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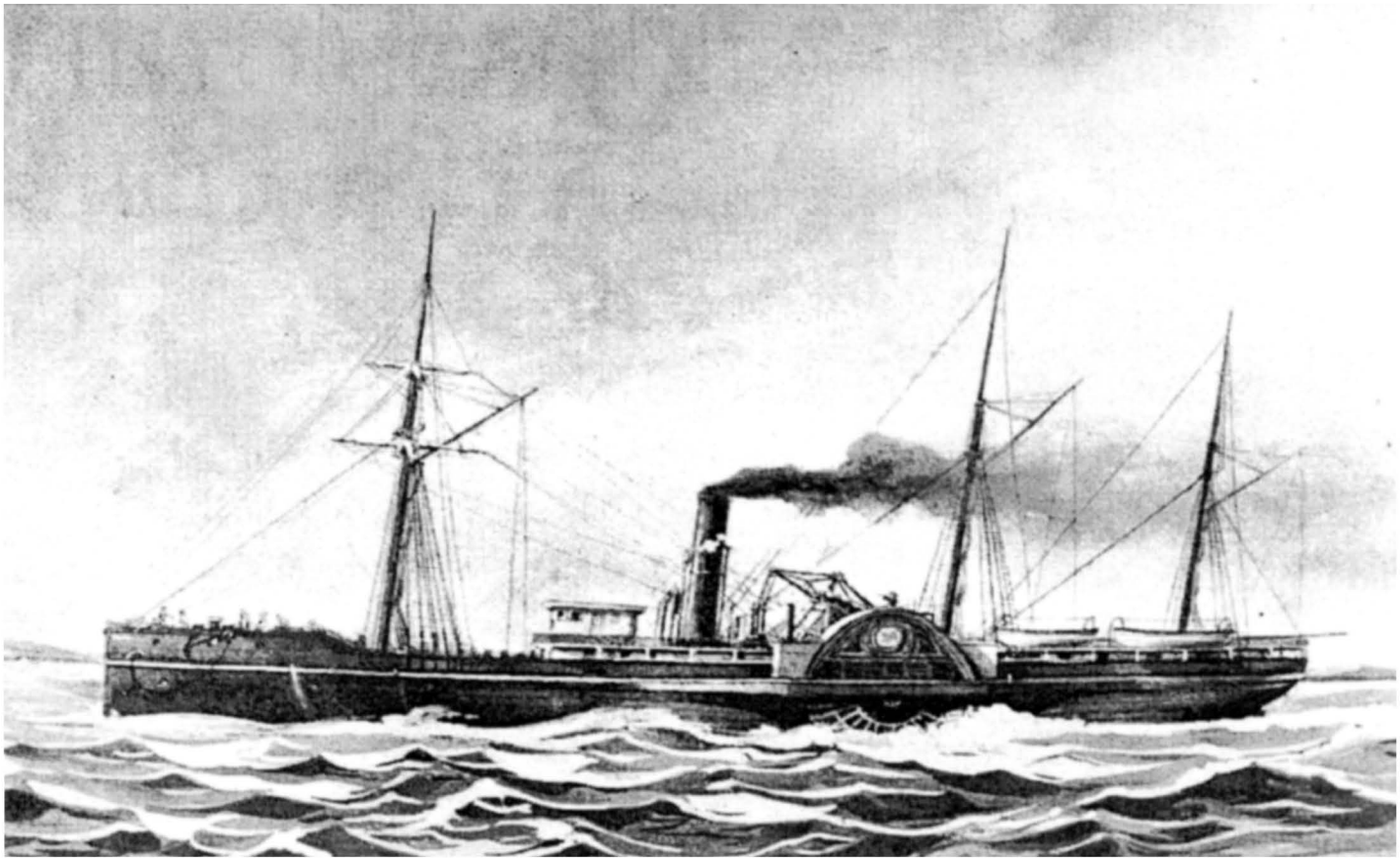

Courtesy Robert C. Belyk

In 1875 the side-wheeler *Pacific* went down taking all but two of the more than 250 people on board to their death. "We have no heart to-day to dwell on the disaster that has hurried into eternity so many of our fellow citizens," wrote the Victoria *British Colonist* on 9 November 1875.

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WE invite you to send us what you consider to be the best article on local history you published in your society's newsletter or journal in 1998.

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I look forward to receiving your submissions; just send me a photocopy of the article as it appeared in your journal. For publication we do require, of course, permission in writing from the author(s) and your association.

Fred Braches
Editor

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

Victoria and the Loss of the *Pacific*

by Robert C. Belyk

Robert C. Belyk is an author and freelance writer with a special interest in western history. This article is based on his research of shipwrecks of the West Coast from northern California to Alaska. Mr. Belyk wishes to thank the New Westminster Public Library and the British Columbia Archives for their assistance.

In their book on the loss of the CPR coastal liner *Princess Sophia* on Alaska's Vanderbilt Reef in 1918, Coates and Morrison argue that the sinking hastened the end of what once had been a vibrant northern society.[1] None of the 353 people on board the vessel would return to bring their energy to the North. Yet the *Sophia* disaster was foreshadowed 43 years earlier with the sinking of the sidewheeler *Pacific* less than 12 hours out of Victoria. Although the city would eventually recover, the loss of so many people on board the vessel shook the Vancouver Island community to its core.

"We have no heart to-day to dwell on the disaster that has hurried into eternity so many of our fellow citizens," wrote the Victoria *British Colonist* on 9 November 1875.[2] This was no exaggeration for the newspaper had just received word that the sidewheeler *Pacific* had sunk off the Washington coast taking many on board to their deaths. The vessel had left Victoria five days earlier bound for San Francisco. With less than five thousand residents in the community, Victoria was overwhelmed by the news. "I think I knew one hundred of the persons who took passage that day,"[3] Victoria newspaper editor David W. Higgins recalled many years later.

Only two men survived one of the worst maritime disasters on the West Coast. Although the exact death toll will never be known, a reasonable estimate puts the total between 250 and 300 people. "Taking the number of persons lost and the smallness of the community from which they were drawn," the *Colonist* wrote, "the wreck of the *Pacific* is one of the most terrible calamities the world has ever known."[4] While this statement may have been more than the truth, there is no doubt that the newspaper was expressing the feelings of its readers. There had never been a worse day in Victoria's history.

Many of those on board were prominent men in British Columbia mining circles. At this time mineral extraction accounted for about 75 per cent of provincial exports. Dennis Cain and Frank Lyons were co-discoverers of the Cassiar gold fields and had left the North before freeze-up. At Victoria they booked passage on the *Pacific* for San Francisco. Also on board was Richard Waldron, a prospector who had made a fortune in the Cassiar. Another important figure was J.H. Sullivan, the gold commissioner for the district. He was on his way to take passage on the American transcontinental railroad from California to the East Coast where he would take a ship to Ireland to visit his mother.

Francis Garesche, Wells Fargo agent and private banker, had also booked passage on the *Pacific*. He had been responsible for underwriting mining exploration in northwestern British Columbia, and his new office building in downtown Victoria was a measure of his confidence in the province's resource economy. The loss of Garesche symbolized the reduction of speculative capital available to the gold mining industry. The failure of the Bank of California earlier that year pointed toward general uncertainty for miners in the West. The period of optimism had come to an end, and mining would gradually play a smaller role within the province's export sector.

Others had been only indirectly involved in the gold rush. Captain Ottis Parsons had recently sold his interest in a riverboat and was returning to the United States. With him were his wife Jennie, and their 18-month-old child.

Unlike earlier gold discoveries where a very few became rich while most miners left with little or no gold, the Cassiar gold field was relatively evenly distributed. The Colonist estimated that most miners came away with an average of $1,300.[5] While the newspaper's calculations appear hardly exact, the sum each miner obtained was considerable vis-à-vis the pay scales of the day. It was not surprising, therefore, that many of the miners who embarked on the *Pacific* were in a mood to celebrate.

Sewell P. Moody, the principal partner in the largest sawmill operation in the province, represented another sector of the British Columbia economy. Known as "Sue" to his friends, Moody sold his lumber to markets in Asia, Australia, and was even able to undersell his American competition, despite facing a high tariff wall.

[1] Ken Coates and Bill Morrison, *The Sinking of the Princess Sophia: Taking the North Down with Her* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1991).

[2] *Daily British Colonist* (Victoria), 9 November 1875.

[3] David W. Higgins, "Into the Jaws of Death" *The Mystic Spring* (Toronto: 1904) 319. While many of the stories that make up Higgins's memoirs seem apocryphal, his chapter on the sinking of the *Pacific* appears in concert with the facts appearing in other sources. He has obviously relied on his notes made at the time to sketch this tragedy.

[4] *Colonist*, 16 November 1875.

[5] *Colonist*, 21 November 1876.

Although most passengers were men, a few single women were travelling alone. Fanny Palmer, 18 years old, was travelling to San Francisco where she planned to visit her brother. The daughter of a well-respected Victoria music teacher, Fanny was a popular member of her social circle. Her mother as well as many of her friends and admirers had come to the wharf to see her off.

As David Higgins walked up hill from the wharf, he saw Fanny's mother standing on a slight rise watching the *Pacific*'s smoke billow above the few trees still pressing against the harbour. As Higgins approached Mrs. Palmer, he could see the sadness in her eyes. "I'm seeing the last of Fanny," she said.[6] Her words were indeed prophetic.

Mrs. Samuel Moote, the daughter of ex-Victoria mayor J.E. McMillan, had recently paid her parents a visit and was returning on the *Pacific* to her husband in San Francisco. The McMillans had recently lost two of their sons and the remaining family had come together in a moment of sorrow.

Lizzie Keller, her husband and child were tourists from San Francisco. On a tour of the Northwest, the family had spent the previous night at a Victoria boarding house before taking passage home.

Civil engineer Henry F. Jelly, with his friend A. Fraser, had booked passage on the *Pacific*. They were returning home to Port Stanley via the American transcontinental railroad. Jelly had spent the summer months working for the Canadian Pacific Railway, which had finally begun laying out its route through British Columbia.

Some travellers like prominent American merchant J.T. Vining had joined the *Pacific* earlier in Puget Sound. Most passengers, though, had boarded on 4 November in Victoria. The last men, miners recently arrived from the Cassiar district, jumped on at 9:30 A.M. as she was edging away from the wharf. "Passed Cape Flattery at 4 P.M.," wrote J.H. Sullivan in his diary, "some miners drunk; some of the ladies sick."[7]

The *Pacific* had been built in 1850 as one of the fleet of ships connecting the American East Coast via the Isthmus of Panama to the gold rush city of San Francisco. She served in that role until 1857 when she was placed on the Northwest route connecting Portland, Puget Sound, and Victoria with San Francisco. With dwindling mining activity in the North, the aging vessel was consigned to the mud flats at Mission near San Francisco in 1871. She would probably have rotted away there had it not been for a new gold rush in the Cassiar district of northern British Columbia. The *Pacific* and several other old ships were purchased in 1874 by a new American company, Goodall, Nelson and Perkins, which later claimed to have spent as much as $75,000 refurbishing the vessel.[8]

Photo courtesy R.C. Belyk

Above: *Captain Jefferson D. Howell of the Pacific.*

After such expense it seems difficult to explain why the *Pacific* went down. "The vessel was in excellent condition and considered the best sea-boat on the coast,"[9] wrote the San Francisco *Chronicle*. According to the San Francisco *Daily Alta California* the ship had recently been in dry dock, "where she was found to be as sound and staunch as a new boat."[10] For whatever reason, the San Francisco press accepted the company's word concerning the *Pacific*, but in fact the ship was little more than a rotting hulk held together by a new coat of paint.

When survivor Henry Jelly was picked up within a mile of Vancouver Island on 6 November, having spent 36 gruelling hours lashed to the top of the pilot house, he told the story of how the *Pacific* was lost after she lightly struck another unknown vessel. As far as the San Francisco newspapers were concerned, such a happening was almost inconceivable.

> The entire accuracy of the story of Jelly, the survivor, is doubted by some persons acquainted with the coast who believe that a number of the passengers and officers and crew have been saved in boats and on pieces of the wreck,[11]

wrote one San Francisco newspaper. The identity of the "some persons" mentioned above remains a mystery but it was apparent that the opinions of Captain Nelson, one of the ship's owners, carried much weight with the press.

One of the first newspapers to question the shipping company's claims about the safety of its ship was the Victoria *Colonist*, which wrote:

> In our ignorance of marine architecture we have always looked with suspicion upon old ships that

[6] Higgins, 325.
[7] Cited in Higgins, 332.
[8] *Chronicle* (San Francisco), 9 November 1875.
[9] *Chronicle*, 9 November 1875.
[10] *Chronicle*, 9 November 1875.
[11] *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), 10 November 1875.

> come from the builder's hands 'as good as new.' If the renewal process be a radical one—if every plank and knee are removed; all old bolts drawn and new ones driven, then a ship is new in everything save her name. But to claim that a ship has been rebuilt when decayed timbers are removed, old bolts driven a little closer to bind the old planks, and a new coat of paint donned is simply to attempt a fraud on the travelling public.[12]

As would become apparent later, it was doubtful whether the ship's owners removed even the decayed wood.

At 3:00 A.M. on 8 November, on the fourth day after the sinking, quartermaster Neil Henley was found alive clinging to pieces of the hurricane deck and paddle boxes that had been fashioned into a raft. Given the chaos on board at the time of the disaster, both Jelly and Henley presented remarkably similar stories. The quartermaster, too, had arrived on deck in time to see the lights of a ship in the distance. She did not stand to as was required by maritime law, but continued out of sight.

On 11 November the mystery ship was finally identified as the Boston square-rigger *Orpheus* after her crew was located camped in Barkley Sound where the vessel had wrecked. According to Captain Charles Sawyer, the second mate had mistaken the lighthouse at Cape Beale for the light at Flattery. As a result, the vessel was wrecked on the shores of Tzartus Island. Fortunately everyone on the *Orpheus* was saved.

