's displeasure, for the incongruity of Mr. Pattullo, certainly not a lawyer, thereafter being permitted to record those honorific letters after his name.

There was a coda to my interview with Mr. Maitland. Warming to his Liberal attack, he beckoned me over to one of the greatest windows of his office overlooking Victoria's Inner Harbour. "What would you think about the vanity of a man who would etch his name on a window with the diamond of a ring?" he wanted to know. He pointed to the name "J.W. de B. Farris" neatly but inconspicuously etched on the lower left hand side of one of the windows.

Again I had nothing to say. I knew that Mr. Farris had been Attorney-General in a previous Liberal administration and was even then a Senator at Ottawa. What has since puzzled me is how Mr. Maitland found the minuscule etching in the first place. I wonder if it is still there.

Bernard Webber, a long time resident of Osoyoos, was M.L.A. for the Similkameen riding from 1941 to 1945. He is a past president of the Okanagan Historical Society.

A GEM FROM THE ARCHIVES



On one of his visits to the Provincial Archives, Bernard Webber examined a devotional Commonplace Book which had an obscure pocket put there by Sir James Douglas. The good gentleman was in the habit of writing notes to himself while in church. The papers noted favorite hymns and theological statements as well as excerpts from the works of writers he admired.

"The Scheme for living for a labouring man" – shown here was one of the entries. Also written in Sir James' spidery handwriting are the procedures for making a canoe. Any reader wishing to obtain a copy of this "Manner of Making a Canoe" should send their request to the editor with a stamped self-addressed envelope.

Franz Biberstein: Painter of the Canadian Rockies

by Peter C. Merrill



Franz Biberstein was a neatly dressed gentleman in his seventies when Elmer Drieger, a young Milwaukeean, sought out the Swiss born artist in his lodgings.

*photo courtesy of
Milwaukee County Historical Society.*

It was the year 1926. Elmer Krieger, a young employee of the Milwaukee public land office, had been invited to the home of his boss, Charles Bennett. When Krieger walked into the living room, his attention was immediately arrested by an immense oil painting, some

four by six feet in size, which hung over the davenport. It was a Rocky Mountain landscape, a view of the Garden of the Gods near Colorado Springs. The place was familiar to Krieger, who had visited there the previous summer. The artist, he learned, was an elderly Swiss immigrant named Franz Biberstein. Though he lived in Milwaukee, Biberstein had made several trips to the West, where he had painted many mountain landscapes, particularly in the Canadian Rockies. Later, at the home of another Milwaukee colleague, Krieger saw a Biberstein painting which revealed a different side of the artist. It was a painting of Castalia Park, a private park by the Menominee River in suburban Wauwatosa. This time the painting was smaller, but still of ample size, 18 by 30 inches. Krieger took a liking to the picture and when he learned that a cartographer at the office knew the artist personally, he asked whether Biberstein might be willing to paint him a copy. The cartographer, Maurice Kranyecz, explained that Biberstein, now 76 years old, had little income and would probably be delighted to undertake such a commission.

One day Kranyecz took Krieger to see Biberstein. They walked along Second Street past the Miloki Club to an ancient rooming house near the corner of Wright Street. Biberstein, a neatly dressed, elderly gentleman with a white beard, was living in a sparsely furnished room. Yes, he still had his original sketch for the Castalia Park painting and he would be happy to provide an oil on canvas copy, size 18 by 30 inches, for thirty-five dollars. That would be just enough to buy the new overcoat he needed. Krieger had just become engaged and the painting of Castalia Park was one of the first things that he and his bride bought for their home. Castal-

ia Park itself, like much of the old Milwaukee that Franz Biberstein knew, is now gone and fading from memory.

When Biberstein died in 1930 Kranyecz managed the estate sale and Krieger had an opportunity to buy a number of other paintings and sketches by the Swiss artist, including some more Wisconsin landscapes and a painting of Mount Sir Donald in the Selkirk range of British Columbia. Today, sixty-five years after his meeting with the artist, Krieger and his wife Laura cherish their collection of Biberstein paintings, eleven of which are hung on the walls of their Milwaukee home.

Franz Joseph Biberstein was born February 12, 1850 at St. Niklaus, a village in Solothurn Canton, Switzerland. His father, Joseph Biberstein, was a skilled marble craftsman who fashioned cemetery monuments and laid marble floors for churches. His mother, Anna Maria (Gubler) Biberstein, was from the nearby village of Lostorf. Both parents were Catholic. The artist's older brother August became a well-known sculptor and later took over his father's marble business. Franz Biberstein also had two sisters.¹

Biberstein received his first training in Solothurn from the Swiss landscape painter Johann Sütterlin. At the age of nineteen he set off for Munich, crossing Lake Constance to Lindau on the Bavarian side. He was admitted to the Royal Academy of Art in 1869 and was placed in the *Antikenklasse*, where he learned to sketch in charcoal from plaster casts of classical Greek and Roman sculptures.² For two more years he continued to follow the rigorous course of training laid down by the academy, sketching portrait heads from live models in the second class and continuing to life studies of the full figure in the third class.

The quality of instruction in Munich was good and one of Biberstein's teachers there was Wilhelm von Diez, a leading figure in the school of Munich realism. But he wanted to do landscape painting, something which received scant attention in the inflexibly classical tradition of the Munich Academy. So he decided not to go on to the fourth class, but worked instead on the kind of painting that interested him. He sketched mountain scenery in Switzerland during the summers and sometimes visited Italy during the winter. He was beginning to sell his painting and one summer was able to afford a walking trip to Italy, painting in the Dolomites and visiting Genoa, Pisa, and Florence.

In 1880 an unusual opportunity presented itself. Ludwig Braun, a professor of painting in Munich, was looking for artists to assist him in a major project, an immense panoramic painting which had been commissioned by the owners of a newly constructed exhibition building for panoramas in Frankfurt am Main. Braun was an experienced war artist who had been witness to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. The panorama that he had been commissioned to do was **The Battle of Sedan on September 1, 1870**. The battle had taken place just ten years before and the memory of the war was still fresh in both France and Germany. The idea of memorializing notable battles of the war by means of immense panoramic paintings had begun in France. Braun had been to the Paris Exhibition of 1878 and had been overawed by **The Defense of Paris**, a panorama created by a team of French artists under the direction of Paul Dominique Philippoteaux. Braun consulted with the French panoramists and quickly learned the techniques needed for the production of such paintings. During 1880 and 1881 Biberstein worked for Braun as one of the team of artists which created the Sedan panorama in Frankfurt.³

When the job had been completed in Frankfurt, Biberstein found his financial situation much improved and decided to seek further training. Instead of returning to Munich, however, he sought out the smaller academy at Karlsruhe, capital of the German principality of Baden. Records at the Karlsruhe Academy

indicate that he was a student there in 1881 and 1882. Even after completing his studies there he probably remained in Karlsruhe for the next three years.⁴

One of the artists who had worked on the Sedan panorama was an Austrian named August Lohr. Like Biberstein he had studied in Munich and specialized in painting alpine landscapes. In 1884 Lohr went to New Orleans to supervise the installation of the panorama at the Cotton Exposition and there met William Wehner, a German immigrant businessman in Chicago. Wehner had an idea: why not bring experienced panorama painters to the United States from Germany and have them paint panoramic battle scenes of the American Civil War? Lohr thought it was a good idea and helped Wehner to establish the Milwaukee-based American Panorama Company. Lohr now started to recruit European artists to come to Milwaukee. Biberstein was at first hesitant, but when Lohr wrote again enclosing the passage money, Biberstein accepted. He arrived April 14, 1886.⁵

The American Panorama Company began operations in a specially built studio at 628 Wells Street in Milwaukee. The first panorama painted there was probably **The Storming of Missionary Ridge**, which was followed by **The Battle of Atlanta**. Although Wehner's American Panorama Company went out of business in 1887, several successor firms kept the panorama industry alive in Milwaukee for a few more years.

Many of the artists returned to Germany or dispersed to other cities in the United States, but Biberstein was one of those who stayed.

In 1893 Biberstein was one of several Milwaukee artists to be caught up in the hubbub of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, for which he contributed a panoramic painting of the fairgrounds. Another former panorama painter to be involved in the Chicago World's Fair was George Peter, who had been one of Biberstein's closest friends in Karlsruhe and had come to Milwaukee after Biberstein recommended him to Lohr.⁶ After the World's Fair, Peter and Biberstein both found employment as scenery painters for the German theater in Milwaukee, but a new employment opportunity suddenly offered

itself when William Wehner decided to produce a panorama of **The Battle of Manila Bay**, a scene from the recent Spanish-American War. Wehner engaged the services of Biberstein, Peter, and two other veteran panoramists who had remained in Milwaukee, Friedrich Wilhelm Heine and Franz Rohrbeck. The Manila Bay panorama was painted in San Francisco, but proved to be a financial failure when it was exhibited there in 1900. The panorama craze had, it seems, run its course and could not be revived.

By 1900 Biberstein was back in Milwaukee and was one of the local artists who met at the studio of Louis Mayer on October 23 to organize the Society of Milwaukee Artists.⁷ The society, composed almost entirely of German immigrant artists, became an important local professional association. Although it tended to promote the esthetic principles of Munich realism, there was also a certain diversity of approach among its members. Otto Dinger's paintings, for example, reflect the graphic clarity of the Düsseldorf school, while the influence of American tonalism is apparent in the work of Friedrich W. Heine. Biberstein's association with the society provided not only personal contact with other local artists, but also served as a means of finding purchasers for his work. His landscape canvasses were a regular feature of the society's shows.

In 1901 Biberstein briefly entered into partnership with another former panorama painter, Ernst Julius Peege, to form the Acme Portrait Company, but soon afterwards went back to working independently. Writing in the **Milwaukee Sentinel** on April 5, 1903, Louis Mayer had this to report:

Bieberstein [sic], who has a studio above the Milwaukee National Bank, is a landscape artist of rare ability. He paints scenery from the western coast and the Swiss highlands, where he was born. He has lately experimented a great deal in photography, and has devised a scheme of reproducing portraits on canvas and painting them with transparent colors.⁸

One of Biberstein's clients at this time was the wealthy railroad official Thomas George Shaughnessy (1832-1928). The Milwaukee-born Shaughnessy had begun his career with the Chicago, Mil-

waukee, and St. Paul Railroad, but later became president of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In an era when the railroads were opening up new scenic areas of the West to the general tourist, the railroad companies sometimes offered patronage to landscape artists who could publicize the scenic beauty of the areas which they served. John Fery (1859-1934), an Austrian immigrant artist working in Milwaukee and St. Paul, had a long association with the Great Northern Railway, helping them to publicize the scenic grandeur of Glacier National Park. Shaughnessy must have been aware of this arrangement. At any rate, Biberstein was invited to spend two summers as Shaughnessy's guest in the Canadian Rockies, where he painted numerous scenic views, particularly in the Selkirk range of British Columbia. Biberstein's visits to Canada must have been to the area around Revelstoke on the main line of the Canadian Pacific. Time and again Biberstein painted the area around Mount Sir Donald, showing the peak and its surroundings in various ways. One of these paintings is dated 1908, which gives an approximate idea of when Biberstein visited the area. Following his usual practice, Biberstein worked in the field by making oil sketches in color on small composition board panels, usually about eight by ten inches in size. These were then kept for reference and used as a basis for larger paintings, which were done on canvas in his Milwaukee studio. One of these larger paintings, a view of Mount Sir Donald measuring five by seven and a half feet, is now in the collection of the Milwaukee Public Library, which received it as a gift from Frederick Layton (1827-1919), an important local philanthropist and art patron.

Biberstein was not, of course, the only landscape painter to discover and record the scenic grandeur of the Canadian Rockies. Among his contemporaries were a number of Canadian painters who received patronage from the Canadian Pacific Railway.⁹ To mention only a few outstanding names, the list includes Lucius Richard O'Brian, Marmaduke Matthews, Thomas Mower Martin, John Arthur Fraser, Frederick Marlett Bell-Smith, John Collins Forbes, and George Horne Russell. To

encourage artists to paint in scenic areas served by the railway, the Canadian Pacific provided passes or reduced-fare tickets and sometimes even free hotel accommodations. In 1886 O'Brian and Forbes were guests at the new Glacier House Hotel, a chalet-style lodge owned and operated by the railway. The lodge provided access to Glacier National Park and had Swiss guides to lead excursions. Biberstein may, in fact, have also stayed there. To enlist the talents of the fashionable German-American painter Albert Bierstadt, the Canadian Pacific even placed a private railway car at his disposal. The railway sometimes commissioned paintings and on occasion even sponsored one-man shows by artists that it favored.

From 1910 to 1920 Biberstein was one of several local artists who had a studio in the Cawker Building at the northeast corner of Wells Street and Plankinton Avenue.¹⁰ In 1910 he was commissioned to paint a mural for the Grays Harbor County Courthouse at Montesano, Washington. The mural, dated 1910, was painted on canvas and installed when the courthouse was opened the following year. The work was probably painted at Biberstein's Milwaukee studio. It shows the landing in 1791 of Captain Robert Gray, an early explorer of the Pacific Northwest. The Indians depicted in the mural are not dressed like those of the area, but wear costumes resembling those of the Seneca Indians of New York state. On the opposite wall is a mural by Biberstein's former colleague, Franz Rohrbeck. The commission to paint the two murals probably came through Associated Artists, a Milwaukee interior decorating firm which arranged to have Rohrbeck paint murals for the Brown County Courthouse in Green Bay, Wisconsin.

During the years he had a studio in the Cawker Building, Biberstein probably made much of his living from portrait commissions. Few of these portraits can be presently located, though it can be assumed that many have been preserved by the families of his Milwaukee clients. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison has a finely preserved portrait of James O. Davidson painted in 1908 when he

was governor of Wisconsin. An updated portrait of Frank Whitnall is now in the collection of the Milwaukee County Historical Society. But despite portrait commissions, Biberstein continued to paint and exhibit his landscapes. In 1913 the Society of Milwaukee Artists was reorganized as the Wisconsin Painters and Sculptors, which held frequent shows at the new Milwaukee Art Institute. These, of course, provided a convenient place for Biberstein to exhibit and sell his work. He also benefited from the facilities provided by the Milwaukee Journal's Gallery of Wisconsin Art, an exhibition room on the second floor of the Milwaukee Journal Building which held quarterly exhibits between 1924 and 1931. In reporting on the gallery's fourth quarterly exhibit, the **Milwaukee Journal** reproduced Biberstein's **Pastureland in the Dolomites**, an impressive canvas showing a pasture and cottage in the foreground with a lake and snow-covered mountains in the background.

Biberstein's last years were spent in dignified poverty, his modest savings having been lost in the collapse of a local trust company. For the last eighteen years of his life he did occasional work for Alphonse J. Moroder, in immigrant woodcarver from the South Tyrol who engaged Biberstein to paint backgrounds for his religious groups. Biberstein also supplemented his meager income by growing ginseng in a vacant lot. Poverty forced him to part with some of the color field sketches that he kept for reference, though a number of these were still in his possession at the time of his death.

Biberstein had been suffering from a chronic heart condition and apparently died in his sleep on July 26, 1930. He was found by his landlord in the furnished room at 919 Second Street where he had lived the last ten years of his life. He had never married and had no relatives in America. Long obituary articles appeared the next day in both English-language **Milwaukee Journal** and the German-language **Milwaukee Herald**.¹¹ Both newspapers recounted Biberstein's career as an artist and recalled the era of the panorama painters in Milwaukee more than forty years before.

Biberstein's memory lingers in Wisconsin. In 1976 a number of his paintings were exhibited in a show at the Charles Allis Art Museum in Milwaukee and in 1989 the West Bend Gallery of Fine Arts in West Bend, Wisconsin included three of his paintings in a show entitled "German Academic Painters in Wisconsin." To Elmer Krieger, surrounded by his collection of Biberstein paintings, the artist is an ever-present memory. Nor has Biberstein been forgotten in his native Switzerland. Two early landscapes, both pastoral scenes, are preserved in the art museum at Solothurn. In Canada, however, Biberstein's name and work appear to have been completely forgotten. He was, of course, an outsider, a visitor whose paintings of the Canadian Rockies were purchased by customers in the United States. Nonetheless, his work ought to receive at least passing notice in any discussion of regional painting in western Canada during the early years of the present century.

Dr. Merrill is a professor at Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton, Florida. He consulted several Canadian museums, including the Whyte Museum in Banff, when preparing this article.

FOOTNOTES

1. For basic biographical information on Franz Biberstein and his brother August, see Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, **Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart** (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1970-1971), vol. 3, p. 596 and Karl Brun, **Schweizerisches Künstler-Lexikon** (Frauenfeld: Huber, 1905-1917), vol. 1, p. 126. Further information on Biberstein's family in Switzerland was obtained from the State Archive of Solothurn Canton (Staatsarchiv des Kantons Solothurn).
2. The matriculation records at the Munich Academy note that Biberstein was accepted for study there on April 16, 1869 and that he was formally matriculated on April 12, 1870.
3. For information on the panorama in Germany and the career of Ludwig Braun, see Stephan Oettermann, **Das Panorama: Die Geschichte eines Massenmediums** (Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1980).
4. Adolf von Oechelhauser, **Geschichte der Grossh. Badischen Akademie der Bildenden Künste** (Karlsruhe: Druck und Verlag der G. Braunschen Hofbuchdruckerei, 1904), p. 158.
5. For information on the Milwaukee panorama industry, see Peter C. Merrill,



*Mount Sir Donald in the Selkirk of British Columbia, 1908. Oil on panel, 10x8 in.
photo courtesy of Robert Brue.*

- "What Happened to the Panorama Painters?" **German Academic Painters in Wisconsin** (exhibition catalog, West Bend Gallery of Fine Arts, West Bend, Wisconsin, August 1989), pp. 19-44.
6. **Milwaukee Journal**, February 14, 1932.
7. **Milwaukee Sentinel**, October 23, 1900, p. 3. For a detailed discussion of this organization and its members, see Gay A. Donahue, "Society of Milwaukee Artists, 1900-1913." M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1981.
8. Louis Mayer, "Half a Century of Art and Artists in Milwaukee," **Milwaukee Sentinel** April 5, 1903, part 5, p. 10
9. The art patronage policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the artists who benefited from this patronage are discussed at length in E.J. Hart, **The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism** (Banff, Canada: Altitude Publishing Ltd., 1983) and in Allan Pringle, "William Cornelius Van Horne: Art Director, Canadian Pacific Railway," **The Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales d'Histoire de l'Art Canadien**, vol. 8, no. 1 (1984), pp. 50-77.
10. For a discussion of other artists in the Cawker Building, see Peter C. Merrill, "Milwaukee Artists and Their Studios," **Milwaukee History**, vol. 12, nos. 3-4 (Autumn-Winter 1989), pp. 94-104.
11. **Milwaukee Herald**, July 27, 1930. **Milwaukee Journal**, July 27, 1930, City News Section, p. 1.