The discovery of the *Orpheus* deflected public attention from what had happened aboard the *Pacific*. After all, the *Orpheus* had cut across the *Pacific's* bow—a breach of "the rules of the road" as it was called. However, more seriously, Captain Sawyer did not wait to see if the other vessel needed assistance but kept to his northerly course. The fact remained, though, that it was the *Pacific* that struck the square-rigger with her bow and it was the latter ship that likely should have gone to the bottom, but this was not the case. Part of the bow of the *Pacific* had broken off and was later found hanging in the tangled rigging of the *Orpheus*.

In 1875, British Columbia's entry into Confederation was largely in name only for the country was not really joined together until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway ten years later. On the West Coast there was no mechanism for establishing marine inquiries. Because the friends and relatives of the victims demanded to know the reason for their loss, the coroner's jury became the means of determining the cause. In this case the inquest's mandate was to look beyond the cause of death of one of the victims on the *Pacific*, Thomas J. Ferrell, and conclude blame. To underscore that the proceedings were more than an inquest, its findings were to be forwarded to Ottawa.

The testimony of passenger Jelly and crew member Henley was a condemnation of the seaworthiness of the *Pacific*. Jelly had noted from the time the ship left Victoria she had a pronounced list to starboard. He had observed the crew filling the port lifeboats to bring the ship on an even keel, but the vessel now listed to the opposite side with the result that the process had to be done again, this time emptying the port boats and filling the starboard ones. Quartermaster Henley noted that there had never been a lifeboat drill on board the *Pacific*, and he wasn't even sure how to release the craft from their davits.

While the *Pacific* was governed by United States regulations once the ship crossed into American waters, the vessel's agent in Victoria, E. Engelhardt claimed that he had no idea what safety regulations demanded for he had lost his copies of the inspection certificates. Technically Engelhardt was not required to comply with American regulations and it is clear that the ship was loaded beyond the capacity stated on the document. Mattresses had been placed on the floor of cabins for the benefit of extra passengers. This was probably the case in steerage as well. To make matters worse, there had been so much cargo taken aboard that it had to be stowed on deck.

The soundness of the *Pacific* was questioned by the *Orpheus'* second mate James G. Allen. Allen had earlier served aboard the *Pacific* and he implied that the San Francisco Board of Steamship Inspectors, which had certified the sidewheeler, was corrupt and open to bribery. Not surprisingly, the inquest was unable to obtain witnesses from either the steamship line or the San Francisco drydock where the work was supposedly done, but several men employed along the waterfront testified that the vessel was regarded as unseaworthy.

During this time Victoria was rife with rumours that the *Pacific's* captain, Jefferson Howell, the brother-in-law of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, had a severe problem with alcohol. Howell, some claimed, received his command only after the ship's former master, Captain F.C.

12. *Colonist*, 10 November 1875.

Sholl, threatened to make public the deplorable condition of the *Pacific*.

Captain Sawyer of the *Orpheus* also came in for much criticism. This was the era of maritime reform led by British M.P. Samuel Plimsoll who fought against the greatly overloaded vessels he called "coffin ships." In America the wretched conditions of common seamen were receiving a sympathetic hearing in the press. Masters who were earlier free to beat their crew for the slightest infraction found themselves charged before the courts. Sawyer was a man distant from those who served with him, and once on shore on 12 November at Port Townsend, four seamen swore a statement which essentially laid blame at the feet of the master of the *Orpheus* for bringing about the collision with the *Pacific*. That he failed to stand to after determining his vessel was not taking on water was also alleged.

The same charges were repeated by some of his crew before the Victoria inquiry, but possibly feeling he was in physical danger from angry friends and relatives of the victims, Captain Sawyer decided to remain on American soil. In San Francisco also, which lost a number of its citizens on the *Pacific*, there were feelings against Sawyer. The city's two major papers, the *Chronicle* and *Alta*, were more than willing to paint the master of the *Orpheus* as the villain in this tragedy.

Sawyer's public rebuke also deflected criticism away from the condition of the ship and the standards of the San Francisco steamship inspectors. According to the testimony of Jelly, Henley and the crew on board the *Orpheus,* it was clear that the *Pacific* should have only suffered minor damage. Also, according to the crew of the *Orpheus*, the *Pacific* had plenty of time to alter course herself and avoid a collision. It was noted at the Victoria inquiry that the *Pacific*'s officer of the watch was a former freight clerk who had recently been promoted to third mate. As far as anyone was aware, he had no previous experience as a seaman.

On 15 November Charles C. Bemis, the supervising inspector of steamships based in San Francisco, appointed a two-person inquiry to look into the sinking of the *Pacific*. Unlike the Victoria inquest it was held behind closed doors. Moreover, one of the commissioners was Bob Waterman, inspector of hulls, whose certification of the *Pacific* was now openly questioned.

At 4:50 P.M. on 23 November the foreman of the Victoria coroner's jury returned with its verdict that read in part:

> That the *Pacific* struck the *Orpheus* on the starboard side with her stem [bow] a very slight blow, the shock of which should not have damaged the *Pacific* if she had been a sound and substantial vessel. That the collision between the *Pacific* and the *Orpheus* was caused by the *Orpheus* not keeping the *Pacific*'s lights on her port bow .... That the watch on the deck of the *Pacific* at the time of the collision was not sufficient in number to keep a proper lookout.[13]

The jury also stated that the *Pacific*'s lifeboats "could not be lowered by the undisciplined and inefficient crew." Captain Sawyer was also blamed for having failed to stand to in order to assess the condition of the other ship.

Photo courtesy R.C. Belyk

Above: *Captain Samuel A. Sawyer of the "Orpheus"*

The San Francisco steamship inspectors issued their report on 11 December, in which they noted that the accident was the result of the *Orpheus* taking a course across the *Pacific*'s bow. Her crumbling hull had nothing to do with the age of the ship, but because she struck the sailing vessel at a vulnerable spot: the bluff of the *Pacific*'s stem. The *Pacific* would have sunk just as quickly had she been recently launched, Captain Waterman and his colleague explained. Moreover, the tremendous loss of life could be blamed on the passengers who rushed the lifeboats and not on the crew themselves.

"White-wash," the *Colonist* charged.[14]

> To appeal to a commission of which the chief culprit was the chief member was like appealing from Caesar to Caesar. How could Captain Waterman be expected to convict himself? How could the friends of those who went down on that frightful night expect a righteous verdict?[15]

On 6 January 1876 Captain Sawyer found himself in San Francisco accused of deliberately wrecking the *Orpheus* at Cape Beale. The charges, though, were eventually dismissed and Sawyer moved to Port Townsend where his friend H.A. Webster, collector of customs, lived. In later years, many Northwest mariners came to accept his contention that he had not been responsible for the tragedy. The year after Sawyer's death in 1894, E.W. Wright wrote

> His friends, who were by no means few, have always contended that he was a deeply injured man and his actions on that terrible night ... were in no

[13] Cited in the *Colonist*, 24 November 1875.
[14] *Colonist,* 13 January 1876
[15] *Colonist*, 14 January 1876.

[16] E.W. Wright ed., *Lewis and Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest* (Portland: 1895), 226 n.
17. Higgins, 333.
18. Higgins, 335.
19. Gordon Newell and Joe Williamson, *Pacific Coastal Liners* (Seattle: Superior, 1959), 24.

way different from what could be expected of any shipmaster in a similar crisis.[16]

With the benefit of hindsight it is difficult to contend that Sawyer was blameless, but it had not been the captain who refloated the rotting hulk of the *Pacific* from the mud flats near Mission Creek and returned it to service. That had been an act of calculated greed perpetrated by Goodall, Nelson and Perkins.

The sea gave up hardly more than a dozen of its dead. The body of Cassiar gold commissioner J.H. Sullivan washed up on the rocks near Beechey Head on Vancouver Island. He was buried at Victoria. Ironically, the body of Fanny Palmer, the young woman prominent in Victoria social circles, returned almost to her home. The remains travelled up the Washington coast and then east along the Strait of Juan de Fuca to come ashore at San Juan Island. The 110-mile journey had taken Fanny virtually past her parents' front porch. A message from the dead was received at Victoria's Clover Point. Cut into a piece of wreckage—part of a cabin support—was: "S.P. MOODY. ALL LOST."[17]

As if more proof concerning the cause of the disaster was needed, long after the tragedy broken pieces of the ship's hull continued to wash up on the rocks of Vancouver Island. While it is true that the Victoria inquest had affixed blame, no action was taken. The frontier West was a place more suited to quick justice than arguing the sophisticated points of law of an involved court case.

The death of the *Pacific* was, of course, a disaster not only for Victoria but for British Columbia as a whole. It meant the loss of many of those responsible for development of the Cassiar gold fields. Mining, already in decline as compared to other sectors of the economy received a heavy blow.

Yet it is the personal face upon this tragedy that is the most poignant. In a blinding snowstorm on 28 November, with six young women as pallbearers, Fanny Palmer's funeral cortège wound through the streets of Victoria. Despite the weather, it was one of the best-attended funerals in Victoria's history. Memorial services had earlier been held in Victoria churches for the many dead never recovered from the sea. Beyond the grieving, though, the *Pacific* would cast a long shadow on many of those who had remained behind. Wrote David W. Higgins 28 years after the tragedy:

> About fifty families were broken up and scattered, and many more came upon the public for maintenance. There were two suicides at San Francisco in consequence of the disaster, and there were many instances of actual distress of which the public never heard.[18]

Another twist to this story took place after the revenue cutter *Wyanda*, which earlier was condemned by the American government, was sold to Goodall, Nelson and Perkins who added a new superstructure and renamed her *Los Angeles*. The ship had a narrow beam and was top-heavy with the result that she did not perform well on the northern run to Victoria. However, the vessel owners pressed the *Los Angeles* into service. On 29 November 1875, only three weeks after the sinking of the *Pacific*, the *Los Angeles* left San Francisco with a full complement of passengers and freight. Two days later, she was about a hundred miles south of the Columbia River when her engine died. The damage could not be repaired so the vessel was forced to run up her sails. The winds were from the south but the sea was becoming increasingly rough. The ship was rising and falling into the peaks and valleys created by towering waves. On the hurricane deck, seaman James Walsh was carried overboard by a huge wave, and his body was never recovered. The weather finally abated and the ship reached Victoria eight days after leaving San Francisco. Captain Cain, master of the *Los Angeles*, and his crew earned the respect of the passengers, but it was another case of the ship itself being unreliable and unseaworthy.

Not long before the *Pacific* sinking, Jefferson Howell had been an officer aboard the *Los Angeles* when it ran aground on the rocks near Tillamook Head, Oregon. At considerable personal risk, Howell reached shore where he made his way to Astoria to sound the alarm. Howell received the captaincy of the *Pacific* as a reward for his bravery—a prize that would mean his death.

At least partially the result of the company's sullied reputation, Goodall, Nelson and Perkins reorganized in 1877 as the Pacific Coast Steamship Company.[19] More than 30 years later, the company's vessel, *Valencia*, commanded by an incompetent captain and operated by an ill-trained crew, took 117 people to their deaths off Pachena Point on the west side of Vancouver Island. Once again, grief and despair rode the waves of the North Pacific.

Knox McCusker: Dominion Land Surveyor

by V.C. Brink and Elizabeth Rutherford

I have always felt uncomfortable about the fact that the Mary Henry Expeditions and the Bedeaux expedition into northeastern BC did not recoginize the tremendous role of the surveyors—Knox McCusker and E.L.W. Lamarque. The much publicized expeditions could not have proceeded without the assistance and direction of these men, particularly Knox McCusker whose maps were used by Lamarque. Also, I was a liaison officer (Canadian) when the Alaska Highway was driven through by the US Armed Forces and knew the tremendous role he played in informing and assisting the US Forces—the Americans gave him a medal but we, in Canada, hardly recognized him!

—V.C. Brink, in a letter to Naomi Miller, Editor BC Historical News, 13 November 1998.

In an era of satellite imaging and laser geodetics, it is easy to forget the role land surveyors played in exploration and settlement. In fact, they should be counted among the great pioneers of western Canada. In British Columbia especially, they worked in a wilderness of many unknowns: barrier mountains, the vagaries of the weather, turbulent rivers, insect pests, muskeg, and dense forest. Land surveyors left a legacy of maps and documents showing the main features of landscapes, mountain ranges, and valleys, noting animals, vegetation, and rocks, and surveying routes for transportation and lands for towns and farms. Many of the surveyors were men of high intelligence, competent in mathematics, and possessing great hardiness. Knox Freeman McCusker was such a surveyor.

Knox was born in 1890 in Hawkesbury, Ontario, the son of a Presbyterian minister and Mary Orr McCusker. He received a good education at the Gault Institute in Valleyfield, Quebec and Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. In 1909, he gained his first field experience as one of two technical assistants to party chief Mr. St. Cyr of what was then the Topographical Survey Branch of the Dominion of Canada, Department of the Interior. The summer and autumn were spent surveying in the Peace River area of Alberta and BC, specifically the Spirit River area. Knox, by his own accounts, recognized the harsh features of the West but developed affection for it. He learned much from St. Cyr, a senior surveyor, who had spent nearly 50 years mapping in what became the western provinces and Yukon Territory.

On his return to Ottawa in 1909, McCusker was quickly assigned to other surveys and in 1914 was formally commissioned as a Dominion Land Surveyor (D.L.S.). In the next 41 years until his death in 1955 at Fort St. John, Knox McCusker was party chief of many surveys in Canada, mainly in the West. Most of his assignments were commissioned by the Government of Canada, but some were by secondment and by contract to private agencies. In later years, he undertook surveys for the Government of Alberta and was privileged to add A.L.S. to his name.

As the great economic depression deepened, in 1931, the Canadian government reduced its civil staff; Knox was one of those temporarily unemployed and not to be re-hired again for several years. He pre-empted land north of Fort St. John, developed a ranch, and took private surveying and guiding contracts.

McCusker was a large man, well over six feet in height. Some say, he was easy going, but others point out that he had a sharp mind of his own. This was borne out when in the last Mary Henry Botanical Expedition in 1935, Mrs. Henry, a woman of strong will, wanted to climb to the summit of the mountain peak named after her, but McCusker had good reasons for not supporting her wish. Mount Mary Henry is a substantial mountain and the party lacked proper equipment for the ascent. He won the argument but Mrs. Henry did not forgive him his opposition.

"Mac" McCusker was a man of peace, believing deeply that the tenets of his church should be stated in actions and not in preaching. Routinely he adroitly defused confrontational situations by asking questions, by changing the subject or by good humour. Humour, it may be noted, is a useful quality when men, and sometimes women, were living for months at a time in close quarters in tents, often in inclement weather, and traversing tough terrain far from the comforts of populated areas.

Horses he liked, but Mac was not a horseman. He rarely rode except to cross streams, largely

Mrs. Elizabeth Rutherford, Knox McCusker's niece, was raised in Onion Lake, AB, now lives in Victoria, BC

V.C. Brink, a retired Professor of Plant Science from the University of British Columbia, knew "Mac," in the early days of the surveying for the route of the Alaska Highway.

The authors want to acknowledge the assistance of:

R.S. "Rod" Silver, Wildlife Biologist, formerly of Fort St. John, BC now living in Victoria, BC Ministry of Environment Lands and Parks. *(Rod Silver is a former student of V.C. Brink)*

M.Z. "Smokey" Neighbour, Wrangler with Mac 1931-1935, farmed at Ootsa Lake, BC, now living in Vernon, BC

Photo courtesy V.C. Brink

Above: *"Mac," Knox McCusker far right, with a survey crew, date not known.*

because he was conscious of his weight as a heavy burden for any horse. He often walked Indian style in moccasins. Nonetheless he established that in the wilderness pack horses and ground surveys were often of more use than modern means such as aircraft, because horses could work in any weather all seasons.

Needless to say, Mac had definite ideas about survey crew organization, but he recognized that circumstances often demanded change. Ideally the chief's crew had two technical men, two wranglers and a cook—the most important crew member, as he often said.

Mac had many good friends in the West and in Ottawa. He married late in life—understandably one may believe because he was almost always away from wherever home base might be. After 1933, he called his pre-emption quarter section ranch at Fort St. John rather than Ottawa his home base, but over the years his brother's farm to which his father had retired, at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, north of Lloydminster, was also "home."

Mac first and foremost was a surveyor. He was an outdoorsman and did not like to work in the office, but did it well. In the field he was highly efficient and accurate, and undertook many kinds of surveys on dominion government lands. He did surveys for railways, such as the Hudson's Bay Railway out of the Pas to James Bay, surveys in national parks, such as Jasper, townsite and road surveys, and meridian surveys (It was important to know whether the sizeable town of Lloydminster was in Alberta or Saskatchewan). During and after the war, Knox McCusker worked on the Alaska Highway right-of-way and, of particular interest to those in BC, he did map surveys in the northern Rockies, Foothills and the Peace River area. A friend in Ottawa observed that Mac did not get credit for his work but then surveyors seldom do. Mac did not seem to mind. He used to say: "a job well done is the main thing."

Below we provide some samples of Knox McCuskers's surveys, giving special attention to those undertaken in northeastern BC. From time to time, Mac would write in a general fashion about his work. His motive to write is clear; he wanted to tell other Canadians about an almost unknown part of their country and its few people that he had come to cherish. He contributed a few newspaper articles, notably to the *Toronto Star,* and an article for *Saturday Evening Post.* He wrote notes for his professional colleagues and left some unpublished reminiscences.

1909, Spirit River Prairie

In notes written in later years, Mac wrote amusingly about his first formal survey with Mr. St. Cyr, a veteran Dominion Land Surveyor. He left Montreal in early spring of 1909 with, as he states, a paternal blessing and $15.00 pinned to his vest, and travelled by rail to Edmonton to meet the party chief. Brought up in Glengarry and therefore familiar with the French Canadian *patois* he could converse with the axemen who made up most of the party of 14. His fellow technical assistant, a schoolteacher from southwestern Ontario, not conversant with the *patois*, found an English/French dictionary almost useless.

Five teams of horses were assembled and four sleighs loaded with pork and beans, flour, dried apples, and prunes, a little tea, hardware, instruments, and iron survey posts. With most of the crew well liquored up, they left for the Peace River country with the party chief riding on one load and the rest alternately walking and riding. The main idea was to get the party out of town. Travelling due north, and after about four or five camps, the party reached Athabaska Landing on the Athabaska River. Here, the party chief took on a load of whiskey. After he had generously imbibed the RCMP detained him. The police persuaded the two green technical assistants to get the party moving. The police later brought a sober party chief to the camp by cutter.

It was near thaw time with snow melting, ice break-up on the rivers, and mud on the trail, and during much of the travel, as it is said, it was "left to the horses" to choose the trail. Nonetheless, and despite a terrific blizzard, the party made good use of the ice travelling on the Athabaska River

to reach the eastern end of Lesser Slave Lake without loss of horses or sleighs. By Easter, they were at the mission at Grouard. On a sea of mud for one hundred miles and again on river ice they made Dunvegan in time to see the rotting river ice move to the Arctic Sea the day after their arrival. That summer of 1909, using the Peace River as base, they surveyed the Spirit River prairie to about the BC/Alberta meridian. They managed to add to their horse herd by snaring feral horses one of which, Mac notes, was still in service at Jasper National Park in 1930. Mac writes sympathetically about the pioneer settlers and their hardships, preceding those coming in the later land rushes. He notes their fine farms, painted barns, and poplar copses on the present day landscapes.

1927 – Beyond the Peace: Into the Northern Rockies and their Foothills

Fur traders had explored the valleys of the two great rivers of northeastern BC, the Peace and, roughly five hundred miles to the north, the Liard. Until the 1920s and 1930s it was believed that the land between the two rivers consisted of barrier mountains and impassable muskeg. It was unmapped, a great "white spot" on the map of Canada.

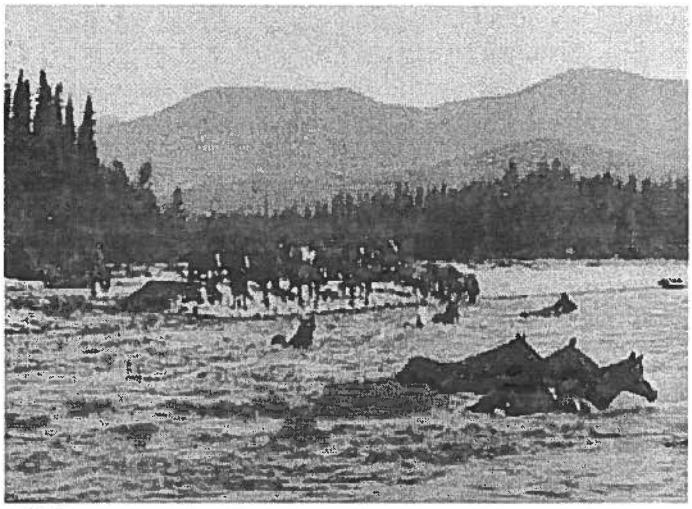


Photo courtesy V.C. Brink

It was thought, however, that geological formations of the northern Rockies were sedimentary and similar to those of the southern Rockies of Canada and the USA, a matter of considerable interest to petroleum companies seeking oil and gas fields. In 1927, the Marland Oil Company mounted an exploration party to which the Dominion Topographical Branch, specifically to undertake a reconnaissance survey of that "white spot," seconded McCusker. The party, a small one of five men, five saddle stock and fourteen pack animals, was in the field for six months working the terrain from Hudson's Hope to Ft. Nelson.

The route chosen was predominantly north, just east of the high rugged crest of the Rockies, crossing valleys of the such major rivers as those we know today as the Besa, the Sikanni, the Prophet and the Muskwa, all of which flow into the Fort Nelson River and, ultimately, the Liard, the Mackenzie, and the Arctic sea. Trails were fairly well defined out of Hudson's Hope to Laurier Pass, designated by Inspector J.D. Moodie of the RCMP thirty years earlier as he blazed a trail to the gold fields of the Cassiar in northern BC and to those of the Klondike in the Yukon. After leaving the Brady Trading Post on the upper Halfway River the trails were faint or non-existent. Probably on the lower Prophet River they were met by Archie Gardner, a man who knew much of the Fort Nelson area, and who gave them some assistance with rivers, fords, and aboriginal trails. The meeting was pre-arranged and on time. Mac writes interestingly of Gardner as "a man [who] descended from one of the first families of England on his father's side and on his mother's side, [from] one of the first families of the Sikinni Indians. The Gardner party arrived in traditional northern style with two pack ponies, five pack dogs, sundry pups, numerous children, one squaw, one rabbit robe, one rifle, one pot, one frypan, one axe, and one mother-in-law."

Mac reports well, and with good humour, on the trip on the river boat *D.H. Thomas* from Peace River up to Hudson's Hope, and on the enthusiastic welcome given the first boat of the season. He comments on the problems of getting the pack train started with new and sometimes fractious horses. He writes of the pleasures and some of the hazards of summer travel over high mountain meadows, of the crossing of swift rivers, of the idiosyncrasies of pack horses, and of the customs of the few nomadic aboriginals they met.

The Marland Oil Co. party returned to Hudson's Hope on 1 October 1927, after reconnaissance mapping ten thousand square miles of "new" territory. Some years later, the data was used for an 8 mile to the inch map produced by

Photo courtesy V.C. Brink

Above: *Topographical surveying and guide outfitting brought people of very different backgrounds together. Miss Josephine Henry, entomologist from Philadelphia, Penn. with insect net and Smokey Neighbour, wrangler, raised on farm and forest of northern Alberta.*

Left: *Horses of the 1931 Mary Henry Botanical Expedition crossing one of the many fast flowing rivers in the Rockies of northeastern BC*

the Dominion Topographical Survey Branch.

1931-1935 — THE MARY HENRY BOTANICAL EXPEDITIONS. THE TROPICAL VALLEY AND THE CROSSING OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA FROM ALBERTA TO THE PACIFIC.

Mrs. Mary Henry, a botanist and horticulturist from Philadelphia, USA, vacationing in Jasper National Park in 1929 and 1930, heard rumours of the existence of a "tropical" valley and thermal springs in northern BC from a prospector. Unusual plants are often found around hot springs. She therefore inquired about the possibility of a visit. Not deterred by warnings, lack of maps, and hazards, she enlisted the support of Sir Henry Thornton, President of the Canadian National Railways, to mount an expedition to locate the thermal springs and to collect plants in the largest unmapped spot in Canada. The result was that, in 1931, a party was organized by Mr. Stan Clarke, guide and outfitter from Jasper National Park, to which Knox McCusker was seconded by the Dominion Topographical Survey Branch as a surveyor.

It was a large and successful expedition that collected plants and located the Toad River Hotsprings, but they missed the rumoured large hot springs, known today as the Liard River Hotsprings, designated as a provincial park. Mrs. Henry employed Knox McCusker to organize her botanical expeditions in 1932, 1933, and 1935.[1] The expeditions were remarkable in a number of ways. Not a horse was lost in four seasons of travel over difficult terrain, but on one occasion an important food supply was lost from a raft in crossing a stream. This impeded but did not deter the travel. Large, representative collections of pressed plants and some living specimens were added to the herbaria and botanical gardens of Scotland and the United States. Many additions were made to reconnaissance maps of the area and a number of prominent features (mountains, rivers, and lakes) were given names. It was demonstrated for all to appreciate that crossing northern British Columbia from Alberta to the Pacific was possible and reasonable. Mr. Lemarque, route manager for the much heralded but unsuccessful Bedeaux expedition which used motorized transport, acknowledged the indebtedness to Knox McCusker's maps and information. Bedeaux should and could have succeeded because McCusker and the Mary Henry expeditions had demonstrated that the terrain of the Northern Rockies and the Foothills was, in season, a pleasant and beautiful land and far from being as formidable an obstacle as once imagined.

1941-1942—ROUTING AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE ALASKA HIGHWAY AND NORTHWEST AIR STAGING ROUTE

The US Army Corps of Engineers gave McCusker a medal for his work on this enormous construction job. He is one reason why the projects were consummated so quickly. Mac was able to lay out the routes to follow for road and airfield: "no trial lines to swing around obstacles but straight go ahead." Says one of his friends: "He was able to show what men to use in certain work, how to guard against the extreme cold, where and how to build camps and airfields. He understood the overseeing of some of the work himself and expended much of his great energy in the project." His friend goes on to tell how Mac beat the freeze up with a load of heavy machinery for the Fort Nelson airfield when it was critical to get on with ferrying the planes to Russia. His success and knowledge of terrain and weather saved many months in vital construction work and enabled the Americans to meet their delivery dates of aircraft to the Russians for the Eastern Front of World War II.

To end a paraphrase of the words of a friend of Knox McCusker: "Mac ended his days near Fort St. John on the best ranch in the country with the best spring of cool water that never dries up, with the best house in the neighbourhood and with the best wife in the world. His eyes shone bright and his laugh is deep when he tells his stories about the lands of the Peace and beyond."

[1] For more on the Mary Henry expeditions see: V.C. Brink and R.S. Silver, "Mary Henry: Pioneer Botanist of the Northern Rockies," in *BC Historical News*, vol. 30, no. 1, (Winter 1996-1997).

Below: *A Mary Henry Botanical Expedition pack train crossing alpine tundra in northeastern BC*

Photo courtesy V.C. Brink

Joseph Whidbey: a Nearly Forgotten Explorer of the Pacific Northwest

by John M. Naish

THE MAN whose name was given to a large island (population: 80,000) in the state of Washington and who was later largely responsible for an original engineering project—the building of a detached breakwater across Plymouth Sound in England—had almost been forgotten at the time of the bicentenary of his birth in 1954. At no time has there been an entry for him in the 21-volume British *Dictionary of National Biography;* though those who live long enough will see a six hundred word entry for him in the *New Dictionary of National Biography,* now being prepared and due to be published early in the new millennium. The lettering on his stone tomb in St. James' churchyard in Taunton, England is wearing away but his memory has been refreshed by a brass plaque newly placed in an extension to the St. James' church hall. The chosen wording is the work of Andrew David, late of the Hydrographic Department of the Ministry of Defence in Taunton and an internationally renowned historian of eighteenth century Pacific exploration. It is appropriate that, now so soon after the pioneering voyage of 1791-95 has been commemorated by bicentenary conferences both in Vancouver and Anchorage, his achievements should be reviewed.