West Coast Carpenter

by Eleanor Witton Hancock

In the spring of 1937 as Nootka Sound hummed with canneries, gyppo logging camps and a gold boom at Zeballos River, construction of an export lumber mill began at secluded McBride Bay on Nootka Island. Nootka Wood Products Ltd. would be the first export lumber mill north of Port Alberni on Vancouver Island's west coast. It would also be North America's first sawmill producing most of its electricity through a gasification process based on the burning of scrap wood. The mill was located 10 miles from present-day Tahsis which did not then exist, its post office designation "Port Tahsis".

Now retired in Richmond, B.C., carpenter Alder Bloom arrived from Saskatchewan in August 1937, seeking a change from the Depression-ridden prairies. Alder was 24. Working at McBride Bay for nine months, he was present during the completion of the sawmill and the installation of ultra-modern equipment. He saw the first logs arrive in tow from Kyuquot Sound, Douglas firs resplendent of the virgin rainforest. He watched the first deepsea freighter sail for the United Kingdom with the results: 1,500,000 board feet of high grade lumber. Alder Bloom's sojourn at Port Tahsis evolved into eight years in the area. His experiences provide a valuable view of life in Nootka Sound during the Depression and Second World War.

Nootka Wood Products Ltd. was incorporated in British Columbia on February 1, 1937 with an authorized share capital of \$1,650,000. The parent company, British and Allied Investment Corporation of London, England, in Vancouver was involved in the construction of the Marine Building (1929) and the Lions Gate Bridge (1938); the Lions Gate crossing served as forerunner to the company's important suburban land development

in West Vancouver known as the British Properties.

The promoter of the Nootka Island lumber mill was George Whalen of Vancouver and plans originally included a pulp mill. George Whalen some years earlier was prominent in the pulp mill industry of the province, Whalen Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd. consisting of three mills, including the bleached sulphite mill at Port Alice on northern Vancouver Island. The firm, however, had gone bankrupt and in 1926 its assets were purchased by the British Columbia Pulp and Paper Co. Ltd. which was formed to acquire the three mills. George Whalen, with seemingly unlimited British investment monies, was to die before the opening of Port Tahsis and a pulp mill was not built. The Port Tahsis operation in a depressed lumber economy, combined with an approaching world war, was a catastrophe for the shareholders – a swindle many believed.

When Alder Bloom and a pal arrived at McBride Bay in the summer of 1937 the sharp smell of lumber was everywhere. A small sawmill was cutting for the large one under construction, and most of the wharf was finished. Alder had been lucky enough to keep working during the Depression. Repairing grain elevators he'd worked his way up to a construction foreman's job. He knew how to set up a 20-ton platform scale, how to install a grain cleaner, and he'd raised elevators as well and put in new foundations; he was comfortable with his expertise when he hired on at Port Tahsis. But when the foreman put him to work shaping skids for a bunkhouse he had to confess that he did not own an adze.

The skids were duly finished, however, then Alder and his partner built the

bunkhouse, an eight-man, one-room building, 16' x 32'. The August weather, recalls Alder, proved a surprise.

"Coming from Saskatchewan", he says today, "if there was a cloud in the sky you grabbed your tools and ran! You didn't want to get anything wet! Well, the second day on the job there, it was pouring down and here were us, my friend and I – we didn't have any rain clothes; we were soaking wet. And every time you'd hit a nail the water would splash back in your face. I was kind of wondering whether that was going to be a good place to be or not!"

Despite the discomfort they reduced costs for the job and were praised by management. This was encouraging in view of the ostracism prevalent; fellow workers regarded them as "farmers" who were taking "B.C." jobs.

Alder's brother Ed Bloom now arrived from Port Alberni and Alder, Ed and two others formed a four-man gang and built a cookhouse, a 26' x 80' building. Afterwards they built the cold room and tables and benches for the dining room. The completion of the handsome building called for a party and a dance was held in the dining room, free drinks provided. Happily, the handful of women at McBride Bay was supplemented by cannery girls, including Japanese and native Indian girls, from Nelson Brothers plant across Hecate Channel at Ceepeecee. Alder managed to enjoy a few dances.

The weather, apparently, was full of surprises. One night during a storm, trees began falling from the bluff above the bunkhouses. Alder and others gathered up mattresses and blankets and headed for the cookhouse. Two bunkhouses were damaged that night.

At 75 cents per hour, carpenters were earning good wages. Alder began banking his pay cheques. There wasn't a great deal to spend one's money on in any case, with no stores or recreation

facilities. His brother Ed, by comparison, made friends among the married people, and while Alder stayed home at night Ed was part of the outings to Ceepeecee and Zeballos. Eventually Alder made a trip to Ceepeecee:

"One Saturday night I got a ride to the cannery and with some friends started to explore the place. It was dark, with very few street lights and less people. The Japanese girls stayed close to their quarters but we could hear a lot of noise coming from the native village so we wandered over.

"They were playing one of their native gambling games where everybody sat on the floor in a circle, pounding out a set rhythm and singing a loud but monotonous tune. While the noise was going on, one guy had a piece of polished wood about three inches long that he kept passing from hand to hand as rapidly as possible, and at a signal the singing would stop and a member of the opposite team would indicate what hand he thought the wood was in. If he was right, he and his team would win that round and also get the stick. If not, it would remain as before and the singing would start all over again. This was a gambling game and I heard later that they often played for very high stakes. At any rate, I moved to another window to get a better look and was shocked to see my brother Ed and his pal sitting in the circle, making as much noise as the rest and having a wonderful time!"

Nootka Wood Products Ltd. began operating in October 1937, producing three million feet of undressed lumber monthly, 110 men on the payroll. The source of the logs was the company's timber limits, 65 square miles of fir and hemlock in Kyuquot Sound. Fir only was used for lumber at McBride Bay and came by water the 35 miles; the hemlock was cut for Port Alice's pulp mill. Marketed as "Nootka Pine", the fir produced an excellent grade of decking, flooring and floor block stock. Timbers 14" x 14" x 60' were the specialty, the main customer the British Admiralty. Although Nootka Wood Products Ltd. did not wish to sell locally

— local people did not always pay their accounts whereas overseas credits were established — until a sawmill was built at Zeballos in January 1938, 20,000 feet of lumber was scowed to Zeballos almost daily for a few months for construction of the boom town.

No expense had been spared in building the mill. McBride Bay boasted two of the three Swedish gang saws to be found in British Columbia. But the Swede gangs were to prove inadequate for the operation. The head sawing rig, instead of a band saw, was a circular head rig; further along in the mill were fine trimmers but no re-saw.

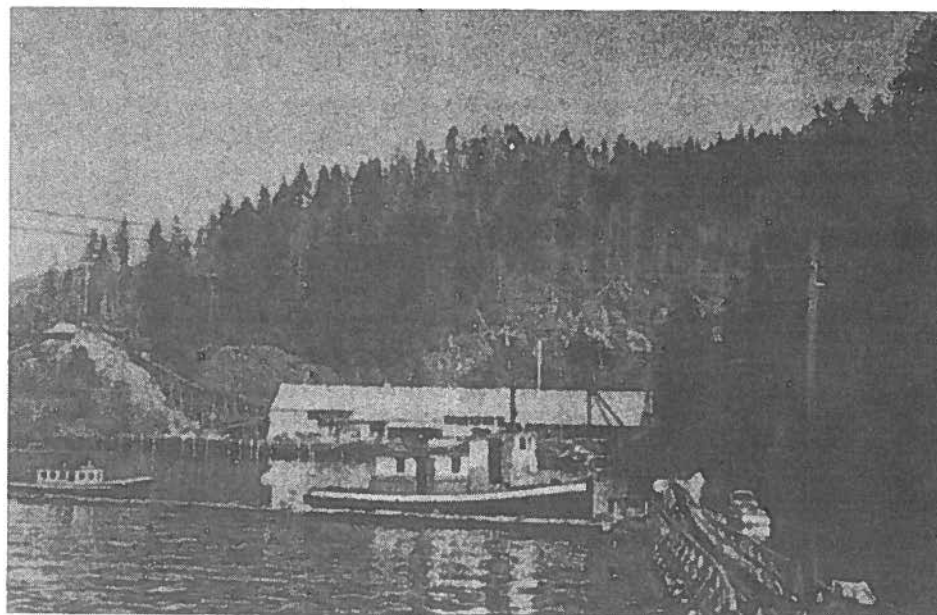
The mill had one of the province's first motor lumber stackers, a Ross, but there was no room to store lumber. Steep-sided McBride Bay offered little land for building on and the wharf could not be extended because teredos consumed the untreated hemlock piles as fast as they were driven. (The teredo population had flourished through the dumping of scrap wood and sawdust into the bay.) With piles 130 feet long at the wharf's front, the price of creosoting was considered too high. Scows therefore were used for storing lumber, increasing costs. If a freighter did not arrive every 10 days, the mill was snowed in.

The power plant, however, was efficient. A 150 kwh engine and generator provided lights, and steam

power operated the log turner, auxiliary deck equipment and pumps. The main power was supplied by burning hog fuel, one ton per hour, to produce a gas which operated the eight-cylinder, 1120 hp Crossley-Premier engine. Built in Nottingham, England the Crossley-Premier was installed by a factory engineer. Crossley-Premiers were not new to North America but this was the first time this gasification process was used in a North American sawmill. The process was estimated to require 50 percent less fuel than the usual steam boiler method; the burning of bark provided the best results at Port Tahsis.

Another North American first for a lumber mill was the installation of a radio telephone. Although radio phones were now used in logging camps, B.C. having a large number, they had yet to be used in the sawmill industry. McBride Bay's unit was installed by Vancouver Radio Laboratories Ltd. and was taller than a man.

Money was also spent to ensure the safety of employees. Instead of operating with only a safety committee, Nootka Wood Products Ltd. hired a full-time safety supervisor, a move lauded by the industry.



Nootka Wood Products Ltd. mill after closure. Gibson tugboat centre foreground.

Things seemed to be going fine at first. Employees were building cabins and sending for their wives; Alder Bloom was building houses for senior staff on an island 400 feet offshore. Access to the island suburb was by rowboat until it was decided to build a floating walkway. Alder and another carpenter were given the job of constructing the walkway. Working on rolling logs was something new again for Alder Bloom.

"I had bought a pair of caulk boots such as loggers wore," he says, "and I was having a fine time on these logs! My partner was grumpy at times and at other times he was singing. For some reason, it bothered him when I moved around on the logs too fast. He said he didn't give a damn if I drowned but he would hate to see me get wet! One day he was in a good mood and singing a happy song. I was working with my back towards him when the singing stopped for a second and then started up again. I looked back to see him in the water up to his armpits, struggling to get back on the logs, but still singing to cover his predicament! I kept on working and said nothing!"

In spring Alder was laid off. He got a job building a logging camp at Esperanza, near Ceepeecee. The settlement of Esperanza consisted of a hotel with a beer parlour, and a two-bed hospital operated by the Shantymen's Christian Association. Much of the lumber for the hospital had been donated by Nootka Wood Products Ltd.

Alder next went to Gibson Brothers camp at Sandspit on Tahsis Inlet. Gibsons, legendary for starting in 1945 their own export lumber mill – present day Tahsis – had acquired old ships to use as barges for transporting logs to market. Alder was put to work cutting out the deck and insides of a ship. The pride of the Gibson fleet was the 245-foot five-masted schooner **Malahat**, a Mother Ship during Prohibition. The old girl had been stripped for use as a barge but she was self-powered; she still had a fireplace in the owner's stateroom.

Alder's father now arrived at McBride Bay looking for work. John Bloom, 59, variously a construction carpenter, store owner, grain buyer and elevator repair man, obtained the promise of a contract

to build living quarters for the sawmill's Indian employees. While waiting, he undertook private carpentry and built a floathouse for himself. He built a skiff as well; on the prairies Mr. Bloom always owned a boat, whether he lived near water or not.

Before long it was learned that the Indian quarters at McBride Bay would not be built. There were rumors that the mill would close. [The sawmill closed at Christmas, 1938.] Mr. Bloom was at loose ends. Alder, recognizing an opportunity in commercial fishing, suggested they build a troller and turn his father into a fisherman.

Nearly two and one-half years were devoted to the construction of his father's 40' boat, a good-size one. Alder would go off to a job for a few months, then return with his earnings to assist his dad. Although they were joined by his brother Rollie Bloom from Port Alberni, the project seemed unending.

A cove near Port Tahsis known as God's Pocket was selected and a 60' open boatshed and lean-to workshop erected. A handful of firs suitable for lumber grew at God's Pocket. Despite feeling guilty about taking timber for personal use, John Bloom made a deal with the Zeballos Lumber Co. to supply several logs in return for some lumber. By himself, he felled the trees with a falling saw (chain saws were not on the market), bucked them, jacked the logs into the water and towed them behind his skiff the nine miles to Zeballos. Afterwards he towed home the lumber, also in the water.

Most of the material had to be ordered from "outside" and arrived at Ceepeecee by steamer, small shipments as they could afford it, mostly fir, oak for the troller's ribs and gumwood for the stem and stern. Generally, Mr. Bloom waited until Alder returned from a job, then they worked on the boat together; he considered Alder project boss. In the meantime, to earn extra money, he built a simple marine way for local use.

As the troller took shape, their work became a topic of interest in the area; large boats were seldom built in Nootka Sound, especially under such conditions.

"The only power machinery that we had", says Alder, "was a 10" circle saw

powered by a four horsepower engine out of Dad's skiff. I did have a small bandsaw that I traded some work for but it was very little help on the heavy material we were working with. Dad was the axeman so he cut and shaped the keel by hand. Then we found that we didn't have a timber big enough for the keelson so Dad went back into the woods again and cut down a tree and shaped it with his trusty broad axe and adze.

"It was unfortunate that we didn't know more about electricity and picked up a small generator, because lights and an electric drill would have been a godsend. On the planking I used two hand braces, one with a bit for a half-inch wood plug, and one for the three-inch boat nail. First, I drilled a hole a half-inch deep for the plug, and then switched braces and drilled for the nail. It wasn't hard but it took time and when you remember there were over 5000 nails in the planking alone you can get some concept of the time required. We were on the job as soon as it was light enough to see and we worked until dark. At noon no-one wanted to quit work to cook anything so we would keep going until one of us got so hungry that he would have to give in and do the cooking!"

When the gumwood arrived at Ceepeecee, 6" x 12" x 12', John Bloom prepared to float it home, unaware it would not float. He wrestled it to the edge of the dock and, ropes around it, pushed it into the water whereupon the ropes slipped off and the gumwood went to the bottom. The timber represented nearly two weeks wages for Alder and he dragged for it with a grappling hook. Unsuccessful, he had to order a new piece.

In the spring of 1941 Mr. Bloom was finishing the cabin. But they still needed an engine and gear. Not looking forward to another year of scrimping, Alder was relieved when Ceepeecee's cannery manager offered to supply the engine if the Blooms would charter the boat to Nelson Brothers for packing dog salmon in the fall. John Bloom would serve as deckhand under an Indian skipper.

Because he had worked at the Nootka cannery Alder was permitted to use the

cannery's machine shop to install the engine and steering gear. Afterwards he ran the boat triumphantly back to the Pocket. They named her the Thyra B, after Alder's mother who had died when he was a boy.

John Bloom became a fisherman and Alder resumed carpentry. The Second World War was affecting the coast now.

Alder worked again for Gibson Brothers, at Tofino where Gibsons were clearing land for the construction of an airport for coastal defense. Then, returning to Nootka Sound, he got a job at the Ceepeecee cannery; here he was in charge of construction, building maintenance, boat repairs and pile-driving.

At Ceepeecee, men were leaving to join the armed forces. After the bombing of Pearl Harbour in December 1941 the Japanese were removed from the coast. Bolstering the plant's workforce were local women and a number from the Ashcroft tomato cannery, among them one Florence French from Vancouver. Alder and Florence were married on October 1942. They were married at the Zeballos police station by the town's B.C. Provincial Police constable. The gold mines were closing at Zeballos, some permanently, others for the duration of the war, and the constable was in the midst of dismantling the jail's cells. The marriage business was brisk that day with one couple ahead of Alder and Florence and one behind.

John Bloom had never stayed more



Alder, Flo and Robert (Bob) Bloom 1945. Taken at C.P.C. photo courtesy Alder Bloom

than four years in one place and in 1946 he quit fishing, preparing to leave the coast. For Alder, his wife and small son, the time had come to leave as well. The family, including Rollie Bloom, left together, planning to settle in some interior location. But canneries and boats were in Alder's blood now and soon he was working for Nelson Brothers again, on the Fraser River in Richmond. He remained in the business, first with Nelsons, then B.C. Packers, until his retirement.

Today he reflects on his experiences on the coast during the Depression and the Second World war; he is satisfied with the benefits. Faced with adapting

to unfamiliar methods, the initial hostility of co-workers and a harsh climate, he achieved much personal and professional growth.

Eleanor Witton Hancock is a freelance writer now living in Kamloops. She grew up at Zeballos on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

SOURCES

Personal interview and correspondence with Alder Bloom.

Personal interviews with Tom Wellburn, manager of Nootka Wood Products Ltd. in 1938.

Daily Colonist: February 2, 1937; October 21, 1937.

The Timberman: November 1937.

Anglican Church Archives

A Research Tools Grant has been awarded by SSHRCC for a project sponsored jointly by the General Synod Archives, Toronto, and the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia and Yukon. Currently under way, the primary goal of the project is to prepare and publish the third volume in the Records of the Anglican Church of Canada series; volumes on the provinces of Rupert's Land (1986) and Ontario (1990) having already been published. The scope of the project includes the archives of the Ecclesiastical Province and each of the six dioceses - British Columbia, Caledonia, Cariboo, Kootenay, New Westminster and Yukon.

The award provides for one year funding, the first part of a two year project that includes funding for the publishing of the fourth and final guide in the series, that of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada (Quebec and the Atlantic provinces).

The guide will be the basic finding aid to the holdings of the Ecclesiastical Province and will assist various users including historians, church administrators, genealogists as well as archivists in identifying and locating materials. The guide is being prepared in database format using

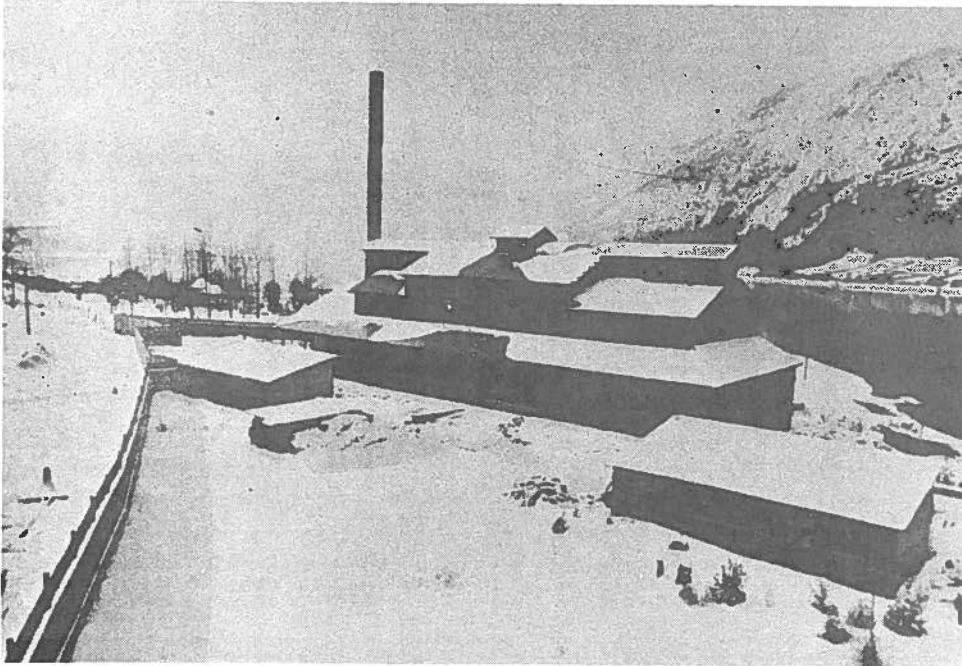
INMAGIC software and Rules for Archival Description (RAD) descriptive standards.

Another goal of the project is to strengthen the Anglican archival network in British Columbia. The Diocesan Archivists are the supervising team for the project and will be meeting twice during the year. Teresa Thompson, General Synod Archivist, is Project Co-ordinator while Doreen Stephens, Archivist of the Ecclesiastical Province, is providing overall supervision. In addition, the project is benefitting from the earlier work involved in the Rupert's Land and Ontario projects. The general office for the project is the Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province in Vancouver.

Mark Epp has been hired as the Project Archivist to prepare the **Guide to the Holdings of the Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of B.C. and Yukon** (Anglican Church of Canada). Mark has completed his course work in the M.A.S. programme at the University of B.C. During the course of the Project he will be working in each of the Diocesan Archives, travelling throughout B.C. and into the Yukon.

The Kootenay District Zinc Rush

by Edward L. Affleck



Canada Zinc Co.'s Plant, Nelson, B.C.

The history of North America is replete with tales of gold rushes, silver booms, and uranium strikes. Zinc admittedly lacks the glamour of these other metals, so that it is perhaps not surprising that the "zinc rush" which buoyed the hopes of citizens of Frank, Alberta, Nelson, B.C. and various other settlements in the Kootenay and Slocan Lakes areas during the decade leading up to World War I has failed to capture much of a place in the history of Western Canada.

At the turn of this century, zinc was decidedly the "ugly sister" in the low-grade silver-lead-zinc lodes abounding in the Kootenay District of British Columbia. Zinc content indeed often added to the problem of refining the silver and lead content of ores, so that a number of smelters levied a penalty on ore with a high zinc content.

A 1901 slump in the price of silver added to the hard times faced by mining men in the Kootenay in the years following the Klondike Gold Rush. In 1901 the Guggenheim interests merged with the American Smelting & Refining

Co. and thereafter held a virtual monopoly on the refinement of lead in North America and maintained a strong lobby to insure that lead in Canada entering the U.S.A. faced a stiff tariff. Since the lead bullion produced annually in the Kootenay exceeded the Canadian demand, mining men continued to eye the alluring market for refined zinc which existed particularly in Europe. If the refinement of zinc in silver-lead-zinc lodes could only be freed from an economic dependence of the refinement of lead, the Kootenay could emerge from the shadow cast by the Guggenheim interests and achieve its destiny in the zinc market.

In 1904 - 1905 increasing demand for zinc brought about a dramatic rise in its market price and revived activity in a number of the mines in the East and West Kootenay. For several months the District fed on the rumour that the Guggenheim interests were about to erect a state-of-the-art smelter adjacent to the idle railway terminal of the Kootenay Railway & Navigation Co. (Great Northern Railway) at Kusko-

nook on Kootenay Lake. This project never materialized, but in the meantime the Canadian Metal Company Ltd., a syndicate of French capitalists who had interests in the Crows Nest coal mines, came upon the scene.

The Canadian Metal Company first acquired the Bluebell Mine on Kootenay Lake and the smelting works at nearby Pilot Bay, idled since 1896. Several additional zinc properties were purchased in the Slocan area. The company began to work the group, stockpiling the ore until the sampler forming part of the Pilot Bay works could be reactivated. On the theory that it was cheaper to haul zinc concentrates to a source of smelting coal than it was to haul coal to a smelter situated on Kootenay Lake (two tons of coal being required to smelt each ton of concentrate), the Canadian Metal Company then erected a large, well-equipped zinc smelting plant at the Crows Nest coal mining town of Frank, Alberta. The smelter was designed for a capacity of 60 tons of ore in furnaces to convert zinc sulphide to zinc oxide, then introducing coal dust as a reducing agent for the oxide, distilling the mixture, casting the metallic zinc distillate into plates and saving the residue to recover the silver content.

The Pilot Bay concentrator was not the only one to be "galvanized" into activity. Smaller mines in the Ainsworth-Slocan areas started shipping zinc ore to the Kootenay Ore Company's small but efficient sampling plant at Kaslo or to the old concentrator at Rosebery on Slocan Lake. At these plants minerals such as iron pyrites, galena and gangue matter were separated to facilitate the eventual smelting of zinc ore.

The Federal Government evinced considerable interest in the prospect of Canada becoming a major zinc producer and commissioned two prominent American metallurgists, W.R. Ingalls and Philip Argall, to make a field trip to

British Columbia to investigate the possibilities of zinc ore mining in the Province as well as methods of treating the ore.

The 1905 year closed on a high note, with more activity in the base metal mines of the Kootenay than had been witnessed for half a decade. Pending the activation of the Frank Smelter, zinc concentrate was sacked at the Kaslo sampling plant, loaded on the Kootenay Railway & Navigation Company's sternwheelers *Kaslo* and *International* and transferred at Five Mile Point to ore cars for a long trip via U.S. railways to the zinc smelter in Bartlesville, Oklahoma which had access to cheap Kentucky coal.

1906, however, introduced a few sour notes into the Canadian zinc industry's song of rapture. First the U.S. Customs determined that the product of a zinc concentrator did not constitute "crude mineral" and promptly slapped a heavy duty on such concentrates entering the U.S. for smelting. This ruling was rescinded the following year, but by that time the 1907 financial panic was well underway and mines which had suspended production in the face of the tariff could not secure refinancing to reopen.

The second sour note was sounded when the Canadian Metal Company discovered that the low grade of concentrate shipped from Pilot Bay to Frank, combined with the high price of coal (\$2.00 per ton at the pit head) made the smelting of zinc at Frank uneconomic. In the face of falling process for silver and lead, the company decided to dismantle the sampler at Pilot Bay and to reassemble the works into a more efficient reduction plant on the Bluebell site, now renamed "Riondel" in honour of the company's president, Count Riondel. Under the deft supervision of Samuel S. Fowler, construction on this new plant was begun in March, 1907 and was completed in the late spring of 1908. The new plant proved to be highly efficient in separating lead concentrate for shipment to the smelter at Trail, B.C., but a decline in the price of zinc postponed indefinitely any further activity at the Frank zinc smelter.

The third sour note was sounded by the Ingalls-Argall Commission, which made it fairly obvious that zinc smelting

by the standard roasting method carried on at Frank could not, having regard to the quality of zinc concentrates and the prevailing wage, freight and coal rates, be carried on competitively against U.S. and European smelters. The Commission also expressed doubt that sufficient zinc ore could be mined and concentrated in the Ainsworth-Slocan mining divisions to warrant full-scale development of a zinc mining industry. It noted the tremendous amount of zinc ore available in the Sullivan Mine at Kimberley, but regretted that the refractory character of this ore was such that zinc extraction by traditional methods was almost hopeless. The Commission then turned its attention to the prospect of electric smelting of zinc ores in British Columbia and sounded a very faint note of enthusiasm in making the following points:

1. Electric smelting would never displace coal-fired smelting of zinc where the electric power is generated from coal.

2. Electric smelting might be, in the future, economically conducted at places where very cheap hydro-electric power was available.

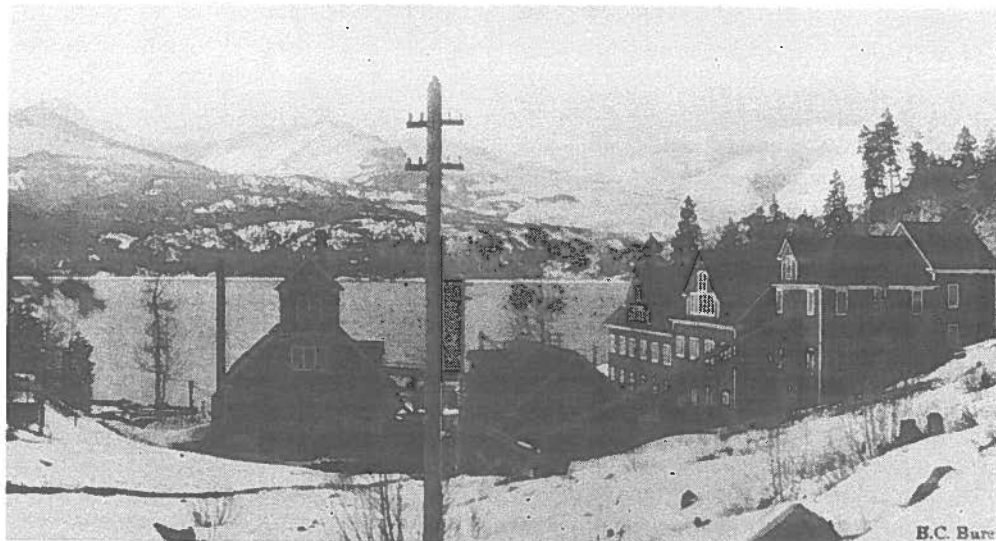
3. Aside from the question of power cost, certain peculiar and serious metallurgical difficulties in electric smelting had not yet been satisfactorily overcome.

4. It was unlikely that electric smelting of zinc ores could ever be profitably carried on in the zinc-producing districts

of East and West Kootenay.

The Ingalls-Argall Commission, however, proved to be a discordant voice crying in the wilderness, as the B.C. Government had now been bitten by the zinc producing bug. A group of Coast capitalists who had originally invested in the Kaslo & Slocan Railway and who had an interest in the Kaslo-Kootenay Land Co. as well as in a number of Slocan mines, formed the Canada Zinc Company, lobbied successfully for a \$10,000 advance from the Provincial Government and commenced in 1907 to build a new zinc smelter at Nelson, B.C. Electric smelting of zinc was to save the day, and the well constructed, well-equipped smelter of the Canadian Metal Company at Frank would henceforth stand as a monument to all that was wrong with traditional zinc smelting methods.

To-day the south shore approach to the Nelson bridge towers over the Lakeside Park parking lot which now occupies the site of the Canada Zinc Company smelting works. In 1908, however, the long narrow building constructed of 2" x 10" planking flanked by a tall thin exhaust stack one hundred ten feet high assumed a commanding position on the lakeshore at the eastern limits of Bogustown. Enthusiasm waxed large throughout the Nelson community, chastened by the recent wind-up of activity at the copper-lead smelting works of the Hall Mines Smelter now standing idle on the bench across Cot-



Canadian Metal Co.'s Concentrating Plant, Blue Bell Mine, Kootenay Lake.

tonwood creek, and more than one Nelson citizen of modest means subscribed to shares in the Canada Zinc Company.

The Canada Zinc Company's smelter was to be an electric smelter utilizing the new Snyder Electro-Thermic process. The process would require ample electric power, but was not some of the lowest-cost power in British Columbia now available from the nearby Bonnington Falls hydro-electric power plant of the West Kootenay Power & Light Company? Freight charges would be modest, because concentrate from the Kaslo and Riondel reduction plants could be barged down Kootenay Lake to the lake-shore smelting site. (The difficulties encountered by the C.P.R. during 1899-1900 in working barges through the Procter narrows were conveniently forgotten). Snyder would provide the solution to smelting low-grade concentrates and Nelson would become the zinc capital of the world! Let Trail lead with lead and Grand Forks conquer with copper; Nelson would zoom with zinc!

The Canada Zinc Company plant, built under the supervision of A.C. Ferneau, consisted of a McDougall roasting furnace, 14 feet in diameter and about 25 feet high, having a capacity of about 25 tons of ore per day, and an electric furnace with inside dimensions of 34" x 54" capable of treating about 15 tons of roasted ore per day. The electric furnace was equipped with carbon electrodes, the electric arc formed between the electrodes serving to generate the heat required for smelting the roasted ore. The products of the process were: (a) slag and matte, run off through an iron spout (b) lead, collected in the bottom of the furnace and ladled out of a lead well, and (c) liquid metallic zinc condensed on the cool sides of the furnace jacket and drained out through perforated carbon blocks. Several trial runs were made in the late fall of 1908, with F.T. Snyder, technical consultant, in attendance. On the basis of these runs, the process was pronounced economically feasible but in need of some small adjustments to iron out a number of mechanical and electrical problems which had been encountered. The citizens of Nelson confidently awaited the commencement of full-scale production in the spring of 1909. It was not to be. The doors of the smelter remained shut

and the furnaces cold. The Snyder Electro-Thermic Process apparently had not overcome all the "metallurgical difficulties" which Ingalls and Argall had warned about. Edward Dedolph, a talented assayer at the Kootenay Ore Company's sampling plant in Kaslo, did succeed in producing electrolytic zinc in the plant, but highly explosive zinc fulminate was a by-product. When 1909 vanished into history without a sign of renewed activity, the Nelson City Council offered to make available, free of charge, power from the City's original hydro-electric power plant on Cottonwood Falls, idled since the opening of the City's new Bonnington Falls plant in 1907. This offer was not taken up, but the old hydro-electric power plant was "borrowed" during 1910 by Andrew Gordon French, a prominent metallurgist. French conducted his first experiments on the premises of J.O. Patenaude, Nelson jewelry manufacturer, then moved to the Old Cottonwood Creek hydro-electric plant. He installed a small experimental electric furnace at the Cottonwood Falls site, and with the help of his son, Thomas French, conducted a number of experimental runs there. When the French process showed some signs of promise, father and son were invited to continue their work in the well-equipped research facilities of the Consolidated Mining & Smelting Co. at Trail. Thomas French carried on there his father's work, subsidized by a grant from the Provincial Government.

By 1912, the Federal Government, fed up with the shifting U.S. tariff policy on Canada's zinc ore exports, had also become an active participant in zinc smelting experiments in Nelson. W.R. Ingalls was commissioned to conduct experiments at McGill University in Montreal. After obtaining successful laboratory runs there he came out to Nelson to conduct experiments on a larger scale at the Canada Zinc plant, which by this time had passed into the hands of the B.C. Government. Results at Nelson were sufficiently promising to cause a major U.S. mining and smelting company to seek to acquire the Nelson plant and continue the experimentation there, but the B.C. Government balked at yielding the title to a foreign concern. The U.S. concern withdrew, and the

Federal Government proceeded to install improved equipment in the plant, placing George C. Mackenzie, Chief of its Metallurgical Division in charge as of October, 1913. Once again the citizens of Nelson looked forward to full-scale production at the plant the following spring. All work was abruptly terminated, however, early in 1914, when Mr. Mackenzie issued the following report: ". . . experimental work at Nelson has been discontinued, it being regarded as conclusively settled that an electric zinc smelting furnace so small as one ton of daily capacity is a commercial impossibility, while the satisfactory development of a larger furnace is regarded as too doubtful to be undertaken at Nelson . . ."

Thus ended Nelson's hopes of becoming a world centre for the production of zinc. Twelve months later, an insatiable war-time demand for zinc resulted in the addition of an electrolytic zinc refinery to the smelter works at Trail, the electrolytic process having been evolved out of the work of the Frenches by a team of scientists backed by the Consolidated Mining & Smelting Company and the Anaconda Copper Mining Company of Great Falls, Montana. The story of Cominco's protracted litigation with the Patenaude/French interests which arose out of the development of this process as well as the story of the 1910-11 mining rush triggered around Nelson by A. G. French's claim to have found substantial traces of platinum in dykes of the *Granite-Poorman* mine near Blewitt belong to other chapters of Nelson's mining and smelting history. A lingering symbol of Nelson's aspirations to become a world leader in the zinc market vanished in January, 1935 when the long idle Canada Zinc Smelter was razed to make way for a parking lot opposite Nelson's Lakeside Park.

E.L. "Ted" Affleck grew up in Nelson. He became a Chartered Accountant, working out of Vancouver and has recently retired in that city. He has written several books on Kootenay history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. British Columbia. Report of the Minister of Mines. 1908-1914.
2. Geological Survey of Canada. Annual Report on the Mineral Industries of Canada. 1905.
3. Minnesota Historical Society. Corporate files of the Kootenay Railway & Navigation Company.
4. Nelson Daily News.

To Nelson By Car In 1917

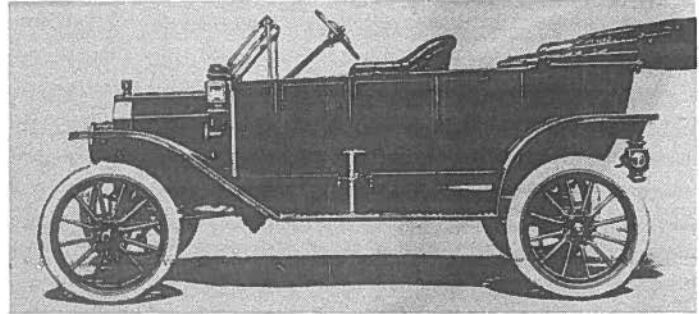
by Henry Stevenson

Hazen Everett Stevenson opened a blacksmithing business in Nelson, B.C. in August 1911 in partnership with Hereford Butchart. It was a viable enterprise which provided both partners with a reasonable income until 1916 when a recession forced them to close the shop.

Hazen had married Jennie Peterson, a Swedish immigrant girl in March 1914. A year later a daughter, Margaret, was born and in April 1916 a son Henry arrived to complete the family. Hazen was offered a black-smithing job at Granum, Alberta, which he hastened to accept. The Stevenson family moved to the prairie town where they intended to make a new home.