Unfortunately, due to the loss of key Admiralty records, the exact date and place of Whidbey's birth are unknown. Like so many officers and men of the Royal Navy he never found time or opportunity to marry, and we know nothing about what his contemporaries quaintly referred to as his "tender passions". Our knowledge of Joseph Whidbey begins in 1779 when, at the youngish age of 25 and during the height of the American Revolutionary Wars, he received his warrant as Master.[1] After attaining this rank, the most senior non-commissioned one, he was steadily employed in both war and peace, and in 1786 was made Master of *Europa*, the flagship of the American Squadron based in Kingston, Jamaica.[2] Here he became ship-mates with George Vancouver, one of *Europa*'s senior lieutenants, and they worked together on a hydrographic survey of the approaches to the port. Their definitive chart, which was later published, allowed the intricate approaches to be buoyed and marked. In 1790 he was appointed Master of *Discovery,* a new ship being fitted out for a voyage of exploration under Henry Roberts, one of James Cook's youngest cartographers. Whidbey was on board during much of 1790 and was largely responsible for the fitting out. When Vancouver succeeded to the command in November Whidbey was already familiar with the ship and guided Vancouver's hand during last-minute modifications. When the crews of *Discovery* and *Chatham* were finally mustered late in the year, Whidbey at the age of 36 was the oldest officer and almost the oldest individual on the voyage. He was certainly a guide and friend to Vancouver and was reported by Archibald Menzies, the naturalist, to be his "chief confidant" during the voyage.[3]

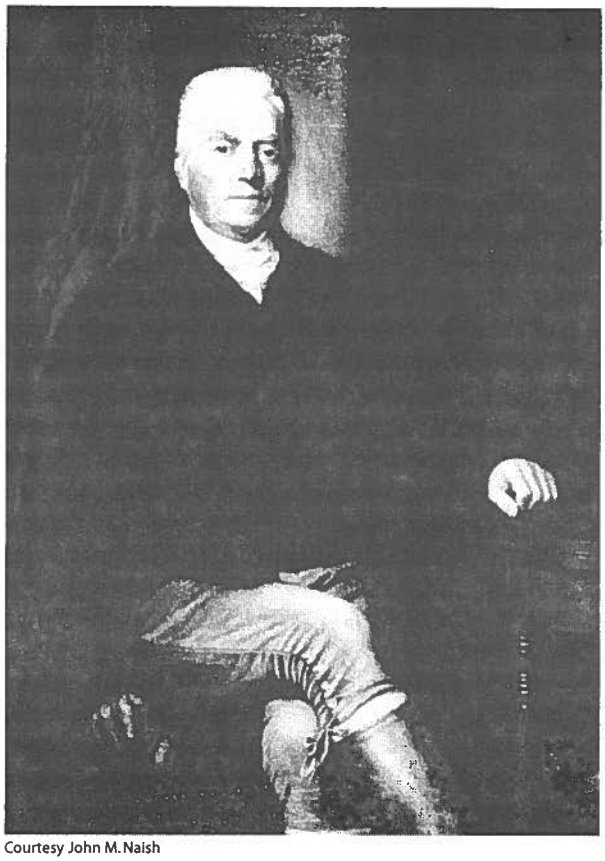
Plans had been made by the Admiralty for an astronomer to travel out in the store ship *Daedalus* to join the expedition in the late summer of 1792. Unfortunately the astronomer, Gooch, was killed along with his commander and a seaman in the island of Oahu before he had even reached the Northwest coast. Consequently, Vancouver and Whidbey had to share the duties of astronomical navigation and position fixing. It appears from a letter written by Whidbey to an unknown correspondent in England in January 1793[4] that Whidbey had possession of the Admiralty Instructions for the Astronomer and that he regarded himself as chiefly responsible for those duties. Certainly, Whidbey was always put in charge of the observatory tent and its precious array of instruments whenever he was not engaged in boat-explorations.

Owing to the nature of the coast between 48° N.Lat. and 61° N.Lat. the majority of the coastal surveys had to be made by small-boat expeditions. These boats were thoroughly refitted in Hawaii during the early months of 1793 so as to afford dry storage for the ammunition and a fort-

John Naish, a retired physician, lives near Bristol, England. Dr. Naish is the author of several books including *The Interwoven Lives of George Vancouver, Archibald Menzies, Joseph Whidbey and Peter Puget,* reviewed by J.E. Roberts in *BC Historical News* 30:1 (1996/97): 42-43.

[1] Steel's "List of the Navy", 1779: 38.
[2] PRO Adm 106/2809 gives the names of three of the ships Whidbey served in as Master: *Nimble* from 24 February 1779 to 8 March 1779; *Greenwich* from 14 June 1780 to 26 September 1780; *Juno* from 24 September 1780 to 16 March 1785; then on 21 April he joined the *Expedition*, the flagship of the American squadron, transferring to *Europa* with the admiral shortly afterward.
[3] W. Kaye Lamb, ed., *The Voyage of George Vancouver 1791 - 1795* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1984), 220. Quoting Menzies' letter to Banks, 21 October 1796.
[4] Lamb, *Voyage*, 1637. Letter from Whidbey at Monterey, 3 January, 1793.

Right: *Joseph Widbey's portrait, painted by J. Ponsford of Modbury, Devonshire, about 1814. Dr. Naish comments: "It was probably commisioned and paid for by John Rennie, for it was subsequently given by his son, George Rennie, to the Institution of Civil Engineers of Great George Street, London, England, where it now hangs in the entrance foyer on the first floor. The illustration shown here is from a copy discovered in a Portsmouth junk room about 1980 and shipped over to Vancouver for the centenary celebrations. I was not able to photograph the original due to the glare from the protective glass."*



Courtesy John M. Naish

night's provisions. Awnings provided some shelter for the crews if they were compelled to spend the night in the boats; this happened often enough because of the steep and rocky nature of the shoreline or because of perceived threats from large gatherings of Natives, mainly the Tlingits, whose customs and bold behaviour were an enigma for the explorers. The latter used their firearms mainly as warnings but there was one incident in August 1793 when, after a boat had been invaded and two members of the crew wounded by spear thrusts, the other boat fired a swivel gun at the Tlingit canoes and several men were killed. Whidbey was not present on this occasion but the journals of both Vancouver and Menzies show that Whidbey was extremely judicious and emollient during Native contacts.

During the first year of exploration from 30 April to August 1792 when the continental shores of Puget Sound, the Strait of Georgia, Desolation Sound and Queen Charlotte Sound were being surveyed, Whidbey usually accompanied Peter Puget who, though very young, was a commissioned officer and thus senior and placed in command of the two boats. It seems clear from the accounts of Vancouver, Menzies, and Manby that Whidbey was the man who did all the most onerous surveying work. On the occasion of the survey of the shores of Whidbey Island, which at the time was thought to be a long peninsula, Whidbey was in sole charge of the cutter; his log of the exploration, which was incorporated in Vancouver's Journal, showed that he enjoyed excellent relations with the Natives, a band of the Coast Salish who regularly sheared their packs of dogs for the wool to decorate their bark-fibre cloth. One of their chiefs came on board the cutter to enjoy the explorer's meal. Most Natives relished a mixture of bread and molasses though they were a bit suspicious of the salt pork because they suspected the Europeans of cannibalism. On shore, one of the Natives was convinced that Whidbey's white skin was painted and he insisted that Joseph should unbutton his shirt to see whether he was really white all over.

Whidbey was always given the task of sounding out suitable anchorage for the ships when it had been decided to make a prolonged stay for the purposes of repair, crew health, and astronomical position fixing. Whidbey's explorations covered just short of a thousand miles during 1792, half south of the 49th parallel and half north up to 51° N.Lat.[5]. At that time the boats were not properly equipped for long surveys in the rainy, foggy, and squally conditions met with north of Vancouver Island, and the boats' crews suffered great hardships. The words of Archibald Menzies who joined several of Whidbey's explorations express with Celtic flare what they had to endure: "Men...in open boats exposed to the cold rigorous blasts of a high northern situation.... performing toilsome labour on their Oars in the day and alternately watching for their safety at night, with no other couch to repose upon than the Cold Stony Beach or the wet mossy Turf in damp woody situations ....enduring at times the tormenting pangs of both hunger and thirst ....." [6].

After spending the winter months of 1792/1793 in the Hawaiian Islands where Whidbey made some surveys, notably a first but incomplete one of Pearl Harbor in March, *Discovery* reached Nootka Sound again in May and began, rather late in the season, the arduous surveys up to and beyond the present Alaskan border. Despite the frequent spells of atrocious weather the modifications which had been made to the boats allowed longer absences from the ships. Due to Vancouver's deteriorating health the responsibilities for surveying by boat fell largely to Whidbey

[5] The estimate of boat-miles travelled is very approximate, and is based both on chart mileage, allowing for detours, and an estimated average of 30 miles for each full day away from the mothership. Vancouver's own boat exploration of the Behm Canal in August 1793 lasted 23 days and was estimated by him to have covered 700 geographical miles. This Journal record acts as a calibrator for other boat journeys. The length of a single day's voyage would depend mainly on the weather.

[6] A. Menzies "Journal", British Library Add. MS 32641. Entry for 18 August 1792.

and to Johnstone, Master of *Chatham*. Whidbey covered more than a thousand miles in that year, his most formidable voyages being the exploration from Princess Royal Channel to Gardner Channel and the approaches to Kitimat. Later, the passage through the Grenville Channel to the estuary of the Skeena lasted almost a fortnight. In August he had a well-earned rest at Salmon Cove in Observatory Inlet while Vancouver was making his record-breaking circumnavigation of Revilla Gigedo Island and the complex Behm Canal.[7]

The last year of the Northwest survey, 1794, was one in which the increasing ill health of Vancouver and the frigid April start in the high latitudes of Cook Inlet put enormous strain on the fortitude and stamina of Joseph Whidbey, now nearly 40 years of age. During his two long surveys of Cross Sound, Lynn Channel, Stephens Passage and Frederick Sound he travelled a thousand miles in wretched conditions of floating ice and frequent rain. His total boat travel for the whole year was 1,500 miles.[8]

The voyage ended for Whidbey when *Discovery* moored in the Thames in October 1795. He had already made known to Vancouver that he considered his sea-going days to be over and that he would like to be a Master Attendant at one of His Majesty's dockyards. Vancouver supported his request and wrote enthusiastic accounts of Whidbey's behaviour and achievement during the voyage. The Admiralty accepted the proposal and, until a suitable vacancy should occur, he was sent to Portsmouth where he appeared on the books of *Non Pareil*. No doubt he was learning about his future dockyard duties which would include the care and maintenance of all boats and tenders, beaconage, buoyage and dredging of channels together with salvage operations when necessary. In 1799 he was detached to make a hydrographic survey of Torbay with a view to the possible building of a breakwater to make it a safe Fleet anchorage. The resulting chart was published in his name.[9]

Meanwhile he had been appointed Master Attendant at Sheerness dockyard. Something must be said at this point about his relations with Vancouver after the voyage and before Vancouver's death, in May 1798. It is possible that Whidbey had become disillusioned by Vancouver's failures in the management of men and in the exercise of his command though there is no hint in the surviving journals or letters of an open rift. However, as soon as the voyage was over Whidbey's actions proclaimed him an enemy of Vancouver. There is nothing to show that Whidbey visited his erstwhile commander when he was dying, probably of chronic nephritis, at Petersham. On the other hand we know from a letter Archibald Menzies wrote to Sir Joseph Banks, dated 21 October 1796 at Portsmouth, that Whidbey was only too willing to provide the great man with evidence exculpating the arrogant and psychopathic ex-midshipman, Thomas Pitt 2nd Baron Camelford and, by inference, accusing Vancouver of intolerance and cruelty. Menzies' letter contains an extensive statement from Whidbey in which he makes light of Camelford's breach of discipline in Tahiti, in January 1792, when he bartered a piece of ship's iron for a favour from a young Tahitian woman. Whidbey mocks Vancouver's charge against the midshipman of "purloining ship's property". By thus making nothing of Camelford's infraction and ridiculing Vancouver, Whidbey seems to have forgotten that on arrival in Tahiti Vancouver had issued strict orders that any sale of ship's property would be treated as a very serious offence. I think we can understand why Vancouver threatened such draconian punishments for this offence; laxity on his part would surely have led to dismantling of the ship's equipment. In the part of Menzies' letter devoted to Whidbey's statement we gather that Whidbey writes of Camelford's alleged crimes: "I know of none", and of his future: "he will prove an ornament to his profession."[10] In view of Camelford's later career and short life of violence and aggression culminating in his death in a duel,[11] Whidbey's assessment of the young man must be seen either as a complete misjudgement of his character or, worse, as a deliberate attempt to curry favour with Sir Joseph Banks at the expense of his former shipmate and commander. Whichever explanation is correct it is a serious blot on Whidbey's reputation. By 1796 when the statement was made, the tide of public opinion had set strongly against Vancouver. The general ridicule of him amongst his former ship's company and amongst the upper echelons of society had already condemned him to spend the remaining few months of his life in utter despair.[12]

Whidbey's cultivation of Sir Joseph paid off in many ways. He was promptly paid for his services as astronomer by the Board of Longitude whereas Vancouver's parallel claim was apparently ignored.[13] The all-powerful Sir Joseph promoted

[7] See note 4.

[8] See note 4.

[9] John M. Naish, "Joseph Whidbey and the Building of the Plymouth Breakwater," *The Mariner's Mirror* 78 (1992): 37.

[10] Lamb, *Voyage*, 1633–1634. Quoting letter from Menzies to Banks, Oct, 21 1796. Includes statement from Whidbey.

[11] Nikolai Tolstoy, *The Half-Mad Lord: Thomas Pitt 2nd Lord Camelford* (London: 1978).

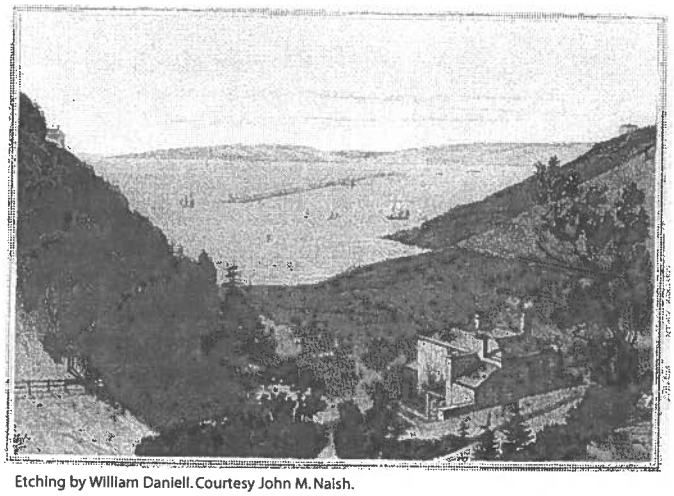
[12] John M. Naish, *The Interwoven Lives of George Vancouver, Archibald Menzies, Joseph Whidbey and Peter Puget* (Lewiston. NY: The Edward Mellen Press, 1996).

[13] Lamb, *Voyage*, 222.

[14] Fisher, R. and H. Johnson, *From Maps to Metaphors* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993), 244.

Right: *Bovisand, near Plymouth, 1825, where Whidbey lived at that time. Note the Plymouth breakwater.*

Whidbey's Fellowship of the Royal Society. Significantly, he never did the same service for his devoted nominee on the voyage, Archibald Menzies, who probably deserved it as much but had irritated the great man by the dilatory preparation of his Journal which Banks had hoped to have published before Vancouver's Journal was ready for the press.[14] Undoubtedly Banks, who had had so much to do with the planning of the exploration of the Northwest, had decided that the outstanding success of the survey was due in large part to the stamina and common sense of Whidbey. Although admitting the validity of such an opinion, it is sad that so few of his officers empathized with the immense strain that the overall command put on Vancouver.



Etching by William Daniell. Courtesy John M. Naish.

This digression on the subject of his relations with his former commander has been necessary in order to throw light on Whidbey's second successful career as a Civil Engineer. This began when he was Master Attendant at Sheerness and particularly when he salvaged the frigate *Ambuscade* which had sunk in 25 feet of water LWS [14] on the Nore Bank. This feat attracted a good deal of publicity and led to Sir Joseph Banks' asking for a full account of the methods in a paper for the Royal Society which he himself read from the chair in 1803.[16] The circumstances of the salvage are worth recalling as they illustrate Whidbey's ingenuity. The *Ambuscade* had gone down under full sail and the hull was firmly embedded in the sticky mud of the Thames estuary. Whidbey, who appreciated the great adhesive power of mud, decided that the wreck could not be shifted until it was first freed from mud suction and that he should use the hefty Thames tidal range to effect this. First dismasting and de-gunning the ship, he ranged a large auxiliary vessel alongside the frigate with four other smaller vessels bow-on to its other side. He then rove strong cables through the deck spaces of the hull to the capstans in the auxiliaries. They were hove tight at low water and then he waited for the flood to lift her clear of the mud; this happened without any cables parting and the *Ambuscade* came upright. After further adjustments during succeeding tides the locked-together ships were able to drive with the wind to a shore near Sheerness where it was established that the frigate had suffered hardly any damage.

Whidbey's promotion to the far larger dockyard of Woolwich followed, and in 1805, his election as Fellow of the Royal Society. Around this time his long friendship with John Rennie, the already famous civil engineer, began and flourished. This together with the patronage of Banks and Earl St. Vincent, who had commissioned his survey of Torbay, determined his later appointment as Superintending Engineer for the building of the Plymouth Breakwater which commenced in 1811. The full story of this massive and original work is recounted elsewhere by the present author,[17] but the key events were first the hydrographic and geological survey of Plymouth Sound and the subsequent report dated 21 April 1806 by Rennie, Whidbey, and Hemmans, a previous Master Attendant at Plymouth who had local knowledge.[18]

Their conclusion and plan for a central detached breakwater were in the course of approval by the Admiralty, the matter being urgent due to the vulnerability of the Channel Fleet which was without a secure base in the west of England from which to command the blockade of Brest. However, the Battle of Austerlitz, the death of William Pitt, and subsequent changes of government caused the project to be postponed until it was revived again during the Regency in 1811. Whidbey was first on detached duty from Woolwich and lodged at the Pope's Head in Plymouth with a salary of £1,000 p.a. plus expenses and the service of a clerk. Later he moved out to a newish Regency-style house in Bovisand Bay from which he could look out on the site of the breakwater which began to be visible at low water springs in 1814 and was acting as an efficient

[15] LWS = Low water springs, i.e. the lowest level to which the water sinks during spring tides. The spring tidal range at Sheerness is 5.2 meters.

[16] *Transactions of the Royal Society,* 28 April, 1803: 321-324.

[17] Naish, "Joseph Whidbey", 1992.

[18] E. Moon, *Report on the History of the Plymouth Breakwater.* (Public Services Library, Devonport, Plymouth)

[19] Margaret Green, William Buckland's model of Plymouth Breakwater: some geological and scientific connexions. *Archives of Natural History.* 23 [2]: 219-244. 1996.

[20] Naish, *The Interwoven Lives,* 397. Quoting letter in Box 19798 of Rennie Archives, National Library of Scotland.

shelter for men-of-war by 1815. Over two million tons of limestone were quarried from Oreston where modern iron rails and trolleys were used to handle the heavier blocks. Natural caverns were opened up during the quarrying and Whidbey was perspicacious enough to note that ancient animal bones were preserved in them. Thus, late in his career and when he was over seventy, Whidbey came to be the author of two more papers in the Transactions of the Royal Society. Some of the bones had gone for analysis to Sir Everard Home, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, and others to the Reverend Richard Buckland, a geologist of Oxford University, who was a world expert on the palaeontology of caves. The bones were identified as those of extinct European animals notably rhinoceros, a primitive bear and hyena.

The story of the collaboration between Whidbey and Richard Buckland has recently been told by Margaret Green in the *Archives of Natural History*.[19] It was the finding of a polished limestone model of the Plymouth Breakwater in the Oxford Geological Collections which caused Margaret Green to investigate the connection between Buckland and Whidbey. Whidbey had sent the model to Buckland in 1826, perhaps as a belated wedding gift, for Buckland had been made a Canon of Christ Church and had married in 1825. Whidbey by this time was in his early seventies and preparing to retire. It is strange to think of the former warrant officer and intrepid explorer of the Northwest rubbing shoulders with the "good and great" of England. There had even been talk of a knighthood for him in 1815 but Whidbey scorned the idea in a letter to Rennie, feeling that the only good of "such a handle to my name" would have been to aid him in his dealings with the Navy Board whom he found impossibly bureaucratic and obstructive.[20]

After a period of ill health and after the death of his great friend, John Rennie, Whidbey retired at the age of 75 to Taunton where he bought the substantial property of St. James House right opposite St. James Church. He was a congenial and interesting man who had a large circle of friends many of whom, even old shipmates from *Discovery*, were remembered in his will. This will, engrossed in 1832 a year before Whidbey's death in October 1833, is still available.[21] His residuary legatee was Mary Ann Burn who was married to a sailor, address unknown. She was the daughter of Nancy Jackson, Joseph's favourite (and possibly only) niece who had kept house for her uncle during his middle age. The task later fell to an ex-naval man, Henry Oglan and his wife Catherine, the two being beneficiaries of a trust which enabled them to continue living in St. James House after Whidbey died and to collect rents from neighbouring properties. In August 1834, the year after Whidbey's death, a trial was held at the Wells Assize on the subject of Whidbey's testamentary capacity. The suit was brought by the Burn family and other unnamed relatives on the ground that at the time when Whidbey made his last will, on 13 May 1833, he was not of sound mind, memory and understanding. The plaintiff and the defendant called over 80 witnesses. The contention of the Burns relatives was that the banker Woodforde had used undue influence on a senile Whidbey so that he, Woodforde, was made the residuary legatee if Mary Ann Burn should die without issue. The jury found unanimously in favour of the plaintiff, Woodforde, so the will executed in May 1833 was upheld. The trial was fully reported in *The Taunton Courier* of 20 August 1834.

As for Whidbey's character, those who have read the accounts of the great voyage, his reports, and letters must agree with the conclusion of Samuel Smiles who, in the second volume of his *Lives of the Engineers*, in the chapter on John Rennie, writes about Whidbey: [22]

> His varied experience had produced rich fruits in a mind naturally robust and vigorous. As might be expected he was an excellent seaman. He was also a man of considerable acquaintance with practical science and had acquired from experience a large knowledge of human nature of a kind not to be derived from books.... He was greatly beloved and respected by all who knew him.

Photo: courtesy Mr. Harry Moore.

Left: *Bovisand as it is today.*

[21] The last will and testament of J. Whidbey is in PROB. No. 11/1828/127.
[22] Smiles, Samuel. *Lives of the Engineers.* Vol 2. (1874) 349.

Managing Multiple Narratives
Alexander Mackenzie at Nuxalk Territory, 1793[1]

by Sam Dunn

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A culture that discovers what is alien to itself simultaneously manifests what is in itself.[2]

—Bernard McGrane (1989)

On July 19, 1793, fur trader Alexander Mackenzie became the first person of European origin to cross the North American continent. Along with fellow North West Company (NWC) trader Alexander McKay, Mackenzie travelled to the Pacific Ocean in search of a commercial link to the Orient. Their long and arduous journey from Fort Chipewyan at Lake Athabaska to the Bella Coola River is well documented in Mackenzie's journal, originally published in *Voyages from Montreal* (London, 1801), and this event has since crystallized in the Euro-Canadian imagination as a "heroic" moment in the westward expansion of the fur trade.[3] Indeed, Mackenzie's journal has been the primary "lens" through which scholars and the general public have viewed his arrival at Nuxalk territory in the summer of 1793.[4] As a result, Mackenzie's relationship with the Nuxalk has been interpreted primarily in economic terms: it was an important step towards establishing a new regional economy on the Pacific.[5]

This paper aims to show that contact between Mackenzie and the Nuxalk also constituted a cultural encounter between peoples of different social, cultural, political and economic backgrounds. This encounter can best be understood by comparing and contrasting several contact narratives. Until recently, scholars have largely accepted Mackenzie's written account as "the" account of contact and trade in the Bella Coola valley. That is, Mackenzie's journal has been treated as providing an objective, detached and therefore truthful depiction of this encounter, while the Nuxalk's own version of the story has been undervalued. An important focus of this paper is to understand why Nuxalk oral history, and, by extension, oral narratives in general, have not been treated as valid sources of information on contact situations.

Ethnohistorians, social historians, and anthropologists are paying increasing attention to the ways in which oral and written accounts can together be used to enhance our understanding of the past. Anthropologist Julie Cruikshank notes that oral and written sources may provide contrasting accounts of past events.[6] In some cases there may be considerable disagreement between sources over what actually happened in the past.[7] Cruikshank also suggests, however, that because all accounts are embedded in unique social contexts—in which factors such as race, ethnicity, class, and gender play important roles—historical narratives should not be "sifted for facts," but rather analyzed in terms of the information they provide on the cultural values of the respective narrators.[8] Other scholars, such as anthropologist Jonathan Hill, have argued that "history is not reducible to the what 'really happened' of past events" because narration is a selective, interpretive process.[9] In other words, because individual viewpoints are limited by particular sociocultural backgrounds, the telling of past events *necessarily* involves the selection of certain details over others. From this perspective, then, all historical "facts" are culturally mediated.[10]

With this theoretical perspective in mind, this paper examines how Mackenzie's written account and Nuxalk oral narratives enhance our understanding of contact and trade at Bella Coola River in 1793. Each account offers a unique version of Mackenzie's arrival. This paper will not focus, however, on the "facts" that can be rendered from these diverse sources. I am not looking for the "real story" in the past. Nor will I attempt to meld these texts into one "indisputable truth."[11] Instead, I find it more interesting and useful to focus on the cultural values that underlie and inform the actions and words of Mackenzie and Nuxalk men and women. With respect to oral history, this paper argues that Nuxalk narratives do not simply provide an *alternative* view of Mackenzie's published account. Rather, these accounts are equally valid sources of historical data. They

[1] I wish to thank Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy for providing me with the oral accounts of Mackenzie's arrival at the Bella Coola Valley. This essay would never have materialized without their assistance. I would especially like to thank Randy Bouchard and Wendy Wickwire, both of whom made helpful suggestions along the way.

[2] Bernard McGrane, *Beyond Anthropology: Society and the Other* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 1.

[3] For a celebratory account of Mackenzie's Pacific journey, see Richard P. Bishop, *Mackenzie's Rock* (Ottawa: Printed at the Government Printing Bureau, 1924 [?]).

[4] Wendy C. Wickwire, "To See Ourselves as the Other's Other: Nlaka'pamux Contact Narratives," *Canadian Historical Review* 75 (1994), 2.

[5] For an economic perspective on the western fur trade, see Richard Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793-1843* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997).

[6] Julie Cruikshank, "Discovery of Gold on the Klondike: Perspectives from Oral Tradition," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History,*

are shaped by the interests and needs of the Nuxalk, and therefore provide unique information on the socio-cultural contexts in which they are enmeshed.