During the summer of 1917 Henry was taken critically ill. Evidently the alkali in the prairie water was burning the lining of his stomach. The only thing the toddler could digest was beaten white of egg mixed with milk. The doctor stated, "It's back to mountain water or the graveyard." Two days later the Stevenson family loaded their belongings into Hazen's 1913 Model T touring car and started on their way back to Nelson. Following the only roads that connected Granum to Nelson took them south to Fort McLeod, then west through Crows Nest Pass to Cranbrook.

The road surface in Alberta consisted of black prairie clay turned to gumbo by heavy rains. On the west side of the Rockies the road surface changed to gravel and was very rocky in spots. Travel was slow and flat tires a problem but they pressed on. Crossing the Canada-United States border at Kingsgate they drove through Bonners Ferry, Idaho stopping for the night at Rathdrum. The next day (their fourth on the road) they reached Spokane then turned north through Deer Park. At Chewelah, Washington, Hazen had to repair the transmission bands in the car because he was warned that there were treacherous roads ahead that would require the vehi-



1913 Ford model T touring car, same vintage as the car my family made the six day trip from Granum, Alberta to Nelson via Idaho & Washington (the only available road between the two towns in 1917). Price of Ford new was \$600.00 it was 5 psngr, 4 cyl. 20 HP.

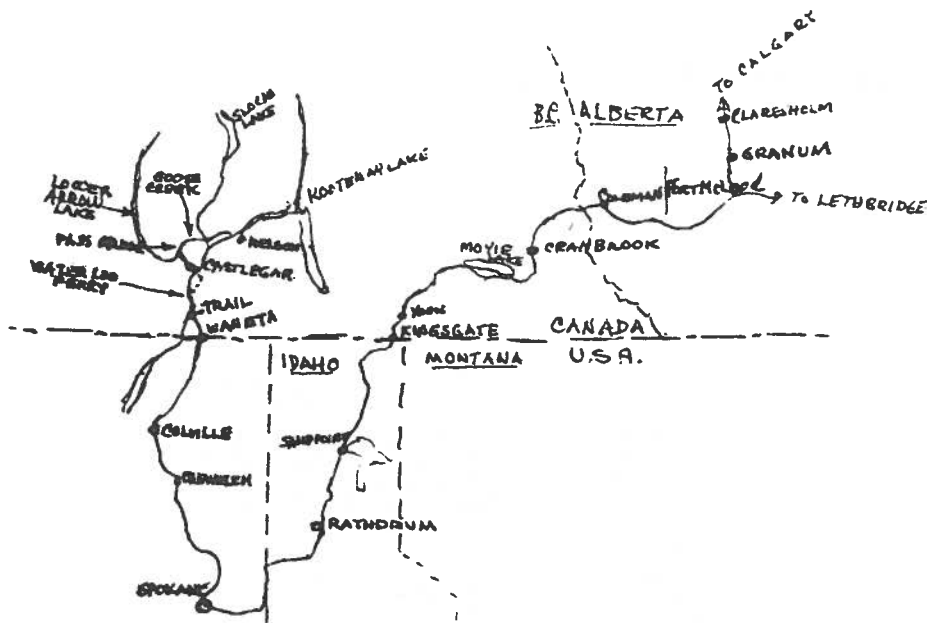
cle to be in good condition, especially the low gear and brakes. (Transmissions on the Model T Fords were troublesome at the best of times, and these were not the "best of times.")

Next day saw the Stevenson family on the road again travelling through Colville then over a dreaded section of the road known as the "Seven Sisters", a series of narrow stretches of sandy road bordering the Columbia River. Fortunately everything went in their favor along this stretch of roadway. At Northport, Washington, they checked through the U.S. Customs and progressed on up to Waneta where they crossed the United States-Canada border and could proceed to Trail, B.C. Evening was closing in so they stopped overnight at the Arlington Hotel. In Trail Hazen was offered a job at the smelter; a job that would pay \$4.00 a day. He refused the offer because the deal stated that this was \$2.00 per day cash and \$2.00 in Consolidated Mining & Smelting stock. He felt that he would require more than \$2.00 a day to feed, clothe and house his family. (In retrospect, the CM&S shares could have, in time, become a small fortune.)

The Stevensons were up early next morning, leaving Trail on the last lap of their journey to Nelson. It was day six and they were eager to get home. Hazen was told that the road to Castlegar was not open due to a rock bluff pre-

venting completion. But there was a road to the Waterloo ferry about ten miles upriver. It took less than an hour to reach the ferry where they would cross over to the east side of the Columbia River. The Waterloo ferry was a small raft type of contrivance with an overhead cable to guide the craft. The cable was anchored at each shore; tripods held the cable in place. Another cable device was attached to twin sheaves in tandem running on the overhead cable. Another smaller cable was attached to the two ends of the vessel and run through the twin sheave unit; by shortening one end through a winch and lengthening the other while adjusting to the pressure on the hull from the current the 'drift Ferry' was pushed across the river.

The travellers were shocked when they landed at the eastern shore. No one had told them that there was no road up the river bank to the bench at least 40 feet above the river. Their Model T was the first automobile to make the crossing. Prior to that day the only traffic had been pedestrians and the occasional horse. The steep bank (sloping at about 35 degrees,) was more than the 20 horsepower vehicle could navigate. But Hazen's motto was, "Don't give up; there's always a way to beat the impossible." Hazen climbed to the top of the bank to survey the situation. He found a large pile of fence posts and an audi-

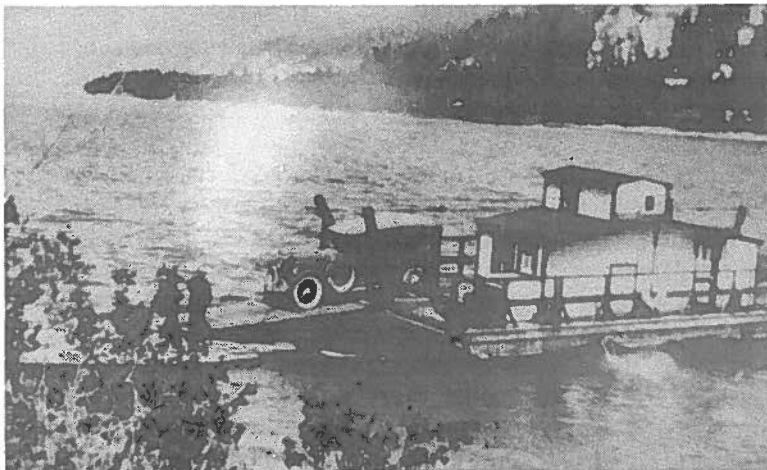


ence of Doukhobor farmers. They probably expected to see the ferry return the car to the west bank. None of the onlookers could speak English, but Hazen used sign language to obtain a group of helpers carrying fence posts down to the car. A corduroy was created, the car jacked up then the engine revved and made a run up the hill. When the car stopped Jennie rammed a post between the spokes of the wheel to prevent it rolling back. This process was repeated several times until the car eventually reached the top of the bench.

While Hazen and Jennie were busy working the car up to the crest, a group of Doukhobor ladies took turns caring for Margaret and Henry.

Now that they were on the Ootischenia flat, onward travel posed no trouble as farm roads were fairly well maintained. On arrival at the Doukhobor Bridge that crosses the Kootenay River,

Peter (the Lordly) Verigin halted them, denying passage over the bridge. Verigin was the first Doukhobor that Hazen encountered who could speak English. He said the car was too heavy for the bridge; no automobile had ever crossed it. Hazen explained to him that the car was not nearly as heavy as a team of horses and a wagon. Verigin was adamant; his mind was made up. While they argued a horse drawn wagon loaded with logs came over the bridge. Hazen asked Verigin to instruct the husky driver to lift one wheel of his wagon. The teamster tried in vain, then Hazen asked him to lift the rear wheel of the car. That same man lifted the car with little effort. Verigin was now convinced, but insisted that the lady must carry the children across. When Hazen drove the car over Verigin volunteered to carry Henry across while Jennie followed with Margaret.



Castlegar ferry on Columbia river - crossing to Robson. This picture taken about 1924

They made it to Brilliant and shortly thereafter encountered another obstacle.

There was no road between Brilliant and South Slocan. The only river crossing seemed to be the railway bridge. Hazen had to get to Castlegar, so he cut the wire fence, drove through, then repaired the fence, and was driving up to the tracks when a railway section foreman arrived on the scene. The CPR man was somewhat hostile accusing Hazen of trespassing on CPR property. He also warned that a train was due to pass over at any moment. The man quickly climbed onto his handcar and headed for Castlegar.

As soon as the handcar was out of sight the Stevenson Ford edged onto the bridge. At that moment the train appeared from Brilliant. Hazen had thought the section man was bluffing, but was able to back out of the way. Once the train had passed the family was loaded aboard and the car made a bumpy crossing of the Columbia River on the CPR bridge. When the first roadway came into view below the railway Hazen drove down the bank, cut the wire fence, put his car on the road, repaired the fence and drove into Castlegar where the family had lunch and refuelled the vehicle.

Close to Castlegar he drove onto the small ferry powered by a one cylinder engine and they were taken over to Robson. From here there was a road to Nelson following the original pack trail up Pass Creek, down Goose Creek where the bridge at Crescent Valley crossed the Slocan River. When they reached Bonnington Falls darkness was overtaking them, so Hazen fired up the acetylene headlights. It was 10 p.m. when the party reached Taghum. The dreaded Taghum Hill was an obstacle. The road up the hill was narrow with many curves including a switchback - and their gasoline supply was getting low. Model T Fords had a gas tank situated in such a position that a low gas supply would not flow to the engine while climbing a steep hill. To alleviate the problem the vehicle was turned around and driven uphill in reverse gear so that fuel could flow readily to the engine. The difficulty that night was the pitch black darkness when back up lights had yet to be invented.

Hazen again had to improvise. He re-

moved the kerosene tail lamp from its bracket, opened its hinged door, lit it with a match, then handed it to Jennie instructing her to walk up the hill ahead of the car holding the light behind her. In that manner the car was backed all the way to the top of the hill. At the crest of the hill Hazen turned the car around to make a conventional final lap into Nelson.

At 11 p.m. the Stevenson family could see the beautiful lights of Nelson after six days on the road from Granum. The final stretch from Trail had taken 17 hours. It had been a very trying trip for Jennie with her two wee children (15 months and 2 1/2 years old), and for Hazen who 'fought' the Model T Ford over prairie gumbo, rocks, gravel, mud, sand, railway ties, and one blessed bit of pavement (in Spokane.)

Henry Stevenson grew up in Nelson, ran a machine shop there, and is now retired in that Kootenay centre. He enjoys recording his memories for others to read.



This family portrait taken in 1917 shows Hazen Stevenson standing beside Margaret and Jenny Stevenson holding young Henry on her lap.

Lasqueti Island Reviews Its History

by Elda Copley Mason

The Spaniards left considerable evidence of their explorations in the Strait of Georgia. Place names like "Lasqueti" show the hand of Spanish map makers. Francisco de Eliza was in command of an expedition in 1791 which set out from Nootka to continue the exploration of the Fuca Strait and other waterways. (See "Spanish Discovery" by John Crosse in Vol. 25, No. 1) Narvaez in the *Santa Saturnina* explored the Strait of Georgia up to about Cape Lazo (near the present site of Comox.) Eliza subsequently made up a chart of the whole area; it shows an outline of Lasqueti and some of the surrounding islets, and the larger island of Texada to the east.

To commemorate the visit of the Spaniards to these waters two hundred years before, members of the Lasqueti Island Historical Association gathered with friends at Squitty Bay Marine Park on June 15, 1991. There they unveiled the plaque shown here. It is situated atop a small cliff that affords a lovely view of the bay and Sabine Channel with Texada Island in the background.

Later, residents and visitors assembled at the Lasqueti Community Hall. School children gave a presentation (arranged and written by Patricia Forbes) of the unique history of the island, commencing with the Spanish period. Many descendants of original settlers were introduced representing the families of William Jeffreys, William Curran, Charles Darwin and others. It was a happy celebration allowing residents past and present to review the history of our island with a Spanish name.



Susan Page, Dubois Laursen, Edgar Darwin, and Elda Mason (Copley) unveiled this plaque on behalf of the 150 or so people gathered to participate in the historic event.

The Barn with a Social Life

by Bruce Paterson

Constable's barn, as illustrated, still stands at Alice Siding 3 miles north of Creston. It evokes memories of its functional role on a multi-faceted farm and as the venue for many lively dances over the years. The barn was built in 1912-13 by Reed and Mather, two English journeymen carpenters. It featured details such as an attractive pigeon cote atop the roof, a cement floor sloped to carry liquid waste away from the horse & cow stalls, a loft floored with 1" x 3" tongue and groove fir imported from the coast, and two driveways at one end. One driveway housed platform scales used to weigh livestock, hay or produce for marketing; the other ran under a large trapdoor to the loft.

Guy Constable arrived in the Creston Valley in 1904 where his uncle, Hubert Mayhew, had bought the Kootenay mining property known as Alice Mine. Constable deliberated carefully then decided to stay and develop the mine and surrounding property . . . rather than go to Brazil to oversee other family investments. This was a major undertaking requiring not only drilling and working the mine, but also constructing an aerial tramway to convey ore down the mountain, a concentrator, bunk houses and auxiliary buildings. It also involved arranging with the CPR to build a spur line to the concentrator on the benchland below the mine. This piece of rail line was given the name Alice Siding – hence the name of the community today. The mine ran intermittently until about 1920 when the machinery was sold, the rails removed, and buildings put to other use.

Constable expanded his farming, using material from the concentrator to add new buildings such as three haysheds, a

wash house, pig sties, and machine sheds. There was the family home, a house for hired help, a dairy, honey house, ice house, chicken house, root cellar, smoke house, greenhouse with a potting shed, a blacksmith shop, and a workshop. Mr. and Mrs. Constable enjoyed entertaining and held private dances in the barn when it was awaiting the next crop of hay. Locals looked forward to attending these parties. Wedding celebrations also happened there. When a dance was to be held here the piano was moved from the family home on the hill, by wagon in good weather or by sleigh in winter. It was hoisted through the trap door into the loft, using four blocks and tackle. The floor above the driveway was at a higher level than the main floor above the horse stalls. This gave the orchestra a stage, and visitors a seating area away from the dancers. The horses would be turned out of their stalls and that area sluiced down. Guests walked through the horse stall to the stairs up to the loft. Music for dancing was provided by Mrs. Constable and other musicians. In the 1930s a small orchestra played here and at Hunt's Hall in Kitchener, a few miles east of Creston. Mrs. Constable played piano; Mrs. Lister, violin; Gerald Craigie, drums and sometimes joined by the Lacey boys and Ronald Stace-Smith on other instruments. During the Depression years the Alice Siding Community Club held dances to, hopefully, finance the building of a community hall. Admission was 10¢ per person. The youngster collecting this fee was also to urge guests, "Be careful with your smokes." Consideration by visitors in an era when almost everyone smoked kept the old barn safe.

Constables raised a family of four boys

and were active in local organizations such as the school board, reclamation, and the fruit growers' association.

They had a big home on the hill above the barn; the four-roomed gardener's cottage near the north hayshed being occupied by the eldest son and his new wife until just before the war. The farm was sold in 1944 when all the boys were away from home involved in some way in the war effort. The hired man's house was moved elsewhere. The big house burned during renovations. The old barn was left alone with its memories.

Bruce Paterson is a biology teacher at Prince Charles Secondary School in Creston. He has prepared a series of "Kootenay Cameos", careful drawings with written histories of old buildings, which appear monthly in the Kootenay Review and will soon be collected into a book.

CRESTON & DISTRICT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Proudly announces that the mortgage on their museum has been paid off.

A burning of this mortgage was held at their annual meeting on March 29, 1992

Creston now has an archivist, Mrs. Dolly Kaetler, working in the basement of the Town Hall

straint assault, caucus members were caught off-guard when it was launched. Things got worse, not better.

When rank-and-file members of the Coalition had begun talking about a general strike in early July, the New Democrats included in their number began to demand a prominent role for their party within that organizational effort. Whatever else was going to happen, though, *that* was not.

It is not clear, and will probably never be clear, exactly when the party's role within the Coalition was first discussed by either's leaders. The intertwining of the B.C. NDP's leadership with that of the B.C. Fed was so complete that it is doubtful even those involved really know:

The president of the B.C. NDP was also an IWA local president and a B.C. Fed vice-president; another B.C. Fed vice-president was also vice-president of the party; Kube, along with other B.C. Fed officers and functionaries, had run several times as an NDP candidate.

These people, and others like them, wore so many hats that it is probable the first time the question about the NDP's role in the Coalition was raised was as someone looked at himself in the mirror while brushing their teeth one morning in July. When they began talking to one another, it is doubtful anyone will ever know.

What can be deduced is that they decided, very early on, that the B.C. NDP was not going to play a major role in the Coalition. It was into this firm decision that the rank-and-file party members found themselves running headlong as the call for a general strike escalated.

NDP leaders were willing to tell their rank-and-file – and anyone else who would listen – that the party's place was in the Legislature, not in the Coalition . . . and not on the streets. But the leaders were less immediately forthcoming about why, exactly, that was so. For many members of the party whose first leader, James S. Woodsworth, had been a leader of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, it was beginning to get more than a little confusing.

By 16 August the cries within the NDP for a role for the party in the Coalition and its plans for a general strike could no longer be ignored. It was on

that day that the party executive convened an emergency meeting of its provincial council in the basement of the IWA hall on Commercial Drive. Only one item of business was on the agenda: Solidarity.

If the party's rank-and-file had been unsure about why their leaders were maintaining such a low profile, it soon became painfully apparent to them, as one after another of those leaders stood to explain the position the NDP found itself in. The council delegates were bluntly told the NDP could not be associated with a call for a general strike for the very simple reason that general strikes were designed for the sole purpose of toppling governments – and the B.C. NDP, in that summer of 1983, could not afford to have Bill Bennett's government toppled:

* The party, council was reminded, had no leader. Barrett had rejected earlier calls for him to stay on in that capacity, and did so again at the council meeting. He went on to warn that it would be political suicide for the NDP to go into an election as crucial as the one a general strike might force without a known, trusted leader.

* Nor could the party afford an election financially, provincial treasurer Roger Howard said. The NDP was in debt, to the tune of more than \$750,000, for the campaign it had run in May. There was simply no way the party could raise the money needed to mount another campaign.

No, the last thing the NDP – and, therefore, its Operation Solidarity ally – could afford to provoke in the late summer of 1983 was another general election. Clearly, this perception was not new on 16 August: it had informed these men's and women's decisions from the very beginning of the anti-Restraint fight.

The leadership's strategy – neither endorsing nor repudiating a general strike publicly, while privately ruling it out altogether – was a careful one, and one that worked just as they intended it to. For the Coalition, with its members' increasing calls for just such a strike, it was a strategy which made a tragic end inevitable.