Alexander Mackenzie: A Brief Background

Alexander Mackenzie was born in 1764 in Stornoway, Isle of Lewis, Scotland. One of four children, Alexander emigrated to the United States with his father at the age of ten. Shortly after being orphaned in 1778, Mackenzie moved north to pursue a career in the fur trade. Working for the firm of Gregory, MacLeod, in 1784, he made his first trading trip to Detroit. Later in the same year, Gregory, MacLeod amalgamated with the newly formed North West Company, and Mackenzie began to make plans for a westward expedition in search of a route to the markets of the Orient.[12]

On his first expedition in 1789, Mackenzie followed what was to become the Mackenzie River, only to discover that it did not lead west, but rather north to the Arctic Ocean. Mackenzie was well aware of the causes of his failure to find a route to the Pacific in 1789: "I was not only without the necessary books and instruments, but also felt myself deficient in the sciences of astronomy and navigation."[13] To prepare for a second expedition along the Peace and Fraser Rivers, Mackenzie compiled as much information as possible on Native trade routes, and also went to England to learn basic navigational skills.[14] Mackenzie's plans for the second, "Pacific," journey were far more elaborate than those for his first trip. As historian Richard Mackie notes, Mackenzie, along with London geographer Alexander Dalrymple, "devised a model for the territorial control and commercial exploitation of the Pacific region of the fur trade."[15] Mackenzie expressed his intentions as a commercial entrepreneur in the preface to his journal:

> I was led, at an early period of my life, by commercial views, to the country North-West of Lake Superior, in North America, and being endowed by Nature with an inquisitive mind and enterprising spirit; possessing also a constitution and frame of body equal to the most arduous undertakings, and being familiar with toilsome exertions in the prosecution of mercantile pursuits, I not only contemplated the practicability of penetrating across the continent of America, but was confident in the qualifications, as I was animated by the desire, to undertake the perilous enterprise.[16]

Mackenzie clearly viewed himself as the best person for the job. His whole-hearted commitment to finding a route west was also acknowledged by his fellow travellers. As one crewman from the first voyage remarked:

> "[Mackenzie was] a man of masterful temperament, and those who accompanied him, whether white men or natives, were merely so many instruments to be used in the accomplishment of any purpose which he had in mind."[17]

Mackenzie's character earned him a rather ambiguous relationship not only with his own crewmen, but also with the various Native peoples he traded with during his travels.

Mackenzie's investigation of the Pacific region's economic and commercial potential began in earnest in May, 1793. [18] His initial crew consisted of ten men: Alexander McKay, his second-in-command; six French-Canadian *voyageurs* (two of whom had been members of his first expedition); and two Sekani men who acted as guides and interpreters.[19] Mackenzie and his crew travelled west from Fort Fork along the Peace River to the Parsnip, and then south along the Parsnip to the Fraser. His route west from the Fraser followed well-beaten Carrier travel routes to the Coast Mountains. Mackenzie entered Nuxalk territory from the east, descending the Coastals along Burnt Bridge Creek to the Bella Coola River. This paper takes up Mackenzie's narrative upon his arrival at the village of *Nutteax*[20] (or Burnt Bridge) on July 17, 1793. But first, a brief description of Nuxalk culture and economy at the time of Mackenzie's arrival is provided.

Essay submitted for the British Columbia Historical Federation Scholarship competition 1998. Recomended by Dr. Elizabeth Vibert, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Victoria.

eds. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996), 433.

[7] See, for example, Frieda Esau Klippenstein, "The Challenge of James Douglas and Carrier Chief Kwah," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, eds. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996).

[8] Cruikshank, "Discovery of Gold on the Klondike," 435.

[9] Jonathan D. Hill, "Introduction: Myth and History," in *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past*, ed. Jonathan D. Hill (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 2.

[10] Klippenstein, "The Challenge of James Douglas and Carrier Chief Kwah," 147.

[11] Elizabeth Vibert, *Traders' Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 5.

[12] Germaine Warkentin, ed. *Canadian Exploration Literature: An Anthology* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), 260-1.

[13] W. Kaye Lamb, ed. *The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970), 58.

[14] Lamb, *Journals*, 18.

[15] Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains*, 3.

[16] Lamb, *Journals*, 57.

[17] Mackenzie does not give the name of this crewman. Lamb, *Journals*, 22.

[8] Mackenzie's Pacific journey officially began at Fort Chipewyan in October 1792. However, his crew was forced to stop at Fort Fork (located at the intersection of the Peace River and the Smoky) in order to repair canoes and replenish supplies. Several authors treat Mackenzie's departure from Fort Fork as the starting point of his Pacific voyage. See Lamb *Journals and Letters*, 21 and Warkentin, *Canadian Exploration Literature* , 265.

[19] Lamb, *Journals*, 21.

[20] Mackenzie later named this settlement "Friendly Village." The spellings used throughout this paper for Nuxalk villages and other place names follow as close as possible those given by anthropologists Dorothy Kennedy and Randy Bouchard, and ethnographer Thomas McIlwraith.

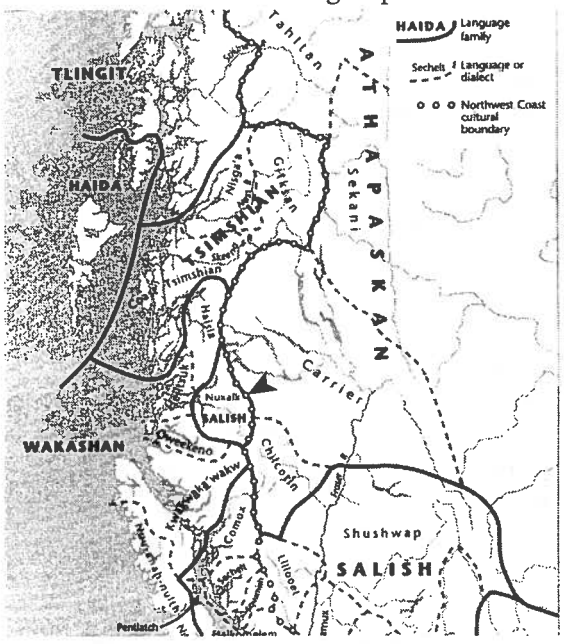
[21] Today, *Nuxalk* is the general term of reference for the people of the Bella Coola Valley. Although referred to as the "Bella Coola" in fur trader and subsequent government and ethnographic documents, the term *Nuxalk* is used here to respect its revival as a term of self-identification for the people of the valley. For an insightful discussion of the importance of "naming" in First Nations/Euro-Canadian relations, see Ken G. Brealey, "Mapping them 'Out'": Euro-Canadian Cartography and the Appropriation of the Nuxalk and Ts'ilhqot'in in First Nations' Territories, 1793-1916," *The Canadian Geographer* 39 (1995), 140-156.

[22] Dorothy I.D. Kennedy

Nuxalk Language, Culture and Economy

The Nuxalk[21] speak a Coast Salish language that is geographically isolated from the rest of the Salishan family. The Nuxalk are surrounded by a number of Wakashan-speaking peoples: the Haisla to the north, the Heiltsuk and Oweekeno to the west, and the Kwakwaka'wakw to the south. The Nuxalk are bordered to the east by two Athapaskan-speaking groups, the Chilcotin and the Carrier.

In the late eighteenth century, the Nuxalk lived in several permanent villages along the major channels, rivers and creeks of the Bella Coola Valley. The abundant supply of food and other resources in the area allowed the Nuxalk to remain sedentary throughout the year, apart from occasional excursions to seasonal camps to exploit specific resources. Nuxalk subsistence was based primarily on fish (mostly salmon and eulachons), procured mainly by traps set in weirs across rivers and creeks. The Nuxalk also hunted animals (particularly the mountain goat) for food, clothing, and medicines. Although the Nuxalk shared a common language, the villages did not form a single political unit. Rather, Nuxalk political and economic life was centred around the descent group, in which an individual traced his or her membership patrilineally (i.e. through the male line). Fish weirs and hunting areas, for example, were controlled by individual descent groups. In terms of external relations, the Nuxalk traded and intermarried with the Heiltsuk, Chilcotin, and Carrier, but also had had many so-called "wars" with these groups.[22]



A part of a map drawn by Eric Leinberger reproduced with kind permission from Richard Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains*, UBC Press, 1997.

Right: *Native language groups showing the Salish speaking Nuxalk and their neighbours.*

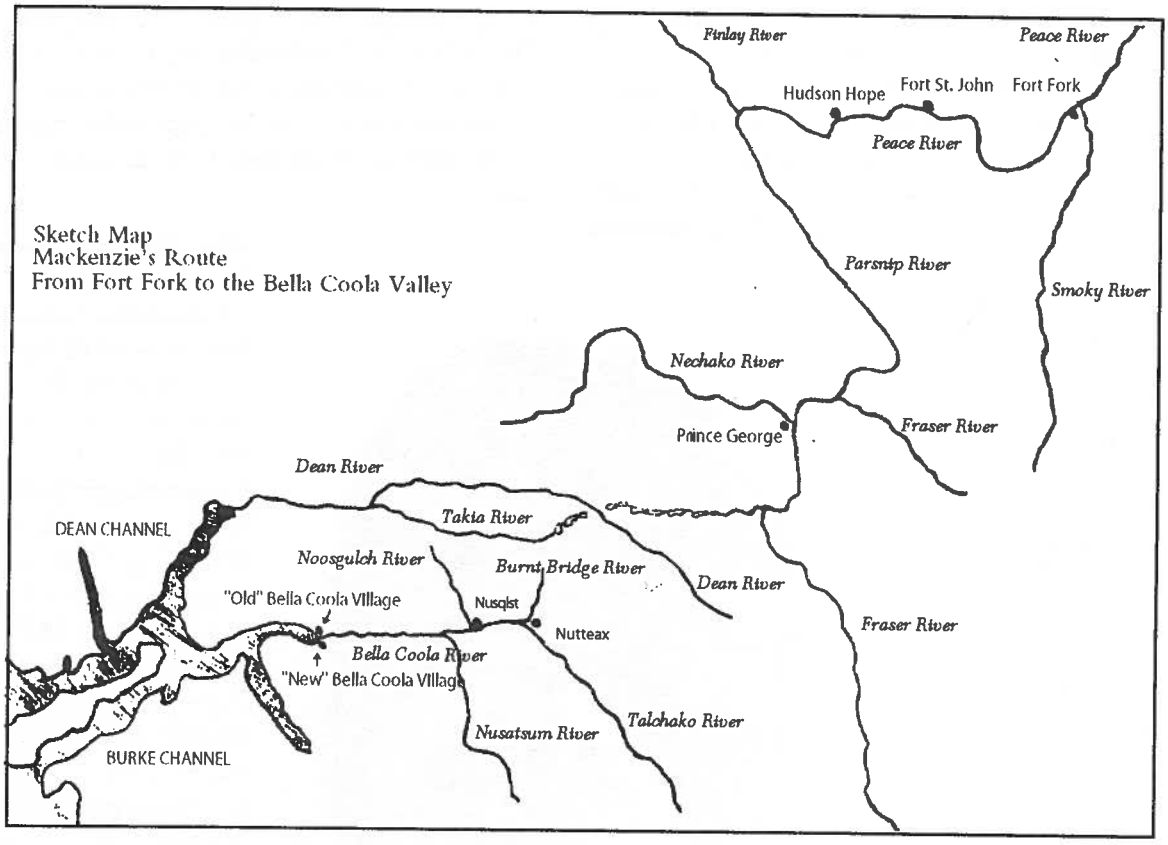
Hospitality at Friendly Village

It is important to note that Mackenzie's original journals underwent considerable revision before publication in 1801. Even though the original logbook for the Pacific journey is no longer extant, several scholars have noted that William Combe, an English literary hack, put the finishing touches on Mackenzie's manuscript. In the Preface to *Voyages*, Mackenzie himself recognized the limits of his own hand:

> I must beg leave to inform my readers, that they are not to expect the charms of embellished narrative, or animated description; the approbation due to simplicity and to truth is all I presume to claim; and I am not without hope that this claim will be allowed me. I have described whatever I saw with the impressions of the moment which presented it to me.[23]

Like so many other fur traders and explorers, Mackenzie aimed to produce an objective, first-hand account of the day-to-day activities of the Native peoples he came into contact with. Mackenzie attempted to establish that he had "been there, looking and recording."[24] Phrases such as "I observed" and "I saw" punctuate Mackenzie's narrative, thus confirming his authority as a witness to the behaviour of foreign peoples.

One of the most powerful images that emerges from Mackenzie's text in his description of the Nuxalk is the image of "friendship." On the evening of July 17, Mackenzie and his crew arrived at the village of *Nutteax* seeking food and lodging after a long descent into the valley. Mackenzie was instantly impressed by the hospitality of the villagers: "I walked into one of [the huts] without the least ceremony, threw down my burden and, after shaking hands with some of them, sat down upon it. They received me without the least appearance of surprize...."[25] After meeting the chief of the village (whose name does not appear in the text), Mackenzie and his crew were treated to a large meal consisting of roasted salmon, gooseberries, and various herbs. Mackenzie seems to suggest that his hosts were predisposed towards this sort of behaviour: "Having been regaled with these delicacies, for they were considered by that hospitable spirit which provided them, we laid ourselves down to rest with no other canopy than the sky...."[26] Before his departure the following day, Mackenzie offered goods to the chief in return for the hospitality afforded the crew: "I presented my friend with several articles, and also distributed some among others of the na-



Left: *Sketchmap of Mackenzie's approach to the coast. Courtesy Sam Dunn*

tives who had been attentive to us."[27] Since Mackenzie was planning to return to Friendly Village after reaching the Pacific Ocean, he was determined to establish good trade relations with the chief and the other villagers.

Descriptions of friendship, reciprocity, and (future) trade are found throughout the writings of fur traders and explorers. In his discussion of contact and trade between Captain Cook and the Nuu-Chah-Nulth at Nootka Sound, historical geographer Daniel Clayton argues that the images of friendship and the prospect of trade found within Cook's journal cannot be properly analyzed without taking into account his interests and goals as a European explorer in search of trade on the Northwest Coast. These images, according to Clayton, "helped confirm [Cook's] status as a gentle and humane explorer."[28] In Mackenzie's case, these sorts of images were employed in order to bolster his reputation as a successful commercial entrepreneur on the frontier of the western fur trade. Phrases like "my friend"[29] and "regard and friendship"[30] are repeated throughout the text to earn the confidence of a Euro-Canadian[31] readership that held expressed interest in the future commercial exploitation of this western hinterland region. As such, Mackenzie's account implicitly, though no less powerfully, reflects broader interests than simply establishing friendships on the Northwest Coast.