That end came despite what appeared to be growing public support for both the Coalition and for its militant's calls for a general strike. By fall, when the Socreds met at the Hotel Vancouver for their annual party convention, those militants were able to muster more than 50,000 people to march past the hotel, Garr says, "shouting and shaking their fists . . ." Heady and, for the Operation Solidarity / NDP leadership, frightening stuff.

As if this wasn't bad enough, Operation Solidarity's leaders were faced with the disturbing visibility of posters, which advised the province to "Prepare for the general strike," in the marchers' ranks. And the marchers' loudest and most persistent chant – "Socreds Out! Socreds Out!" – could only reinforce exactly the message the leadership least wanted to deliver. The situation was ugly. It would get uglier.

At midnight on 31 October, the BCGEU's 35,000 members struck the state. The escalating public-sector strike the Coalition had demanded had begun. On 8 November, just more than a week after the BCGEU had walked out, most of the province's teachers and educational support staff joined the government workers on the picket lines. Things were clearly getting out of hand.

If that was the perception of the province's government, media and population at large, it was also the perception of many of the leaders of British Columbia's private-sector trade unions. When the teachers walked, the private-sector union leaders could no longer ignore what was being done, ostensibly in their name.

"Suddenly," Munro recounts, "we started to realize that all of us . . . were in trouble . . . The next day, I met with the IWA negotiating committee and . . . I was given my marching orders: . . . 'Go stop it!'"

"Stopping it" might no longer have been possible for Kube, who was still reluctant to abandon his dream of "a wide-ranging co-operative movement between unions, all unions, and the poor and dispossessed" of British Columbia. Now he was being told, by the most powerful trade union in the province, to kill what he saw as the fragile nucleus of just such a movement. The

question was not only "could he," but "would he"?

As it turned out, he didn't have to. The night after the teachers and support staff went on strike, Art Kube was removed from the stage, both figuratively and literally. At a Solidarity meeting in New Westminster the evening of 9 November, he broke into tears, suffering a complete physical and emotional collapse at the podium. Kube, and his troublesome dream, were out of the way.

The stage could now be set for what the Operation Solidarity leadership knew needed doing – the Coalition, with all its embarrassing clamour for a general strike, could be shut down. It didn't take long.

As the sun came up on 10 November

1983, workers at the province's Crown corporations were joining the BCGEU and education workers on the picket line . . . and the Operation Solidarity executive was winding down an all-night meeting, called immediately after Kube's dramatic collapse in New Westminster.

"Everyone," recalls Munro, "was there . . . We all felt that we were heading for insanity and had to get a settlement. So at about four or five in the morning we agreed on a package (of demands to be presented to the government).

"Then . . . the question was asked: Who was going to be the spokesman that would shut the thing down? . . . It was agreed that I was the only guy who could do that job – ride out the political storm and still survive in my own

union."

It was all over but the shouting.

Three days later, Munro was on his way to Kelowna, where the meetings with Bennett did not go smoothly. In the end, all he could get Bennett to agree to were three of Solidarity's five demands, and those only tenuously.

It wasn't much. But it was all the IWA leader could get . . . the Kelowna Accord was a reality. And the Solidarity Coalition was history.

The author is a graduate student of Canadian history at the University of British Columbia, where he is writing a Master's thesis on American VietNam War objectors who moved to British Columbia between 1965 and 1975. A employee of the B.C. NDP from 1980 to 1986, he spent the decade before that as a newspaperman in the Lower Mainland and on Vancouver Island.

Living History at Fort Steele

In 1961 traffic passed through Fort Steele, down the dusty Main Street past a few neglected old buildings. A handful of residents scattered in the remaining houses on the plateau above the Kootenay River defied the definition that theirs was a ghost town. The pleas of three local citizens were heeded by the B.C. Government that year and the village was designated as a Historic Site. Slowly vitality was injected into the collection of buildings and gradually they became a creditable display area with full time staff, some seasonal workers and a corps of volunteers in costume. Major changes were thrust upon the planners and restorers of Fort Steele when the main road was re-routed in 1965. Several buildings had to be moved from the right of way to vacant lots "downtown." Gradually buildings were stabilized, theatre productions offered during the summer (in a tent at first then in the Wild Horse Theatre), horse drawn vehicles graced the streets, Kershaw's store offered pioneer style goods for sale, and tourists were treated to goodies baked in wood-fired stoves by volunteers garbed in dresses reminiscent of the 1890s.

Teachers soon realized the potential of this Heritage Town for giving students a taste of Hands-on History. Programs were started in 1974. Recent figures show that 4000 B.C. students come each year, plus 600-700 Calgary 5th graders. As part of the education program children may stay overnight in the Mountie bar-

racks, sleeping on straw filled mattresses laid on cots or bunks framed with peeled poles. They dine in the Sergeant's Mess and use outdoor toilets (plus modern washroom facilities.) These youngsters view several aspects of our history. They pan for gold: recreate Mountie life in 1887 including chinking log walls with mud; do household chores such as churning butter, doing laundry on a washboard, or watching a cow being milked; they attend class in the old schoolhouse where arithmetic is done on a slate, and recess given to carrying wood in for the woodbox; they may participate in laying rail track and ride a hand car, or learn about the traditional life of Kootenay Indians. Many young have been so enthused by their stay at Fort Steele that they inspire their parents to visit during the summer holidays.

Visitors during July and August appreciate the ambience created by costumed staff and volunteers, horse drawn transportation and street scenes recreating a moment back in the 1890s. Living history street scenes were introduced in 1981, and have developed to become Fort Steele's most popular program. Each sketch, carefully researched, depicts an episode from Fort Steele's history, and is portrayed by clever actors and actresses every 20 minutes between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. (often with a humorous twist.) Holidays frequently extend their stay to be able to watch the complete series of street scenes, take a complimentary ride on the

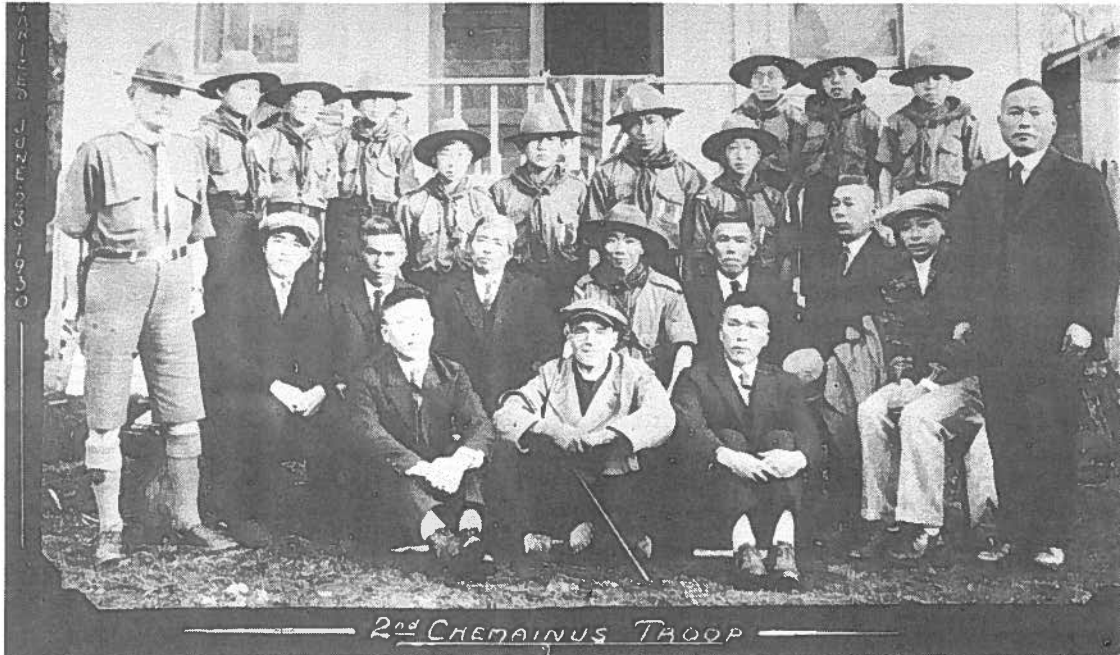
passenger wagon as well as to browse through the various buildings. Wonderful smells waft across town from the bakery; the building was a reconstruction and its brick oven (15 feet x 15 feet x 8 feet) is wood fired and capable of producing 250 loaves of bread at a time. Next door the International Hotel expects to open its dining room to the public. The Tea Room upstairs in the Wasa Hotel will continue to serve through the 1992 season and give a great view from balcony tables. Backyard gardens are maintained and some even hold chickens, geese, ducks or piglets which are very appealing to patrons. Some days there will be demonstrations of horse farming, or perhaps hose reel races, or ladies riding sidesaddle, or fiddlers playing on the bandstand. History does come alive in Fort Steele!

Extensive archives contain documentation of the gold rush up the Wild Horse, the boom years of 'The Capital of the Kootenays' (1896-98), microfilmed newspapers from several communities, a large collection of historic photos, letters, journals, minute books and other material valuable for researchers of East Kootenay history. The Prospector, published weekly from 1895-1905, now may be seen on photocopied pages. The serious historian can arrange to access the archives 8 a.m.-3:30 p.m. Monday to Friday year round while the casual visitor can experience Living History daily during the summer season.



The Lone Scout of Chimu-Nesu

by Toyo Takata



Above is reproduced a photograph of the Japanese Boy Scout troupe of Chemainus, together with H. T. Ravenhill, Assistant-Commissioner for British Columbia. Left to right, standing; H. T. Ravenhill, I. Sadafusa, M. Izumi, I. Taniwa, K. Izumi, T. Kawahara, patrol leader; S. Isoki, patrol leader; S. Okada, S. Izumi, T. Okada, T. Yoshida, G. Kawahara, committee. Sitting, back row: M. Sakata, Scout; T. Kawabe, committee; H. S. Yoshida, Com.; S. E. Yoshida, Scout Master; G. Nakashima, treasurer; B. Okada, Com.; N. Yoshida, Scout. Sitting, front row: Okinobu, committee; Rev. E. O. Robathan, president; T. Yamashita, secretary.

It was an unforgettable "homecoming" for the 83-year old Japanese Canadian. On August 10, 1991, he was honoured at the Festival of Murals unveiling ceremony at Chemainus, a town from which he was exiled 50 years ago.

For Shige Yoshida, it was a crowning moment as he stood proudly before the new mural appropriately titled "The Lone Scout" which portrayed him in uniform as he appeared in the 1930's. The assembled dignitaries, local and provincial, as well as representatives of Japanese Canadian associations, paid tribute to his dedication and achievement. He was inducted as an honorary member into the regional Baden-Powell Guild, an organization of retirees from the Scouting Movement.

Victoria born Shige Edward Yoshida was six when his family moved to Chemainus after a stint in nearby Ladysmith where his father failed his brief business fling as a poolhall proprietor. The Yoshidas were among the earliest

Japanese in the sawmill town attracted by job opportunities at the Victoria Lumber and Manufacturing Company. Old timers who worked at the mill might remember the elder Yoshida as "Henry Ford", the driver of the Model T converted to haul trailers loaded with lumber around the yard.

Aside from the business owners and three or four fishermen all the Issei (first generation Japanese who immigrated to Canada) and Nisei (second generation, Canadian born children of Issei parents) male workers in Chemainus either worked directly for or were on contract assignment to Victoria Lumber. The Company was more than content with its Japanese Canadian employees who were industrious, reliable and cooperative. Moreover, the mill benefited by the policy of paying them the "Oriental scale" whereby they earned 20 percent less hourly than Occidentals performing the same task, but it should be pointed out that Japanese enterprises such as the

sawmill at Royston and the logging operations at Fanny Bay were guilty of exploiting their own people in the same manner.

During the more than a quarter of a century that Japanese Canadians represented a sizable chunk of the work force, no labour disruption or strife to speak of occurred at Victoria Lumber. Even at the height of the depression, no one suffered extended layoffs or shutdowns which were prevalent elsewhere. When a Nisei lad left school, he was reasonably assured of a mill job though it was hardly his prime choice. Relations among workers, which included Chinese and East Indians, were, by and large, harmonious.

One problem the Issei could not cope with was Chemainus itself. It was beyond their ability to pronounce it properly. They had no difficulty with Duncan or Nanaimo, but Chemainus was a tongue-twisting disaster. The solution was to give their own phonetic in-

terpretation such as in the case with Poh Tareesu (Port Alice) and Shah-toroo (Seattle), and so Chimu-nesu was adopted.

Life in Chemainus or Chimu-nesu evolved around its community centre. It was a rough, multi-functional structure that served as a meeting place, a church, a school, a theatre and as a movie house. Funerals and weddings, along with receptions, were held there. Both Buddhist and Christian services were conducted periodically in the building by visiting Japanese clergy. After regular public school, Nisei children took Japanese language lessons in its classroom. At least once yearly, those with musical and theatrical aspirations would stage a variety performance for the community's entertainment.

One activity that was not allowed at the community centre was ballroom dancing. By Japanese community standards, Chimu-nesu was considered to be neatly structured and disciplined where the Issei elders ruled with a firm hand. They ruled that western dancing was immoral much to the disappointment of the young people. The bolder Nisei drove 12 miles down the highway on a Saturday night to mingle with their Duncan counterpart where the community held a more tolerant attitude. In later years, however, the fathers were persuaded to yield to the growing restlessness of their young.

For sport and recreation, hunting and fishing were close at hand. Occasionally, the settlement planned a picnic at the beach or on a nearby island accessible by fishing boat. With skilled instructors and eager athletes, its judo squad was claimed to be the best on Vancouver Island. Chimu-nesu's pride and joy were the Nippons, their entry in the Chemainus Baseball League. Though the Nippons never captured the championship, they were competitive and even won over white fans with their hustle and fair play. They also competed against other Japanese Canadian community teams such as from Royston, Coombs and Hillcrest.

Shige Yoshida in his youth was not a ball player. Nor was he keen about judo. His fascination was with scouting and he enjoyed listening to his Caucasian friends discuss their meetings and



*Shige Yoshida returned to Chemainus on August 10, 1991 to be present at the unveiling of the newest mural.
photo courtesy of Chemainus Festival of Murals Society.*

camping trips. Yoshida applied to join the First Chemainus Troop. Acceptance seemed a simple matter but he was told to wait. Finally, the answer came, "The troop is filled up."

Yoshida was not deceived by that hollow explanation. He knew why he was rejected. Nor was he prepared to accept the decision without protest. For young Shige had already experienced rank bigotry and he had fought back. One morning, when he was attending Chemainus Public School, all students of Asian background were placed in a single, segregated room. As the eldest of eight or ten Nisei pupils, Shige felt that it was his responsibility to take charge and led the under aged strikers out of the classroom. Parents supported his action. Negotiations followed with the Japanese consul from Vancouver playing a role. It was resolved by returning the Chinese and Japanese children to their proper classes. The issue was closed forever.

That happened a few years before the boy scout incident. Yoshida, therefore, while disappointed, remained undaunted. It was a challenge, not a defeat. But he wondered about the scouting ideals of equality and good citizenship.

By coincidence, Yoshida was the local distributor for a long defunct publication, *The Chicago Ledger*, whose publisher was also the founder of the Lone Scouts of America. This movement provided an opportunity for boys on remote farms and in inaccessible regions

of the United States to share in the scouting experience.

Yoshida promptly applied to become a Lone Scout by correspondence. Soon afterwards, he was transferred to the Canadian Branch and for five years he persevered alone, studying, training and taking tests. Finally, in 1929, he achieved his goal by passing the seventh degree tests which were the highest attainable. This enabled him to receive the Warrant of Appointment as Scoutmaster which granted him the right to organize his own troop.

With the full blessing of the community heads, the new Scoutmaster in 1930 launched the Second Chemainus Troop. Although it began with a mere eight boys, the unit had the rare distinction of being composed entirely of boys of Japanese extraction, the only such outfit in the British Commonwealth. Lord Baden-Powell, the founder of the Boy Scout movement, aware of this unique outfit, corresponded with Scoutmaster Yoshida and sent congratulatory messages on the Troop's anniversaries. The two met at a Scout Jamboree in Victoria.

The Second Chemainus Troop proved to be extremely active, meeting regularly to improve their skills, participating and competing with other troops, including the First Chemainus Troop, in the Cowichan perimeter, and attending Boy Scout Rallies. They were cited for their zeal, ability and efficiency. One scout, Bill Isoki, was awarded a medal and

Certificate of Merit for rescuing a friend from drowning. In time, the unit expanded to include Rover Scouts and Cubs.

Then the bombs fell on Pearl Harbour. Chimu-nesu, like dozens of similar B.C. communities, was stunned and confused. Within hours, the Japanese language school was ordered closed, judo was banned and one Issei, a stalwart of the colony, was arrested and interned by the RCMP although he was never charged. In a matter of days, Japanese Canadian fishermen such as Bill Isoki were instructed to pilot their fishing craft under escort across the Strait of Georgia to the Fraser River where the boats were impounded and sold by auction shortly thereafter. The fishermen were forced to return to Chemainus at their own expense. Though they tried to carry on behind a mask of business-as-usual facade, activities such as scouting seemed irrelevant amid the chaos and uncertainty.

Officials of the Victoria Lumber met with the Issei and Nisei representatives, Shige Yoshida among them, to assure the latter that there would be no dismissals and that the mill would continue to operate as usual. Though there were likely some fellow employees who held mixed or strained feelings towards them, no open hostility was expressed or displayed.

The settlement was resigned to the inevitability of a forced exit. But when, to where and under what conditions? In mid March of 1942, men classified as Japanese nationals or enemy aliens (born in Japan and not possessing Canadian citizenship) were ordered to assemble at the railway station. Affected were some 30 Issei, including heads of young families. For the wife of Torizo Yamashita, left with four children, eldest 12, the youngest an infant, it was the most despairing moment of her life as she watched her husband climb aboard the train bound for Nanaimo. From there, they were to be ferried to Vancouver en route to exile to road-building camps near Jasper, Alberta.

The loss of these men thrust the responsibility of community concerns upon the Nisei to assist families whose fathers had been banished and to boost morale among the despondent. As a Nisei leader, Shige Yoshida acted as liai-

son, relaying information and orders from the authorities to his people. He lived away from the camps and while he had a telephone, camp homes did not. Moreover, since his car had been confiscated, any new information that Yoshida received, he disseminated by riding his bicycle from camp to camp, house to house, during daylight hours because of the curfew. And at least on two occasions, orders to prepare for evacuation came through only to be rescinded which meant more pedalling. Adding to his burden was that his wife, Sue, was expecting a child at any time. Fortunately, their daughter arrived in good time, healthy and without complicating the situation.