Hostility at Great Village

Other images in Mackenzie's text seemingly contradict his construction of the Nuxalk as a friendly, hospitable Native group, engaged in peaceful exchanges with Euro-Canadians and other Native peoples. For example, on July 18, Mackenzie, accompanied by seven Nuxalk, set out for the village of *Nusqlst*,[32] about nine miles downstream from *Nutteax*. Because of the treatment that his crew had received at Friendly Village, Mackenzie was shocked by the reception at *Nusqlst*:

> Some of the Indians ran before us, to announce our approach, when we took our bundles and followed. We had walked along a well-beaten path, through a kind of coppice, when we were informed by the arrival of our couriers at the houses, by the loud and confused talking of the inhabitants. The noise and confusion of the natives now seemed to encrease, and when we came into sight of the village, we saw them running from house to house, some armed with bows and arrows, others with spears, and many with axes, as if in a great state of alarm[33]

According to Mackenzie, these villagers exhibited similar behaviour after he had discovered that one of his axes was missing: "...the village was in an immediate state of uproar, and some danger was apprehended from the confusion that

and Randall T. Bouchard, "Bella Coola," in *Handbook of North American Indians (Northwest Coast)*, ed. Wayne Suttles (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Volume 7, 1990), 323-9.

[23] Lamb, *Journals*, 59.

[24] Daniel Clayton, "Captain Cook and the Spaces of Contact at 'Nootka Sound'," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, eds. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996), 101.

[25] Lamb, *Journals*, 360.

[26] Lamb, *Journals*, 361.

[27] Lamb, *Journals*, 363.

[28] Clayton, "Captain Cook and the Spaces of Contact," 114.

[29] Lamb, *Journals*, 363.

[30] Lamb, *Journals*, 365.

[31] The term "Euro-Canadian" is a useful device for identifying the European influence on fur trade culture, and for aligning this culture with later social and cultural developments in North America, even though "Canada" as we now know it did not exist in the late eighteenth century.

[32] Mackenzie referred to this settlement as the "Great Village" because of its large size and his admiration for the chief there. Mackenzie counted eleven houses and estimated a population of about two hundred (Lamb, *Journals and Letters*, 366-7). Ethnographer Thomas McIlwraith mentions that the village was abandoned around 1880 (Thomas F. McIlwraith, *The Bella Coola Indians* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Volume 1, 1948], 9).

[33] Lamb, *Journals*, 364.

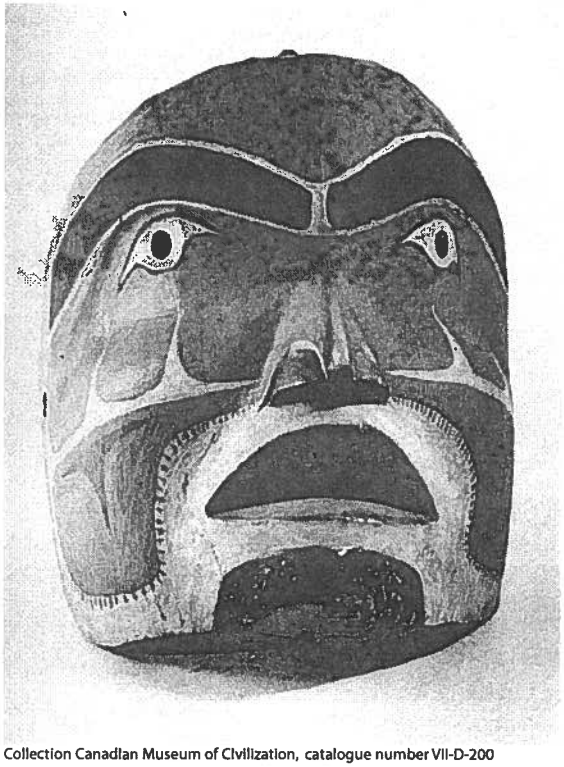
Right: *Bella Coola Ghost Mask. Reproduced with kind permission of the Canadian Museum of Civilization.*

prevailed in it."[34] The hostile appearance[35] of the residents at *Nusqlst*, although soon quelled by the calm and collected Mackenzie, was to permanently reshape his view of the Nuxalk. The image of perfect tranquillity[36] that Mackenzie had constructed of Friendly Village and other smaller villages along the Bella Coola River had been tainted, and would be further corrupted by his experiences elsewhere in the valley.

These incidents led Mackenzie to assume that the Nuxalk, like other Native peoples he had met during his voyages, were irrational and dangerous creatures who posed a threat to the lives of his crew and the safety of its trade goods. This dual image of the Nuxalk as hospitable and hostile is not as contradictory as it may seem. According to the eighteenth century European worldview, Native peoples (who were collectively represented as the "Other") were predisposed towards these types of behaviour. "Friendly" at one moment and "violent" the next, Native peoples were incapable of living up to the rational ideals of Enlightenment Europe. As anthropologist Bernard McGrane has argued, during the Enlightenment: "Ignorance came between Europeans and the Other."[37] That is, Native peoples could be both passive and dangerous because ultimately they were "unenlightened."[38] In the case of the Nuxalk, their "uncultivated" nature, as Mackenzie put it, made them unpredictable and therefore untrustworthy.[39] According to Mackenzie, the Nuxalk were at once benign and threatening:

They appear to be of a friendly disposition, but they are subject to sudden gusts of passion, which are as quickly composed; and the transition is instantaneous, from violent irritation to the most tranquil demeanour.[40]

The point here is that while Mackenzie had "neither geographical nor ethnographical instincts,"[41] he actively constructed a Nuxalk world which embodied the qualities of a noncivilized Other. Images of hospitality and hostility in the Bella Coola Valley, then, can best be understood by aligning them with the larger belief systems of late eighteenth century Euro-Canadian culture.



Collection Canadian Museum of Civilization, catalogue number VII-D-200

In Search of "Legitimate Commerce"

Mackenzie's interests as a commercial entrepreneur manifest themselves in other ways throughout the text. Mackenzie provides detailed (and useful) descriptions of Nuxalk village sites, technology, and Native use of European trade goods.[42] During his first visit to *Nusqlst*, for instance, Mackenzie gives several first-hand accounts of Nuxalk men and women, respectively, catching and preparing fish. He also documents the use of copper, brass, and iron for culinary and decorative purposes.[43] Significantly, on his final day in the Bella Coola Valley, Mackenzie provides an extensive description of Nuxalk subsistence activities, marriage practices, religion and government. The following comments are particularly illustrative of his intentions as a NWC trader:

> Of the many tribes of savage people whom I have seen, these appear to be the most susceptible of civilization. They might soon be brought to cultivate the little ground about them which is capable of it. There is a narrow border of a rich black soil, on either side of the river, over a bed of gravel, which would yield any grain or fruit, that are common to similar latitudes in Europe.[44]

Historian Mary Louise Pratt has called this kind of pursuit "legitimate commerce."[45] Mackenzie was not looking to settle or colonize the Bella Coola Valley, but rather to legitimise the commercial exploitation of the area in the eyes of his fellows in the NWC and his wider readership. Clearly, this required not only an abundant landscape, but also a people "susceptible of civilization." The seemingly ubiquitous nature of Euro-

[34] Lamb, *Journals*, 370.
[35] Lamb, *Journals*, 364.
[36] Lamb, *Journals*, 387.
[37] McGrane, *Beyond Anthropology*, ix.
[38] McGrane, *Beyond Anthropology*, 52.
[39] Lamb, *Journals*, 367.
[40] Lamb, *Journals and Letters*, 394.
[41] Warkentin, *Canadian Exploration Literature* , 261.
[42] Kennedy and Bouchard, "Bella Coola," 336.
[43] Lamb, *Journals and Letters*, 369.
[44] Lamb, *Journals and Letters*, 394.
[45] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 70.
[46] McGrane, *Beyond Anthropology*, 47.
[47] John Scouler, "Observations on the Indigenous Tribes of the N.W. Coast of America," *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* 11 (1841), 224.

pean goods in the area was a clear indication to Mackenzie that the Nuxalk were prepared to become full-fledged participants in the emerging regional and international economy.

In sum, the images produced by Mackenzie suggest that his journal cannot be treated at face value. He did not simply record what he saw "on the ground." This discussion has aimed to show that Mackenzie actively created distinctions between Euro-Canadians and the Nuxalk. The most pervasive images in his text, those of hospitality, hostility, and "legitimate commerce," serve to highlight wider Euro-Canadian beliefs about the Native Other. Although the Nuxalk showed signs of "civilization," they still posed a constant "threat of nature"[46] to Mackenzie and his crew. Mackenzie's status as an enlightened and, therefore, superior Euro-Canadian is preserved throughout his narrative, even though he must rely extensively on the skills and assistance of Native guides and chiefs.

"The Man that Comes from the Dead"

Several sources indicate that the arrival of Mackenzie at Bella Coola Valley has been told through Nuxalk oral history. Writing in 1841, naturalist John Scouler noted that "some of the old men of the tribe still remember his visit."[47] In 1924, ethnographer Thomas McIlwraith wrote that Mackenzie's visit was "an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved."[48] In the same year, Captain Richard Bishop, a government surveyor who retraced Mackenzie's route from the mouth of the Bella Coola River to the famed Mackenzie's Rock in Dean Channel, claimed that

> the historic arrival at the Pacific at Bella Coola is a matter of great interest to the inhabitants of the valley, and of proud tradition to those Indians whose forebears gave Mackenzie a hospitable reception.[49]

The remainder of this essay examines three short, yet informative, oral narratives on Mackenzie's arrival at Nuxalk territory. Nuxalk narratives, it is argued, offer much more than a simple recounting of Mackenzie's own story.

The three oral[50] narratives presented here are centred around the Nuxalk belief that white people had returned from the dead. One narrative, originally told in the Nuxalk language by the late Felicity Walkus, describes Mackenzie's arrival at the village of *Nutteax*:

> The people greeted him and gave him some barbecued fish. When they continued going down the river, the chief put a feather on Mackenzie's head to guide him. They spread the contents of his chamber-pot on the trail, before and after him. They thought that he had returned from the dead, so this would prevent him from disappearing.[51]

A similar description of Mackenzie's arrival is given by Orden Mack, a man of Scottish and Nuxalk background:

> When Alexander Mackenzie came through to Burnt Bridge, right straight down the river to the Indian village right there, that's when he saw the chief. And he (the chief) told them he was born from the dead, he came to life again, because his face was white he didn't look like the Indians.[52]

In yet another account, the late Agnes Edgar notes that "the Indians thought that these white-coloured people had come back from the dead."[53] Nuxalk perceptions of outsiders have also been described by Thomas McIlwraith, who, in the early 1920s, conducted extensive ethnographic fieldwork among the Nuxalk. According to McIlwraith,

> ...when Mackenzie appeared...they thought that he must be from another world. Some thought him a dead man returned to life, others considered him a supernatural visitor from above who had fallen down to earth, as did their first ancestors. The latter view prevailed, and it was ultimately decided that he must be *Qomcua*, a supernatural being resident aloft of whom little was known. This name was applied to him, and it has since been given to all white men.[54]

This evidence suggests that at the time of Mackenzie's arrival newcomers were perceived as supernatural visitors, as people returned from the dead.[55] As we shall see, the representation of Mackenzie as a man born from the dead not only helped the Nuxalk to make sense of his arrival, but also had important socio-economic functions in Nuxalk society.

This particular construction of Mackenzie had a major influence on the events that transpired at Bella Coola Valley. In several instances throughout his journal, Mackenzie is perplexed by the Nuxalk's refusal to let him buy or trade for fresh salmon.

> We were all very desirous to get some fresh salmon, that we might dress them in our own way,
> but could not by any means obtain that gratification, though there were thousands of that fish strung on cords....They were even averse to our approaching the spot where they clean and prepare them for their own eating. [56]

Significantly, Mackenzie and his crew are only able to obtain roasted salmon: "they refused to sell one of them, but gave me one roasted of a

[48] McIlwraith, *The Bella Coola Indians*, 5.
[49] Bishop, *Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Rock*, 11.
[50] While these accounts have indeed been transmitted orally, it is important to note that this paper draws on *written* oral accounts.
[51] British Columbia Indian Language Project, Unpublished Bella Coola Fieldnotes, 1971-1977.
[52] Susanne Storie, ed. *Bella Coola Stories* (Report of the B.C. Indian Advisory Committee, 1968-69), 94.
[53] British Columbia Indian Language Project, Fieldnotes.
[54] McIlwraith, *The Bella Coola Indians*, 56.
[55] See also, Bruce G. Trigger, "Early Native North American Responses to European Contact: Romantic versus Rationalistic Interpretations," *Journal of American History* 77 (March 1991), 1201.
[56] Lamb, *Journals*, 366.

very different kind."[57] Mackenzie's only justification for this failure is the superstitious nature of the Natives: "These people indulge in an extreme superstition respecting their fish, as it is apparently their only animal food."[58] Invoking the image of the superstitious, ignorant Native allowed Mackenzie to explain away his failure to obtain a potentially viable resource for the NWC.