The worst was yet to come. On the eve of departure, Shige's brother, Toki Yoshida, found a stranger in the front room. The latter brazenly admitted walking in without knocking to see what he could take after the occupants left. On April 21, 1942, Chimu-nesu died. Its inhabitants, together with other Japanese Canadians from the Cowichan district, from babes-in-arms to the elderly, were corralled on the Chemainus docks to board a steamer, en route to exile. Shortly thereafter, vandals ravaged the Japanese section of the Chemainus Cemetery, toppling and breaking headstones and bulldozing the grounds. It remained abandoned and forgotten for over 40 years.

After a few days' confinement at Vancouver's Exhibition Park, most Chemainus bachelors, including former scouts, were packed off to a Northern Ontario roadcamp in one of the bleakest sections of what was to become the Trans-Canada Highway. Yoshida and his family were sent to Tashme, B.C., a detention centre housing 2,200 exiles 14 miles east of Hope. There, Yoshida, as a worthy youth project, proposed the formation of both the Boy Scout and Girl Guide groups. The suggestion was heartily endorsed by both the authorities and the residents. It was so successful that the First Tashme Boy Scout Troop numbered 200 strong at its peak, the largest troop in the British Commonwealth.

The Troop, along with Tashme, was short-lived as the detainees moved on, generally eastward across the Rockies, though some chose to be repatriated to

Japan. The Yoshidas joined the trek to Southern Ontario as did most of the evacuees from Chemainus. They established their new home in Toronto where they raised three daughters and a son who now lives in Texas. In 1984, Shige and Sue Yoshida celebrated their Golden Anniversary. They remain very active within the seniors group of Toronto's Japanese Canadian community, the largest such enclave in Canada.

Of the 300 expelled from the Vancouver Island milltown 50 years ago, at least half survive. Though most of the pioneer generation are gone, Torizo Yamashita, 91, living at his birthplace, Wakayama, Japan, is the eldest. Kuniichi, 90, and Yukie Fukumoto, 85, of Toronto who marked their Diamond (60th) Anniversary, are the most senior ex-Chimu-nesu couple.

Though most resettled in Ontario including Toronto, Hamilton and Thunder Bay, they are spread across Canada. Others live in the U.S., including Hawaii, and in Japan. But none has returned to resume his or her life in Chemainus.

However, forty came back from across Canada and Hawaii to attend the unveiling and to share in the Buddhist-Christian rites dedicating the Memorial Monument erected at the site of the once-abandoned Japanese cemetery. Most were family members of the 35 deceased buried there, 1906-1941. Among them, the Yoshidas' infant son.

Representing the group, Bill Isoki of Toronto, whose younger brother is among those interred, said in his address: "We have today witnessed the reconciliation of past mistakes and injustices with the present need to live in peace and harmony."

Beyond the mural unveiling and the gravesite dedication, it was truly a "day of reconciliation" as long-time residents turned out, some with musty class photos to seek and to renew 50 years of lost friendship. "The Lone Scout" himself was greeted eagerly by those who remembered. It was, indeed, a memorable "homecoming", as if Chimu-nesu had been restored, at least in spirit.

Mr. Takata was born in Victoria, evacuated to Sandon and Slocan, then moved to Toronto. He was editor of the English edition of the NEW CANADIAN newspaper for several years. He is past president of the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre, and has been active in other community affairs in Toronto.

Perigean Spring Tide

by Nicholas A. Doe

In late June and early July 1792, Captain Vancouver's ships HMS *Discovery* and HMS *Chatham* were anchored in the Teakerne Arm near West Redonda Island in Desolation Sound. From here the explorers set out in small boats to probe the maze of narrow channels and inlets that lay between them, the Johnstone Strait, and the open Pacific beyond. The last of these expeditions was led by James Johnstone and Spelman Swain, who on Tuesday, July 3rd (by Captain Vancouver's reckoning), set out in the *Chatham's* cutter and launch to explore the mainland coast. They took with them enough supplies for a week.

The two boats made their way through the Yaculta Rapids and along the Corde-ro Channel to the entrance of Loughborough Inlet. They entered the inlet and camped for the night. We know that this must have been on the evening of July 4th as that was the day they passed the entrance to the Nodales Channel, and they spent the whole of the next day, the 5th, examining Loughborough Inlet. Vancouver records that that night, i.e. the night of the 4th/ morning of the 5th, the crew were "incommoded" by the flood tide which they had expected to be low, as the Moon was then passing the meridian. Archibald Menzies, the expedition's naturalist, also recorded the event. In a diary entry for July 12th, the day Johnstone and Swain returned to the ships, he writes that:

"in this arm they stopped the second evening and thought themselves secure from any disturbance by pitching upon a small island for their place of rest, but in the middle of the night they were hastily roused from their repose by the flowing of the Tide, which had risen so much higher than they expected & rushed (sic) upon them so suddenly, that every person got completely drenched before they could remove to higher ground."

The tide that so "incommoded" the explorers was an interesting example of a Perigean Spring Tide. Such tides occur at irregular intervals about two or three

times a year. In recent times, particularly large Perigean Spring Tides have been accompanied by dire warnings of impending earthquakes which, some seismologists suggest, may be triggered by tidal forces. Not only were the explorers "caught napping" as it were by the unusual height of the tide, they also had apparently not noticed that the Yaculta and Dent Rapids are a transition point between the tidal waters of the Strait of Georgia to the south, and those of the Johnstone Strait to the north, and that there is a marked difference in the timing of the tides on either side of the rapids.

Many factors go into determining the level of the tide – so many that each day's tidal cycle is almost never repeated in all its detail. My own interest in the tides of July 1792 stems from a kayaking trip I am planning to make some day, which will involve a circumnavigation of Vancouver Island: it would, I thought, be interesting to try to time my passage under approximately the same tidal conditions as pertained 200 years ago. I was also puzzled as to why such keen observers of the Moon and tides as our 18th century friends should have been so taken by surprise that night.

Loughborough Inlet is deep, has steep sides, and almost no islands. There are few campsites; there is therefore a good possibility that Johnstone and Swain camped near the mouth of Gray Creek (125°32'W, 50°32'N); two small islands there are marked on both British and Spanish charts. If they found this site especially welcoming because of mats of soft, green sea-grass, the author can vouch for the fact that they were not the last to make such a mistake!

The Moon, as is well known, is the main cause of the tides; but the Sun also makes a significant contribution. Theoretically, the solar tide is only 46% the strength of the lunar tide, but in coastal areas, and in narrow passage ways, this ratio is often enhanced. The Straits of Georgia and Juan de Fuca, for example,

because of their length and shape, tend to swap water back and forth, see-saw fashion, in sympathy with the twice daily tides of the open ocean. In some places, near the pivot point at the south-eastern tip of Vancouver Island, the principal tidal component of the Sun (P1:K1) is actually greater than that of the Moon (M2); and in my home town of White Rock beachgoers delight in the fact that the tide is always at least partially out at noon in the summer regardless of the Moon's waxings and wanings.

Spring Tides occur whenever there is a full or new moon. They are larger than usual because, for a few days, the lunar and solar tides are synchronised. Perigean Spring Tides occur when, simultaneously, the Sun, Moon and Earth are aligned, and the Moon is at its closest point to the Earth in its orbit around the Earth. Because the Moon is closer, its contribution to the tide is larger than usual. There is a similar effect for the Sun, but because the Earth's orbit is very nearly circular, the effect is less pronounced.

Perigean Spring Tides are often associated with major flooding, particularly when accompanied by strong onshore winds. The rise of the tide is accelerated because when the Moon is aligned with the Sun, the Sun's gravitational field distorts the Moon's orbit, making it more elliptical, so that the Moon swings by the Earth closer than is normal at perigee. As it does so, its orbital velocity increases, and because the Moon's orbital rotation is in the same direction as the Earth's axial rotation, the Moon appears to "dwell" in the sky and the lunar tidal forces, enhanced by the close passage of the Moon, are given extra time to do their work.

Whilst Captain Vancouver was surveying the coasts of British Columbia and Alaska in the 1790s, he reckoned his time as being 16 hours ahead of Greenwich, not as we do today eight hours behind. Consequently we can identify the night of the flood as actually being the night of the 3rd / morning of the 4th,

July 1792 (Julian Day 2375759.8).

Figures 1,2, and 3 show the astronomical conditions for these two days.

Figure 1, records the angular distance between Sun and Moon. An angular distance of 0° corresponds to an eclipse of the Sun, and an angular distance of 180° , to an eclipse of the Moon. The Figure shows that there was a full moon on the night of the flood, (July 3rd 2300 PST), but an eclipse was missed, as it often is, by a few degrees.

Figure 2 plots the distance between the Earth and the Moon. Distance is significant because the closer the Moon is to the Earth, the stronger is the lunar tidal force, so much so that each 1% decrease

Sun, by the gravitational anomalies of the Earth, and by the other planets of the solar system. The average time between close approaches to the Earth, perigee, is 27.5 days in contrast to the 29.5 days between new or full moons. Consequently perigee seldom coincides with a new or full moon, but as Figure 2 shows, on the night of the flood it did. In fact perigee came just 1 hour before full moon, a very

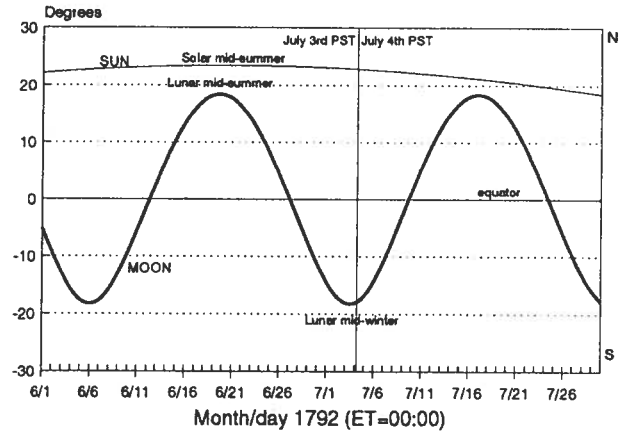
unusually close coincidence.

Figure 3 shows plots of the Sun's and Moon's declinations. The declination of a heavenly body is one of those intimidating terms that is actually fairly simple. It is the latitude on the surface of the Earth at which the body appears directly overhead. Thus, if the declination of the Sun is zero, it appears directly overhead at noon on the Earth's equator.

This is the time of the equinoxes. In the (northern) spring-time, the declination of the Sun slowly increases until it reaches a positive maximum on mid-summer's day. The Sun is then directly overhead at noon on the Tropic of Cancer at latitude $23^\circ 27'N$, and because the northern half of the Earth is tilted towards the Sun, it gets warmer there.

The Moon goes through exactly the same cycle as the Sun, except that it does so once a month instead of once a year, and the angles are a little different and not so constant. Probably everyone has noticed that sometimes, particularly during the winter, the Moon appears very high in the sky, rising in the north-east and setting in the north-west. This is

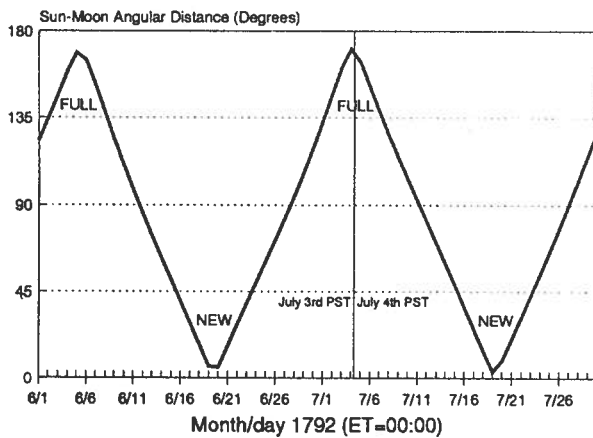
Figure 3: Sun & Moon Declinations



the time of month when the Moon's declination is at its most northerly (positive) value and it is lunar mid-summer. At other times, the Moon appears very low on the horizon, even at midnight. This is lunar mid-winter.

Figure 3 shows that at the time of the flood, it was lunar mid-winter. This is no surprise as the path of the Moon is never more than five degrees from that of the Sun (the ecliptic) and consequently, the lunar season is always the opposite of that of the Sun at full Moon, and the same as that of the Sun at new moon. However, the high positive and negative declinations of the Sun and Moon had two effects on the tide on the night of the flood. Firstly, because the line joining the Moon through the centre of the Earth to the Sun, was strongly tilted with respect to the equatorial plane, the levels of the two daily tides were appreciably different. This may have contributed to the element of "surprise". The other effect was that because at the peaks of the declinations, the rate of change of declination is zero, all of the orbital motion was directed in exactly the same direction as the Earth's axial rotation, thereby maximizing the effect of the increased velocity due to the approach of perigee. The increased velocity prolonged the length of the tidal day by 12 minutes at the time of the flood, three minutes of which was, by my calculations, attributable to the fact that the Moon had reached its most southerly declination. Twelve minutes may sound insignificant, but when the tide on a gently sloping beach is rising at a rate of several vertical feet per hour towards one's campsite, it does not seem

Figure 1: Phase of the Moon



in distance results in a 3% increase in force. Most of the variation of distance is a consequence of the Moon's approximately elliptical orbit around the Earth, and I say approximately, because the smooth predictable curve beloved of mathematicians is constantly perturbed in a very complicated manner by the

Figure 2: Earth-Moon Distance

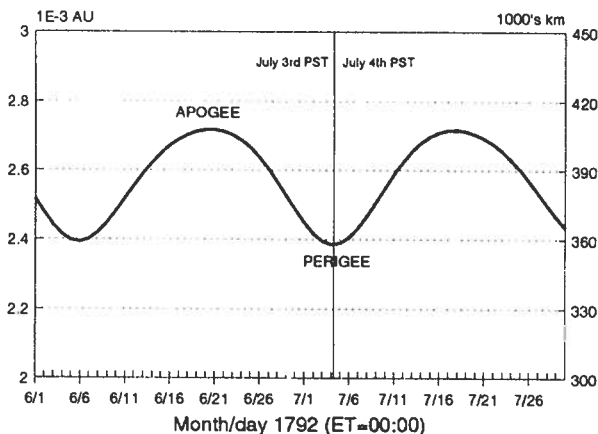


Figure 4: Tides
Loughborough Inlet & Desolation Sound

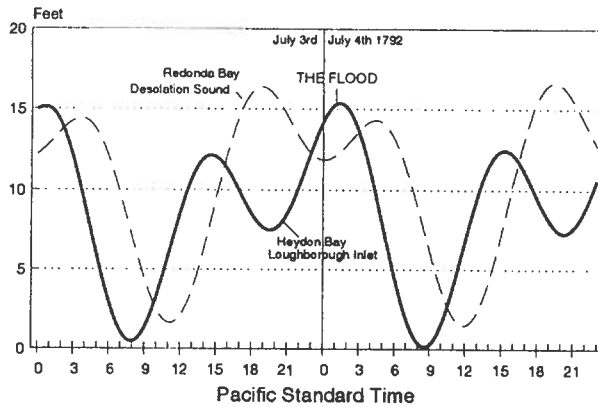
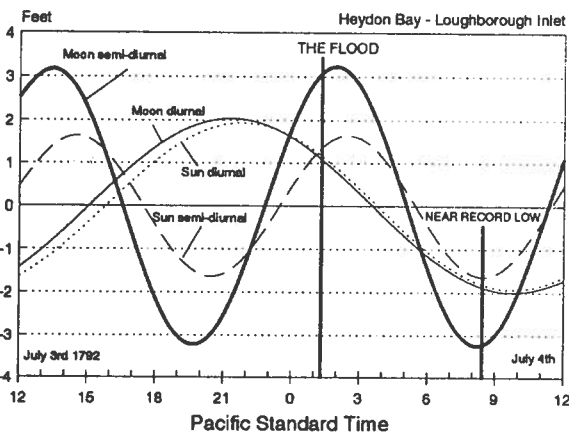


Figure 5: Components of the Tide



that way at all!

Figure 4 shows the tide that resulted from these particular alignments, and sure enough, shortly after midnight at 0054 Local Apparent Time (0121 PST), there was a tide exceeding 15 feet in Loughborough Inlet when the Moon was 13° past the meridian (i.e. past due south). The next morning at eight, the tide sank to the lower low water level for large tides.

At Redonda Bay, near where the ships were anchored, the evening tide on the 3rd peaked between six and seven o'clock, which would be a good time to make camp. Unfortunately, in Loughborough Inlet the tide at this time had already been ebbing for several hours and it began to flood again a little more than an hour later. The evening ebb may not have been obvious because the evening low tide in the inlet was much higher than the morning low tide. It is also interesting to observe in Figure 4 that, because of differences in topogra-

phy, the highest tide of the day at Redonda Bay immediately followed the lowest, whilst at Heydon Bay in the inlet, the reverse was true. For those interested in the relative contributions of various components of the tide that night, I have plotted in Figure 5 the semi-diurnal (i.e. twice daily) and diurnal (i.e. once daily components) of both the solar and lunar tides. The Moon's diurnal and the Sun's diurnal and semi-diurnal components contributed equally to the "incommodity", while the Moon's semi-diurnal component contributed as much as these three components together. The next morning, all four components were close to their minima, and the tide was within inches of being as low as it ever gets. During their passage through the rapids, Johnstone and Swain had moved from the waters of the Strait of Georgia to those more akin to the open coast. They had obviously observed the tides of the Strait quite closely, for it is a general rule there that Spring Tides are low when the Sun or Moon are due south. However, on the open coast it is very different.

The author first became aware of this after planning a very unsuccessful trip to see the tidepools

on Botanical Beach near Port Renfrew based on the timing of the tide at Ambleside Beach in West Vancouver! It was a long way to go to see surf sweeping up to the salal at the top of the beach.

Calculating the delay between the tides at different places is not quite as straightforward as it may seem. Because the pattern of the rise and fall varies from day to day, and from location to location, any comparison based on the timings of a particular point in the cycle, high high water (HHW) for example, is likely to give a different answer from a comparison based on the timings of say low low water (LLW). What we need is a comparison method that includes all of many cycles, not just one particular point. Engineers have long since had the solution to problems of this sort – what they do is to look for the peak in the cross-correlation function of the two patterns. This sounds terribly technical, but in fact is quite simple. Imagine you had two rolls of film each of which had been exposed to a light whose intensity varied with the height of the tide at the two separate locations. The clear patches on the films would correspond to low tide. The pattern of light and dark would be different on the two films, but to find a best match, you could lay the films together, hold them up to the light, and then slide one strip of film

on Botanical Beach near Port Renfrew based on the timing of the tide at Ambleside Beach in West Vancouver! It was a long way to go to see surf sweeping up to the salal at the top of the beach.

Calculating the delay between the tides at different places is not quite as straightforward as it may seem. Because the pattern of the rise and fall varies from day to day, and from location to location, any comparison based on the timings of a particular point in the cycle, high high water (HHW) for example, is likely to give a different answer from a comparison based on the timings of say low low water (LLW). What we need is a comparison method that includes all of many cycles, not just one particular point.

Engineers have long since had the solution to problems of this sort – what they do is to look for the peak in the cross-correlation function of the two patterns. This sounds terribly technical, but in fact is quite simple. Imagine you had two rolls of film each of which had been exposed to a light whose intensity varied with the height of the tide at the two separate locations. The clear patches on the films would correspond to low tide. The pattern of light and dark would be different on the two films, but to find a best match, you could lay the films together, hold them up to the light, and then slide one strip of film

Figure 6: Tidal Stations - Vancouver Island (see Figure 7)

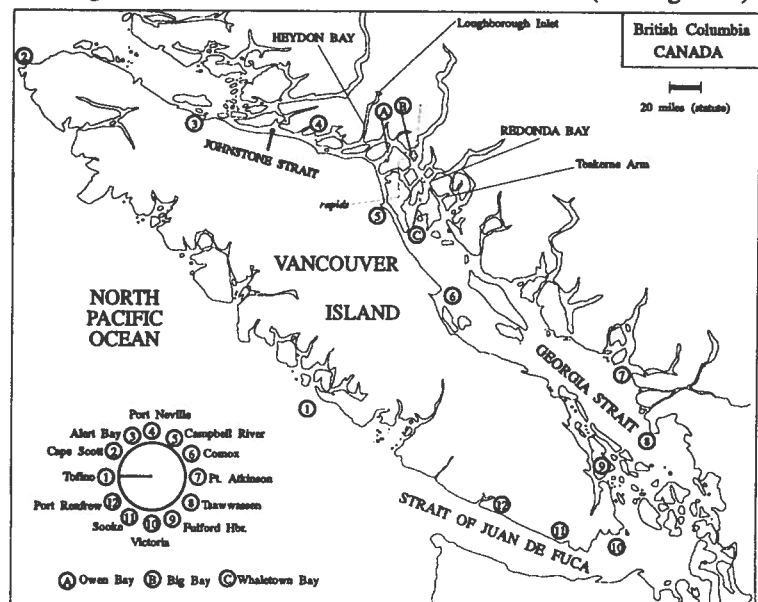
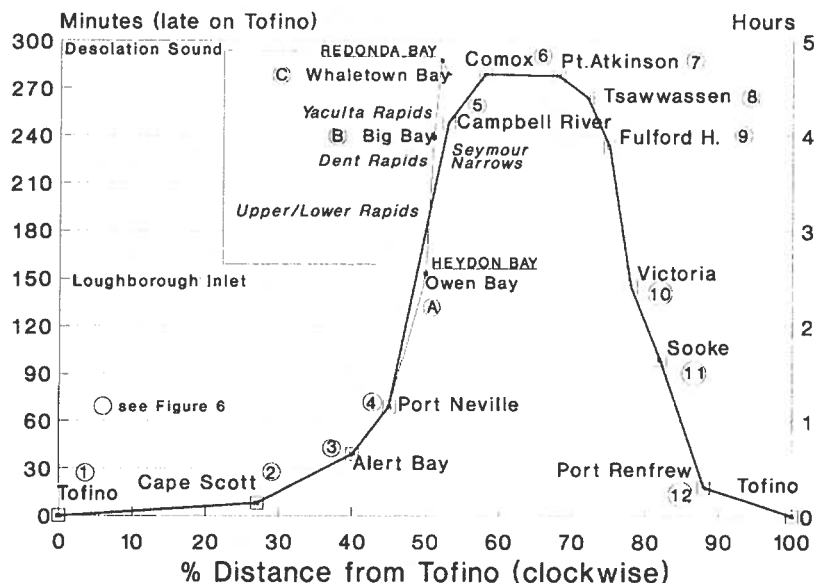


Figure 7: Tidal Delay - Vancouver Island



over the other until the maximum amount of light could be seen through the two films. The offset of the two films is then a measure of the time delay between the two patterns.

Using a computationally equivalent technique, I have plotted in Figure 7 the relative time delay between the tides at Tofino and the various points around Vancouver Island shown in Figure 6. The picture that these calculations paint is as follows. Envisage the Strait of Georgia as an inland sea whose level rises and falls with little variation in the timing of the tides around its shores. The rise and fall of this inland sea is close to being in antiphase with the rise

and fall of the open ocean; when it is high tide at Tofino, it is within an hour and a half of being low tide in the Strait.

Consequently at either end of the Strait, water pours in and out continuously through the narrow confines of the Gulf and San Juan Islands to the south, and the Discovery Passage and Desolation Sound Islands to the north. The back and forth flow along the Strait of Juan de Fuca is fairly evenly distributed, but through the narrow channels of the north the flow becomes, almost literally, precipitous, with no let up in the powerful and turbulent currents that result from the differing heights of the tide at

the ends of the rapids.

As shown in Figure 7, Johnstone and Swain in a short journey, had moved from a tidal region where the presence of the Moon due south, signalled low tide to one where, the tides being a substantial fraction of a 13 hour semi-diurnal tidal day earlier, it signified almost exactly the opposite.

Could the flood have been foreseen? Most certainly yes. The movement of the Moon was closely observed by Captain Vancouver, which he used almost exclusively for fixing his longitude. The unusual alignment of Sun and Moon at perigee was not only tabulated in his Nautical Almanac, but exaggerated, as noted in Figure 8. The series of tidal rapids obviously marked connecting points between substantial bodies of water. Possibly everyone was too busy to notice: the expedition lacked the presence of a professional astronomer, and as Vancouver remarks in his Journal on hearing the news of the death of the astronomer William Gooch, who was to have joined the expedition in August 1792:

"...we had little leisure for making such miscellaneous observations as would be very acceptable to the curious, or tend to the improvement of astronomy"

Perhaps we should add "...or keep the crew's bedrolls dry".

The author is an engineer living in White Rock. His interests include sea-kayaking, and 18th century navigational techniques.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author gratefully acknowledges the help of Dr. Myles Standish of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, Pasadena who supplied an accurate Ephemeris for the Moon 1792 (DE-118 + LE-062), and also of Mike Foreman and Fred Stephenson at the Institute of Ocean Sciences, Sidney BC who supplied harmonic constants, sample predictions and other useful data for the tidal calculations.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Doodson, A.T. & Warburg, H.D., *Admiralty Manual of Tides*, HMSO London 1941.
- Forrester, W.D., *Canadian Tidal Manual*, Dept. of Fisheries & Oceans, Ottawa 1983.
- Lamb, W. Kaye Ed., *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean 1791 - 1795*, George Vancouver, Hakluyt Society, London 1984.
- Newcombe, C.F. Ed., *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage April to October 1792*, Victoria BC 1923.
- Wood, J.F., *The Strategic Role of Perigean Spring Tides in Nautical History and North American Coastal Flooding, 1635 - 1976*, US Dept. of Commerce, 1976.

VII. JULY 1792. [79]						
Days of the Month.	Days of the Week.	Semid. at Noon.	Semid. at Midnight.	Hor. Par. at Noon.	Hor. Par. at Midnight.	Prop. Lo. at Noon.
		M. S.	M. S.	M. S.	M. S.	Lo. at Noon.
1	Sa.	16. 28	16. 34	60. 25	60. 46	4741
2	M.	16. 38	16. 42	61. 4	61. 18	4678
3	Tu.	16. 45	16. 46	61. 28	61. 32	4661
4	W.	16. 46	16. 45	61. 32	61. 27	4668
5	Th.	16. 42	16. 38	61. 17	61. 3	4679

FIGURE 8: Captain Vancouver's Nautical Almanac shows the Moon's parallax peaking at 61'32" on the night of the 3rd July 1792 (Greenwich time). Parallax is a measure of the closeness of the Moon to the Earth and was an important figure in 18th century navigational calculations. The tabulated parallax is the maximum value that can ever be achieved, a very rare event. The Moon comes this close to us only once or twice a century, the last time being in 1912. However, on this particular occasion, the Nautical Almanac is in error: the correct figure was 61'26".

The average value of lunar parallax is 57'03". At the July 1792 perigee the Moon was 8% closer than average, and the lunar tidal forces 25% stronger than average.

Also tabulated in the Almanac is the apparent size (semi-diameter) of the Moon's disc.

NEWS & NOTES

"CENTURY SAM" PASSES

Sid Williams, one of the Comox Valley's most beloved citizens, died September 26, 1991. He is remembered as a man who spread a little sunshine everywhere he went. He worked in Barkerville with Fran Dowie, and toured with the Barkerville Players. During 1958 B.C. Centennial celebration Sid, AKA Century Sam, with his donkey Rosie, appeared in parades, publications and souvenirs.

Fredrick Sidney Williams was born in New Westminster in 1908, and moved to the Comox Valley with his family in 1921. He leaves his wife Lillian whom he married 58 years ago, two children, five grandchildren, and two great grandchildren. Sid was a Courtenay alderman from 1942 to 1964, made a Freeman of the City in 1968, Citizen of the year in 1976, and received the Order of Canada in 1984. He was also a school trustee, a founding member of the Courtenay Credit Union and Courtenay Recreational Association, plus participating in many, many community events. He is most fondly remembered for his role as Santa Claus year after year.

THE HISTORY OF SIDNEY ON VIDEO

Sidney, B.C. celebrated its centennial in 1991. The Sidney and North Saanich Historical Society produced a two hour documentary film, prepared in four 25 year periods. The technical work was done by volunteers from Shaw Cable Ltd. at Channel 11 Community Television. It is a composite of many stories, interviews, and documentation. Copies of this video are being sold for \$24.95.

WRITE TO: *Sidney & North Saanich Historical Society, Box 2404, Sidney, B.C. V8L 3S1 or phone (604) 656-5458*

WINN WEIR HONORED

Winfred Ariel Weir received the Canada Volunteer Award Certificate of Merit for outstanding contributions to programs in Invermere and district. The presentation was made on November 8, 1991 by Kootenay East M.P. Sid Parker.

Winn was very active in the B.C. Historical Association for many years, and a prime mover in the establishment of the Windermere District Museum. She was a volunteer with the Canadian Cancer Society for 40 years, the B.C. Council for the Family, Provincial Emergency Program, Toastmasters, Girl Guides, Red Cross, Rotary Club, and the annual Christmas pageant. The B.C. Historical Federation joins in congratulating Mrs. Weir on receipt of this honor.

CANADIAN NAUTICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

The Canadian Nautical Research Society will hold its 1992 Conference June 25-27 in St. John's Newfoundland. For further details write to:

*Professor Lewis R. Fischer, Secretary
CNRS, Maritime Studies Research Unit,
Memorial University of Newfoundland, St.
John's NFLD, A1C 5S7*

SOCIETY FOR MILITARY HISTORY

1993 Annual Meeting to be held at Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, Ontario, May 21-24, 1993. Proposals for papers addressing the theme of "ALLIES & ALLIANCES" should be sent with an abstract of no more than 200 words to: *Dr. W.A.B. Douglas, Director of History, National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa, Canada K1A 0K2. Telephone (613) 998-7044 Fax (613) 990-8579 DEADLINE FOR BRIEF, DECEMBER 15, 1992.*

ZUCCA MELONS & OTHER HERITAGE SEEDS

After an exhaustive global search, the Grist Mill at Keremeos has found the elusive "Zucca Melon" seed. Zuccas grow 60-180 lb. in size, are tasteless, and colorless. The insides were made into candied peel for fruit cakes. The zucca was an important crop in Keremeos, Oliver and Osoyoos areas from 1934-1952.

The zucca grew happily in the Heritage Gardens at the Mill in 1991. Hundreds of people came to celebrate the Zucca Melon Reunion on August 31, and have their picture taken beside this wonderful plant. Zucca would have died completely had Mr. Swenson from Sandwich, Illinois not 'adopted' it and grown it faithfully for 20 years. Every gardener should adopt a heritage plant, and save and share the seed.

Heritage seeds are an important, and much neglected aspect of local history preservation. There is a growing awareness that we MUST start saving the seeds that are left; the genetic material may one day provide important characteristics for a food crop in the future, or a medicine for a disease. For more information on zuccas, historic wheats, heritage seeds and historic gardens contact:

*Cuyler Page
The Grist Mill, RR#1 Keremeos,
B.C., VOX 1N0 or
The Heritage Seed Program, RR#3
Uxbridge, Ontario, LOC 1K0
Submitted by Sharon Rempel*

BRITISH COLUMBIA LOCAL HISTORIES: A Bibliography

For the first time a single listing exists of the thousand local histories that have been written about British Columbia communities. This work is the result of a joint effort between the British Columbia Library Association and British Columbia Heritage Trust.

The two authors have extensive expertise with B.C. topics. Linda Hale has compiled bibliographies on Vancouver history, B.C. women, and Canadian childhood. Jean Barmann's most recent publication is *The West Beyond the West; A History of British Columbia*.

The bibliography is organized alphabetically by principal author. Each citation includes author(s), title, subtitle if any, place of publication, date, pagination, and at least one public location where the history can be consulted. The histories are indexed by the particular community or communities written about and by British Columbia's ten geographic regions. There are also indexes by author and title.

British Columbia Heritage Trust has distributed the bibliography free of charge to principal libraries across B.C. To facilitate public access, the 196-page bibliography was published in loose-leaf format in an especially designed grey and red binder.

Historians or others may obtain their copy of the Bibliography at a cost of \$20 (including tax.) Mail your request, with a cheque to:

*B.C. Heritage Trust
Ministry of Tourism and Culture
800 Johnson Street, Victoria, B.C. V8V 1X4
Phone (604) 356-1433*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Fall 1992 issue brought back many happy memories - "Manning of Manning Park" reminded me of the hiking we did there in the company of Chess Lyons and other friends. We knew Helen and Philip Akrigg when we lived in Vancouver.

My mother often told me what a fine fellow Joe Fortes was. He accompanied her in his boat when she swam from English Bay to the point where the Museum now stands.

My son, Gregory Bowes, participated in the Long Harbour Archaeological Dig.

My husband and I have trailed south five times and know each place named in "Good Roads Todd." Our friend, Ted Hart, has a photo to prove his father was issued car licence No. 1 in 1903 (compared with No. 13 for Bert Todd.)

Many Thanks
Stephanie Manson, Victoria

Book Shelf

Books for review and book reviews should be sent directly to the book review editor:
Anne Yandle, 3450 West 20th Ave., Vancouver B.C. V6S 1E4

The Journal of Duncan McGillivray

Arthur S. Morton. Fairfield, Washington, Ye Galleon Press, 1989, 200 p. \$19.95 (U.S.\$).

This is a facsimile of *The Journal of Duncan McGillivray of the North West Company at Fort George on the Saskatchewan, 1794-5*, which was originally published, with Morton's writings, in a limited edition in 1929. F.W. Giesecke of Olympia, Wash. has added a new introduction to Ye Galleon Press's edition. The result is a handsome book, well bound and finished, and the publishers should be thanked for making this work available again.

There are two parts to the book - the work of Morton (the preface, introduction and appendix), and McGillivray's journal. Giesecke suggests that Morton's part "should be regarded as (being) far more important". This is not an idle claim, for Morton's introduction is a lengthy and penetrating analysis of the development of the fur trade into the valley of the Saskatchewan and of the advance towards the rich fur-bearing lands of the upper sources of the river and of the Athabasca country. The Journal, however, has its merits too. Morton himself writes that it "gives, with a sharpness of outline far beyond the ordinary, the story of a year of life and trade within a typical North West Company's post".

This particular Fort George, "a group of rough shanties surrounded by a stockade", was situated on the north bank of the North Saskatchewan a few miles upstream from the present Alberta-Saskatchewan boundary. It had a fine view of the river. Across a small gully was Buckingham House, the Hudson's Bay Company post, and the two posts shared a well which had been dug in the gully by Mr. Tomison of the H.B.C. During the winter of McGillivray's journal, Fort George was home for about eighty men and about the same number of women and children. Its situation, on the border of the prairies, the home of the great

herds of buffalo, and at the southern edges of the valuable fur-bearing treed areas, made the post essential to the company's prosperity in the region. Obtaining supplies of dried meat for transport to the posts further north was an important part of McGillivray's duties.

The main sources for the meat and the furs were, of course, the native Indians, and the journal is devoted in large part to the problems of dealing with them and with extensive observations, rich in detail, about their habits. The Indians of the forested regions to the north and west of the post McGillivray found easy to handle, as they were organized into small and weak groups, while those from the more open lands to the south, the "gens du large", were "so advantageously situated that they could live very happily independent of our assistance". He observed that "their love of rum is their first inducement to industry", and though the Indians of the prairies were often at conflict among themselves, "yet they never fail to unite against a common enemy". McGillivray and his companions feared that their post and that of the H.B.C. might well at any time be the common enemy, and conflicts of the previous year, which included the sacking by Indians of nearby trading posts, were fresh in the men's minds. The result, as Morton expresses it, was a "curious mixture of trust and fear of the Indians".

A similar ambivalence existed in McGillivray with respect to the "opposition", the neighbouring Hudson's Bay post. The two establishments recognized their vulnerability in the face of vastly superior numbers of natives who, at any moment, might decide to attack them. On the other hand, Morton observes, "a rigid watch was kept at each post to see that their own Indians, to whom 'credit' had been given in the form of ammunition or clothing, did not go with the returns of their hunt to the enemy house". McGillivray reports with some glee the occasions when he is able to better in trade the "English".

For the reader of British Columbia history, both Morton's writings and McGillivray's journal are valuable documents. With clarity and in vivid colours they establish some of the background for the expeditions into the regions west of the Rocky Mountains of such as Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser and David Thompson. As introductions to the fur trade and the initial intrusions of non-natives into the upper reaches of the North Saskatchewan River they are replete with the small incidents of day-to-day life which tell so much about the meeting of two cultures.

George Newell

George Newell is a member of the
Victoria Historical Society.

A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670-1870.

Richard I. Ruggles.

Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991. 300 p., illustrated. \$49.95

"The company that became a country"; "Canada's first 'national' map agency." These are two phrases Richard Ruggles has used elsewhere to describe the Hudson's Bay Company and its mapping accomplishments, which the Company considered an essential element of its business operations. For two centuries this trading company was employer, landlord, shopkeeper, law and order, and government services for most of what is now Canada.

... what a field to face the imagination, what a number of ideas rushes in at once, all for the means to investigate a Country so interesting

Dr. Ruggles has taken his title from this quotation from Edward Smith to the Committee, March 1825. The book is divided into five parts. Part One has introductory chapters on mapping policy and records, the explorers and map makers, field and office methods and equipment, and company procedures in the operation of policy.

In the next ten chapters we see the

map of Canada gradually filling in as the various company employees explore more of the country, compile their maps, and send the maps and reports to the Company's headquarters in London.

The story begins with the London chart makers, 1669 to the late 1720's, followed by the initiation of company mapping, from the late 1720's to 1754; mapping rivers and barren grounds inland, 1754-1778; mapping inland from the Bay and over to Athabasca, 1778-1794; mapping to the Columbia and behind the Eastmain, 1795-1821; mapping Rupert's Land, the Mackenzie Basin, and the Arctic shore 1821-1849; mapping west of the mountains, 1821-1849; Pemberton and the Colony of Vancouver's Island, 1849-1859; exploration and mapping in the Northwest and the establishment of the Company land claims, 1849-1859; and mapping Company land claims and exploring inland routes, 1859-1870. Ruggles talks about the various men, such as Hearne, Turnor, Fidler, Thompson, and Rae, and the maps they made, both the surviving and the lost, and identifies information provided by these men found on commercial maps, particularly those of the Arrowsmith firm which became the Company map publisher.

The story of the exploration and mapping west of the Rockies is particularly fascinating, as it is the early "white" history of what is now British Columbia. Ruggles comments that there was little cartographic activity in New Caledonia despite the fact that the Company men were busy in the area since inheriting it from the North West Company in 1821.

Part Three of the book is a selection of sixty-six maps representing the various areas, periods and map makers. Part Four is composed of three catalogues of maps: those in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, those in other archives, and those which have not been located. Part Five is composed of ten appendices, glossary, notes, bibliography and index. The appendices include lists of people who prepared maps and charts, and those who prepared sketches or

descriptions for Fidler and Turnor, and a list of native persons who drafted maps. Dr. Ruggles has provided good location maps, and maps showing the gradual growth of European knowledge of Canadian territory, plus a graph of types of maps in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives for various periods.

There are a few minor typographical errors, but nothing distracting. The major problem is with the plates. Sixty-six maps which few people have ever seen are reproduced in an "antique" buff tone. There is no list or table of plates. The only identification, which does not distinguish between actual and invented titles, plus cartographer, date and catalogue number, appears in the plate section. If the map is large, the identification note may be separated from the map by a page or more. There is no information about the size of original maps. Some of the maps are very faded. Many of the maps are reproduced on less than half a page. The result has been to have maps squashed against the centre margin, with half a page or more blank except for the page and plate number and the brief map identification note.

This is not only an interesting book, but I think a very important one, providing the basis for a new look at the history of British Columbia, Western Canada, and our country as a whole. It should be in every library and school, and in the reference collection of every geographer and historian, particularly of western Canada.

Frances M. Woodward, FRGS

Frances Woodward is curator of historical maps and cartographic archives at U.B.C.'s Special Collections Division

~

Noticias de nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792

by José Mariano Moziño. Trans. and ed. by Iris H. Wilson Engstrand, with a new foreword by Richard Inglis. Seattle, University of Washington Press; Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991. Liv + 142 pp. \$18.95

Malaspina & Galiano: Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast

Donald C. Cutter. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1991; Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991 viii + 160 pp. \$34.95

The Spanish years in the history of British Columbia and the Northwest coast were rich indeed, for they left a literary and artistic record that is a considerable legacy of our past. Not only do Spanish place names on our charts and maps recall to mind the momentous late eighteenth century. Our good bookstalls carry some gems on this score. These two books are notable works of high quality.

Moziño was a Mexican scientist who came to Nootka with the Bodega y Quadra expedition in 1792, two years after the famous Martinez-Colnett dispute and the Meares-in-London aftermath just about plunged Europe into war for a distant dominion that parliamentarian and historian Edmund Burke thought really belonged to the native inhabitants anyway. Moziño's report has been lauded as one of the most significant ethnographies of the Nuuchah-nulth in existence. Its author was born in the Americas, and he has a sympathy for continental as opposed to European precepts. Though his scientific zeal is everywhere evident in his factum, this reader was struck upon re-reading this work, which first appeared almost in identical form in 1970, that Moziño had a keen eye on the secrets of imperial structure in that age. He notes in his conclusion that Spain would be bled dry by defending remote garrisons such as Nootka, and that it ought to concentrate on developing an empire in Alta California. Similarly, he thought that Spain ought to concentrate on commercial development in the Northern Pacific and throughout that ocean world, including Hawaii, and ought to emulate Britain in commercial pursuits. He correctly understood, from personal observation, that empire should best flow from commercial pursuits, and that the flag ought to follow trade, and not the other way around. Most students of Northwest Coast his-

tory and anthropology will be attracted to Professor Engstrand's book for its significant native and cross-cultural contact. It has an excellent array of contemporary illustrations, a vocabulary, a catalogue of flora and fauna, and a superb bibliography of primary and secondary sources apparently not updated in this edition.

Robin Inglis of the Royal British Columbia Museum has written a delightful foreword to a book which is a heritage classic happily in this new edition and ought to be, as is its companion work reviewed here below, in every serious collector's shelf of Northwest Coast books.

In 1791 two Spanish corvettes, the *Descubierta* and the *Atrevida*, commanded by Captains Alejandro Malaspina and José Bustamente de Guerra, as well as two junior officers, Dionisio Alcala Galiano and Cayetano Valdes, who were later to return, in 1792, on aboard the goletas *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, visited the Northwest Coast on a voyage that has continued to fascinate the inquiring student of regional history and the interested reader of voyage literature. In a collective assault to reveal the remaining secrets of this quarter of America, the vessels mapped portions of the coastline, met certain native peoples, and laid claim to sovereignty in the name of King Carlos IV of Spain.

Contrary to the claim that the Spanish heritage of the Pacific Northwest has been overshadowed by English activities, as is claimed on the dust jacket of this book, it is instructive to point out that the diplomatic aspects of Spain's imperial quest were first published under the authorship of William Ray Manning in 1905, and Henry Raup Wagner made distinguished contributions to the cartographic side of Spanish activities in the 1930s. In our own times Professor Cutter has made several previous contributions, as have Christon Archer, Jack Kendrick, Freeman Tovell and particularly Warren L. Cook, whose magisterial *Floodtide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819* (Yale University Press, 1973) is conspicuously absent from this book's bibliography. Several editions

of Malaspina's account have appeared, by Mercedes Palau among others, and catalogues of the documents of the same voyage have been published by the Museo Naval in Madrid. In other words, this is hardly a neglected field. That having been said, what we have in this book is the first complete assessment of the records and illustrations of the voyage in so far as the Northwest Coast is concerned, the other magnificent contributions of the Malaspina voyage to the South Pacific and Australia lying outside of the scope of this work. Professor Cutter provides an excellent account of life on board ship, and he provides an excellent summary of Spanish impressions of the Tlingit of Port Mulgrave and southeast Alaska and the Nootka of Vancouver, including Chief Maquinna. His spritely discussion of the well-intentioned Spanish intentions to have peaceful relations, and the disillusionment that set in in consequence of the cross-cultural violence that ensued is well worth the attention of any student of native affairs. This work is rich in contemporary drawings, maps and paintings, and contains numerous photographs of artifacts from museum collections. This book was commissioned by the Vancouver Maritime Museum to honour the bicentenary of the Malaspina expedition.

Barry Gough

Dr. Barry Gough, a British Columbian, teaches history at Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ont.

~

This Was Our Valley

Earl K. Pollon and
Shirlee Smith Matheson.

Calgary, Detselig Enterprises, Ltd.,
1989. 375 p. \$17.95

This title contains two complementary works on the Peace River region centered on Hudson's Hope. In the first section, Earl K. Pollon presents a series of reminiscences concerning his activities, mostly upriver, from 1931 to the mid-1960s. Shirlee Smith Matheson begins the second part with her ar-

rival in 1965 in "the Hope" which was grappling with the influx of construction workers for the W.A.C. Bennett Dam. But Matheson then weaves elements of her personal story into a more wide-ranging study of the impact of the dam on the region. Although the authors' passionate regard for the Peace as their valley bridges the sections, the two works offer different types of pictures. This reviewer, then, will deal briefly with each section in turn.

Pollon presents a spare outline of some of his adventures during the 1930s and 1940s from trapper to lime burner to sawmill operator. What makes this account appealing is his evocative rendering of the people he meets. From a promoter touting northeast coal long before Tumbler Ridge, to a general store owner who refused to accept Pollon's word that he had fired him the day before, Pollon draws a series of portraits which comprise the character of the Peace as much as any geographic feature. A selection of the author's poems, apparently from a self-published collection, reiterate his regard for his home. While one might respect Pollon's description of these episodes as the "annals of history," they reflect rather than explain the economic and social evolution of the Peace region before the 1960s. We must look to what appears to be Matheson's general introduction to sketch the early development schemes of the Pacific Great Eastern and the Edmonton, Dunvegan and British Columbia railway companies which planned to lay steel to the Peace from Vancouver and Edmonton respectively. One also wishes for notes to fill out the lives of some of the characters that Pollon describes. For example, Neil Gething, the coal promoter who Pollon suggests first recognized the hydroelectric potential of the Peace, had another career in Prince George as a real estate broker and municipal politician. His defeat by the Grand Trunk Pacific there might illuminate his inability to interest railways in his Peace coal projects in the early part of the century. Pollon's concluding struggle to compel Peace Power contactors to hire local people leads easily into Matheson's

more ambitious investigation of the Bennett Dam's impact on the region. She deals thoughtfully with such disparate matters as labour unrest, failed coal schemes (again), structural problems of the dam itself, flooding, preservation of fossils, pesticides, plans for additional dams at Site 1 and Site C, and the traumatic impact of the dam on Sekanni Indians. One chapter ranges far afield to consider the dam's impact on the Peace delta in Alberta. The theme that unites these chapters is exploitation of the North's resources and people by outsiders. The author's cost-benefit estimate is bleak. For an input of less than one billion dollars, few jobs, and widespread environmental damage, outsiders extracted 40 to 50 billion dollars worth of power over twenty years. What makes the account more than a rant is the informed discussion of a series of government documents, many of which Matheson probably first read in her work as district office clerk in Hudson's Hope. She frequently ties impersonal reportage to the real complaints of her neighbours. It is perhaps inevitable that in a discussion of so many issues, she relies too much on a single source. A case in point is her account of Axel Wenner-Gren, perhaps the most visionary developer of the North. Her discussion depends largely on promoter Percy Gray's correspondence which he circulated to boost his own image. An examination of John Wedley's dissertation on the provincial government's role in northern development (1986) might have helped her here and in several other chapters. When a second edition of this work appears, one hopes the publisher will provide adequate maps. The fuzzy reproduction of an old highway map of the Peace country before the dam obscures even the course of the river, let alone many of the sites that Pollon mentions in his travels! A second map should display the flooding from dam construction. Readers not familiar with the region will have a hard time locating Williston Lake as well as the exact location of the dam itself.

Frank Leonard
Douglas College, New Westminster

Other Books Noted

Manning Park Memories: Reflections of the Past. 52 p., maps, illustrated, Victoria, Ministry of Lands and Parks, (1991) Available free from Ministry. Seven essays, including one by Helen Akrigg on Ernest C. Manning and one by R.C. Harris on early trails.

Canada: An Outline History, by J. Arthur Lower, 343 p., maps. Toronto, McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1991. 2nd ed. \$17.95

Back in print again is the standard history by Vancouver member, J. Arthur Lower.

British Columbia Local Histories: A Bibliography, compiled by Linda L. Hale and Jean Barman. Victoria, B.C. Heritage Trust, 1991. 196 p. \$20.

Useful compilation of over a thousand local histories, listed by author, with indexes by title and place.

Music Education in Canada; A Historical Account, by J. Paul Green and Nancy F. Vogan. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1991. 534 p., illustrated \$125.

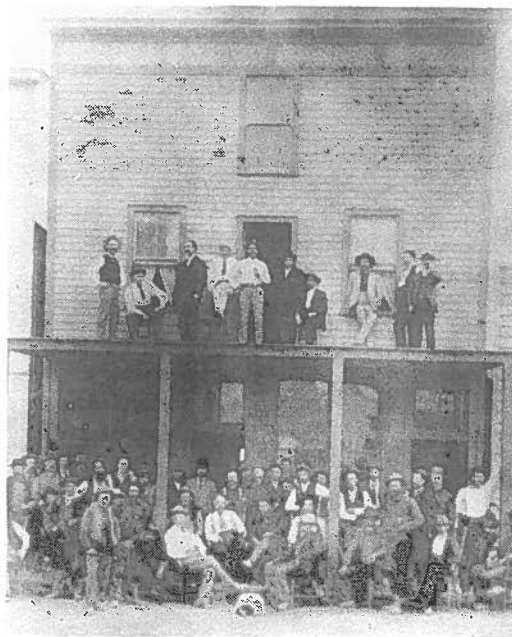
Charts the growth of music education in its earliest days to Canada's centennial in 1967. Includes information on cultural life, music in the schools and community, and festivals, in British Columbia.

The Chuck David Greater Vancouver Appointment Book.

Vancouver, New Star Books, 1990.

An "any-year" desk calendar, filled with greater Vancouver trivia, from Anna Pavlova to Thomas Wilby.

International Hotel at Fort Steele, 1898



Fort Steele reached the height of its prosperity in 1898, the year this picture was taken. It had been the supply centre for the East Kootenay, advertised as "KOOTENAY'S CAPITAL", and the jumping off base for establishing the towns of Wardner, Moyie, and Kimberley. Then the railway bypassed "Steele" in favor of Cranbrook, and its decline began. The International Hotel shown in this photo was built in 1897, one of nine hotels operating at that time. In due course it was burned down. It has been replicated and will be open soon as the dining room in Fort Steele Heritage Town.

*International Hotel,
Fort Steele 1898.
courtesy Fort Steele Archives.*

British Columbia Historical Federation Conference May 7 - 9/1992

Hosted by Burnaby Historical Society.

All history buffs are welcome.

Phone Nancy at (604) 437-6115 for registration details.

Deadline for registration, April 20.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL FEDERATION

Honorary Patron: His Honour, the Honourable David C. Lam, CM, LL.D.,
Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia

Honorary President: Ken Leeming

OFFICERS:

President:	Myrtle Haslam, P.O. Box 10, Cowichan Bay, B.C. V0R 1N0	748-8397
1st Vice President:	Alice Glanville, P.O. Box 746, Grand Forks, B.C. V0H 1H0	442-3865
2nd Vice President:	Ron Welwood, 1806 Ridgewood Road, RR#1, Nelson, B.C. V1L 5P4	825-4743
Secretary:	T. Don Sale, 262 Juniper Street, Nanaimo, B.C. V9S 1X4	753-2067
Recording Secretary:	Arnold Ranneris, 1898 Quamuchan Street, Victoria, B.C. V8S 2B9	598-3035
Treasurer:	Francis Sleigh, Box 29, Deroche, B.C. V0M 1G0	826-0451
Members-at-Large:	Mary Rawson, 1406 Woodland Drive, Vancouver, B.C. V5L 3S6	251-2908
	Daphne Paterson, 2650 Randle Road, Nanaimo, B.C. V9S 3X2	758-5757
Past President:	John D. Spittle, 1241 Mount Crown Road, North Vancouver, B.C. V7R 1R9	988-4565

COMMITTEE OFFICERS:

<i>Archivist</i>	Margaret Stoneberg, Box 687, Princeton, B.C. V0X 1W0	295-3362
<i>B.C. Historical News Publishing Committee</i>	Tony Farr, RR#3 Sharp Road Comp. 21, Ganges, B.C. V0S 1E0	537-5398
<i>Book Review Editor</i>	Anne Yandle, 3450 West 20th Avenue, Vancouver, B.C. V6S 1E4	733-6484
<i>Editor</i>	Naomi Miller, Box 105, Wasa, B.C. V0B 2K0	422-3594
<i>Subscription Secretary</i>	Nancy Peter, #7-5400 Patterson Ave., Burnaby, B.C. V5H 2M5	437-6115
<i>Historical Trails & Markers</i>	John Spittle, 1241 Mount Crown Road, North Vancouver, B.C. V7R 1R9	988-4565
<i>Publications Assistance (not involved with B.C. Historical News)</i>	Jill Rowland, #5-1450 Chesterfield Avenue, North Vancouver, B.C. V7M 2N4 Contact Jill for advice and details to apply for a loan toward the cost of publishing.	984-0602
<i>Scholarship Committee</i>	Arthur Wirick, 2301 - 4353 Halifax St., Burnaby, B.C. V5C 5Z4	291-1346
<i>Writing Competition (Lieutenant - Governor's Award)</i>	Pamela Mar, P.O. Box 933, Nanaimo, B.C. V9R 5N2	758-2828

The British Columbia Historical News
P. O. Box 35326, Stn. E
Vancouver, B.C.
V6M 4G5

Publications Mail
Registration No. 4447

ADDRESS LABEL HERE

British Columbia Historical Federation WRITING COMPETITION 1992

The British Columbia Historical Federation invites submissions of books for the tenth annual Competition for Writers of B.C. History.

Any book presenting any facet of B.C. history, published in 1992, is eligible. This may be a community history, biography, record of a project or an organization, or personal recollections giving a glimpse of the past. Names, dates, and places with relevant maps or pictures turn a story into "history".

The judges are looking for quality presentations, especially if fresh material is included, with appropriate illustrations, careful proof reading, an adequate index, table of contents and bibliography from first-time writers as well as established authors.

Note: Reprints or revisions of books are not eligible.

The Lieutenant-Governor's Medal for Historical Writing will be awarded to an individual writer whose book contributes significantly to the recorded history of British Columbia. Other awards will be made as recommended by the judges to valuable books prepared by groups or individuals.

All entries receive considerable publicity. Winners will receive a Certificate of Merit, a monetary award and an invitation to the B.C.H.F. annual conference to be held in Kamloops in May 1993.

Submission Requirements: All books must have been published in 1992, and should be submitted as soon as possible after publication. **Two copies** of each book should be submitted. Please state name, address and telephone number of sender, the selling price of all editions of the book and the address from which it may be purchased if the reader has to shop by mail.

Send to: B.C. Historical Writing Competition
P.O. Box 933
Nanaimo, B.C. V9R 5N2

Deadline: December 31, 1992. **LATE ENTRIES WILL BE ACCEPTED WITH POST-MARK UP TO JANUARY 31, 1993, BUT MUST CONTAIN THREE COPIES OF EACH BOOK.**

* * * * *

There is also an award for the Best Article published each year in the *B.C. Historical News* magazine. This is directed to amateur historians or students. Articles should be no more than 2,500 words, typed double spaced, accompanied by photographs if available, and substantiated with footnotes where applicable. (Photos will be returned.)

Please send articles directly to:

The Editor, B.C. Historical News
P.O. Box 105, Wasa, B.C. V0B 2K0