The oral narratives provide a very different explanation for the Nuxalk practice of restricting "white man's" access to fresh fish. Orden Mack, for example, gives a vivid description of Mackenzie's return trip along the Bella Coola River:

> Every, every fish trap they got into, they have to portage. They take that canoe around that fish trap because these Indians didn't believe in that...the man that comes from the dead—he was dead once and came to life again, this Mackenzie was—what they believe. If he sees the fish trap, the fish wouldn't come by it. So they wouldn't let him see it. All the way up, another fish trap, they have to portage everything, the baggage and the canoe.[59]

Agnes Edgar, too, describes how Mackenzie's crew was unable to examine the fish weir at *Nutteax*: "They didn't want the white people to go to the fish weir that evening. They grabbed hold of them and held them back."[60] The Nuxalk clearly felt that the crew's "whiteness" (or "deadness") would bring harm to their fish stocks. Fish, as we will recall, formed the basis of Nuxalk subsistence. Five types of salmon were caught, as well as steelhead trout; eulachons and Pacific herring provided boiled, barbecued, or smoke-dried staple food; and eulachon grease was a highly valued trade item.[61] In the view of the Nuxalk, these supplies were threatened by Mackenzie's presence. As such, the representation of Mackenzie and his white crew members as returned from the dead, functioned in two ways: to make sense of the newcomers' appearance and to preserve their most important resource. Nuxalk oral narratives, then, are imbued with both cultural values and economic needs. These accounts not only offer a unique perspective on Mackenzie's arrival (indeed, they explain elements of the story that cannot be found in Mackenzie's published text), but they also help us understand the cultural and economic contexts in which they are embedded.

Conclusions

Oral and written histories, such as those discussed here, cannot be compared easily. They are subjective, interpretive accounts about the past that often diverge on matters of place, person, and event. For some, this means a bewildering array of possible pasts that prevents us from really knowing what happened in the past. A primary contention throughout this paper has been that contact situations can only properly be understood by attempting to manage multiple narratives, both written and oral. Oral accounts are important in that they challenge the very notion of "fact" and "detail."[62] That is, in the case of Mackenzie's arrival, while the ways of telling the story may change, the essence remains the same. These brief accounts diverge, for example, on the exact chronology of Mackenzie's trip from Friendly Village to Mackenzie's Rock and back again. However, there is considerable agreement between these sources on the *why* of what happened in July, 1793. This demonstrates Michael Harkin's point that "through repetition within the community, historical events become part of a common heritage."[63] In other words, Nuxalk oral accounts inform—and, in turn, are informed by—the larger cultural, social and economic contexts of which they are a part. The construction of Mackenzie as born from the dead has illustrated this point.

This paper has argued that oral and written accounts are equally valid sources of historical information in order to illustrate precisely that they have not been treated as such. Contact history is still largely based on the writings of white explorers.[64] Until recently, the notion that oral history is more subjective and less truthful than written accounts has remained unchallenged by historians and other scholars. Thomas McIlwraith, for example, argues that "traditions of this type are valuable as reflecting the interests of a people, but their historical accuracy may well be doubted."[65] This view is echoed by Richard Bishop who, in attempting to locate the exact position of Mackenzie's Rock, felt that "it might be risky to take local information too seriously."[66] Oral narratives are frequently downplayed as 'lore" because they do not produce the "real story." What these arguments fail to recognise is that written accounts are also shaped by the individual biases of the author and the wider cultural value system of which s/he is a part. Like oral accounts, written texts are also *sub*jective, however much they portend to be *ob*jective. "All histories," argues Judith Binney, "derive from a particular time, a particular place, and a particular cultural heritage."[67] In addition, written accounts, including

[57] Lamb, *Journals*, 372.
[58] Lamb, *Journals*, 362.
[59] Storie, *Bella Coola Stories*, 96.
[60] British Columbia Indian Language Project, Fieldnotes.
[61] Kennedy and Bouchard, "Bella Coola," 325.
[62] Julie Cruikshank, "Oral Tradition and Oral History: Reviewing Some Issues," *Canadian Historical Review* 75 (1994), 408.
[63] Michael Eugene Harkin, "Dialogues of History: Transformation and Change in Heiltsuk Culture, 1790-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1988), 20.
[64] Wickwire, "To See Ourselves," 18.
[65] McIlwraith, *The Bella Coola Indians*, 56.
[66] Bishop, *Mackenzie's Rock*, 13.

fur trader texts, undergo considerable revision and embellishment before publication.[68] Indeed, Mackenzie's journal is no exception.

One dilemma which continues to perplex scholars and many Native groups is the question of how and why oral sources have not been afforded the same historical weight as written sources.[69] To paraphrase Julie Cruikshank's question, how is it that one account is included in official history, while the others are relegated to collective memory?[70] My findings suggest that the disempowerment of oral history is not only the result of scholars' reluctance to include oral narratives in historical analyzes. Oral history has also been discredited because of the questions that are being asked about the past. This paper has aimed to illustrate that searching for "facts" in Nuxalk and Euro-Canadian contact narratives prevents us from understanding the range of cultural values that underlie these accounts. In an attempt to manage a multiplicity of contact narratives at Nuxalk territory, it has become clear that we need to rethink our questions about past events and processes. "Sifting for facts" on what happened in the past has become the dominant mode of analyzing contact situations because we have yet to fully acknowledge the value of oral historical narrative.

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[67] In Cruikshank, "Oral Tradition and Oral History," 410.

[68] See I.S. MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (Spring 1992), 39-68.

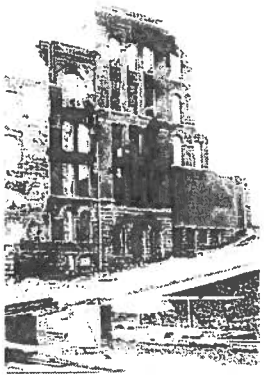
[69] Cruikshank, "Oral Tradition and Oral History," 417.

[70] Cruikshank, "Discovery of Gold on the Klondike," 436.

"On Account of Loss Suffered by Fire"
The Human Aspect of New Westminster's Great Fire

by Dale and Archie Miller

Dale and Archie Miller are the principals in the firm, A Sense of History Research Services, Inc. operating out of New Westminster. In September 1998, they wrote and published a book, entitled *The Great Fire of 1898: The Devastation and Rebirth of Downtown New Westminster*, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of that event.



Phote courtesy Dale and Archie Miller

Above: *Douglas Elliott block at 6th and Columbia. Note saves in foreground.*

Next page: *The destruction on Columbia Street.*

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On Saturday night 10 September 1898, the Peter McGonigle family, who lived in the back part of a small store in the Lytton Hotel on Front Street in New Westminster had retired to bed early and all were sound asleep. A little after 11 o'clock Mrs. McGonigle was awakened by a cracking noise on the window pane and looking out she saw the flames. Screaming "Fire!" she woke her husband and the three children. Peter McGonigle took the two elder children, seven-year old May and six-year old James, and started for the front door, the only means of exit. His wife, Jessie, with the youngest child, Florence, followed her husband only to find all avenues of escape blocked by flames encircling the building. There was only one choice left: to make a dash through the fire. Rather than perish in the building Peter and Jessie took their children in their arms and ran blindly through the fire toward the door. How they got through the flames neither of them could tell. They only knew that when they did get through the children's clothes were on fire. There seemed to be no help anywhere and it was only because the children were clad in nothing but nightdresses that their burns were not fatal. As it was, the two elder children were severely burned about the lower parts of their bodies and Mrs. McGonigle was burned about the neck. The youngest child, Florence, was the most severely burned of all and bore crippling scars for the rest of her life. Peter McGonigle lost everything he owned—household effects, some cash, a gold watch and the stock in his store. But in spite of their injuries and loss, they counted themselves fortunate, for they had survived the Great Fire of 1898—the conflagration which destroyed the entire downtown of New Westminster, in a little over six hours during the night of 10 September, 1898.

In the cold light of Sunday's dawn, the McGonigles discovered that they were not alone in distress. Over 500 families had been rendered homeless and most of the rest of the city was temporarily thrown out of work, since the business core of the Royal City was in ruins. The final tally showed that virtually everything from the Fraser River up to the south side of Royal Avenue, between Fourth Street and Tenth Street, some 80 acres in all, had been consumed by the fire. The loss to public and private property was enormous, with aggregate losses totalling over three million dollars. But while the losses to the business community were enormous, it is sometimes easy to forget that behind those businesses were real people, and their losses, while not as impressive from a dollar perspective, were even more devastating to those incurring them.

SOME OF THE DONATIONS:

Vancouver City Council	$5,000
C.P.R. Co.	$5,000
Lord Strathcona	$1,000
City of Victoria	$1,000
St. John, N.B.	$1,000
City of Montreal	$1,000
City of Toronto	$1,000
Hamilton City Council	$500
Victoria Board of Trade	$500
Winnipeg City Council	$500
Citizens of Kaslo	$360
Citizens of Glasgow, Scot.	$341
Citizens of London, Eng.	$250
S.S. *Empress of India*	$150
Citizens of Blaine, WA	$137
Vancouver high school pupils	$32
R.P. Rithet & Co. 200 bags of Enderby flour	

Before the flames were completely extinguished, substantial contributions to the relief fund had already reached New Westminster, and assurances of still more had been received. Donations flooded in from individuals, from cities and from businesses, not only in the Province, but from across the country and around the world.

A meeting was held on 19 September to set up a Relief Committee to allot and disburse the funds to aid the sufferers of the fire. The ad-hoc committees which had been directing relief matters since the fire had been constantly at work. The original committee of six was soon increased to twenty-one, and a thorough house-to-house canvass was carried out to inform sufferers from the fire of the means of obtaining relief. During the week after the fire, one thousand people received provisions and 8,500 meals were served free in the Armory. Not much later a special Relief Committee was established to deal with the large amount of money which was flooding in for the

relief of suffering. An executive committee reported to a general committee made up of the mayor and one alderman, a member of the Board of Trade, one representative from each of the city churches (Church of England, Roman Catholic, Reformed Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and the Salvation Army), one representative each from the Bank of Montreal, the Bank of British Columbia, and the Dominion Savings Bank, and one representative each from the Relief Committee and the Distribution Committee.

The work of the Relief Committee was carried out with much care and careful investigation. Applications were required on printed forms and these applications were then reviewed and designated at one of three levels of urgency. Recommendations were made and reviewed, and letters of credit or cheques were issued. Four hundred and seventy-nine applications for relief were filed, claiming losses, net of insurance, of $408,179. Of these, 414 received relief totalling $29,702. Seven hundred and fifty families received assistance in the form of groceries and provisions, blankets, tent, and clothes, issued from the Armory. In February of 1899, the Relief Committee turned over its accounts to City Council, with a balance of almost $52,000.

One of the hallmarks of most large, devastating fires is loss of life. There were no lives lost as a direct result of the Great Fire of 1898 in New Westminster. There were massive and overwhelming corporate financial losses, accounts of which filled the newspapers for months after the event. There are numerous accounts of spectacular rebuilding and the miraculous rebirth of the business community. Perhaps the greater losses however, were suffered by many people who lost possessions worth only a few dollars—a fishing net, a suit of clothing, a dress and hat—all they owned, or who were injured and, like Florence McGonigle, carried physical and emotional scars for the rest of their lives.

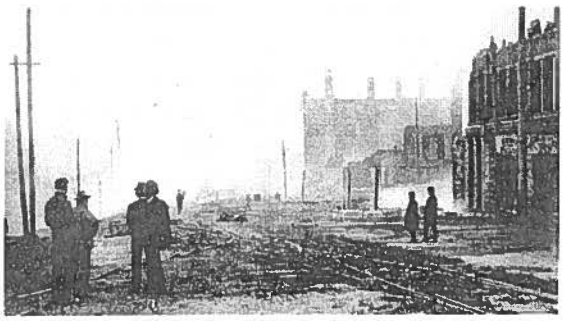


Photo courtesy Dale and Archie Miller

EXCERPTS FROM A FEW OF THE 414 "APPLICATIONS FOR RELIEF" SUBMITTED TO THE RELIEF COMMITTEE DETAILING PROPERTY DESTROYED AND OTHER PROPERTY OWNED BY THE CLAIMANTS.

Margaret Geldard; 29-year-old woman, no trade or occupation, 3 children. Loss: kitchen, dining room, front room, bedroom furniture, all destroyed except the kitchen stove which was badly broken. Other property owned: "Nothing."

Newman family: 29-year-old fisherman, 18-year-old wife and 6 month old baby. Loss: Total—managed to save only a bedstead, baby buggy and cradle. Other property owned: "Nothing."

Mah Duck: 34-year-old Chinese cook. Loss: 2 pair blankets, cooking utensils, 1 cook stove, 2 warming stoves, 1 suit clothes, 300 chickens, 17 ducks. Other property owned: "Nothing."

Annie Moorhouse; 20-year-old waitress. Loss: 1 sewing machine, 1 month's wages in drawer of machine, 1 coat, 1 dress, 1 hat, underwear. Other property owned: "Nothing"

Mrs. E. Knapp: 71-year-old dressmaker, widow. Loss: Clothing, blankets, bed and bedding. Life-size photos of self and husband, sewing machine, mirror. Other property owned: "A pair of blankets." Note: "Wants a sewing machine. She has paid $5.00 on machine and is unable to pay any more."

W.E. Mercer; 30-year-old fisherman, wife and 3 children. Loss: One sockeye net of best 8-ply barbers twine. Other property owned: "The net was the only property I owned."

J.F. Collister; 30-year-old grocer. Loss: "Trunk and case containing the majority of my clothes, case containing a number of books and a large quantity of music." Other property owned: "None—all I possessed was in the firm of Johnston & Collister. We had $1,200 to meet liabilities of $2,000. We had started just five months when the fire swept us out."

Mah Lung; 45-year-old unemployed man. Loss: Blankets and clothes. Other property owned: "None—destitute and in poor health."

Martin Gooderham; 37-year-old steward, wife and 3 children. Loss: Two bedroom outfits, dining room, kitchen, carpets and matting, groceries (fruit and pickles for winter use). Other property owned: "We got out of fire 1 trunk, 1 dresser, 1 baby high chair, and 1 go-cart."

James Martin; 56-year-old labourer. Loss: One trunk containing all my wearing apparel and $76 (my savings). Other property owned: None.

William B. Walker; 77-year-old gardener, wife. Loss: 2 sacks large white onions, 2 boxes pickling onions, 4 crates tomatoes, 1 box pickling cucumbers, 1 sack large pickling cucumbers. Other property owned: small quantity tomatoes, 10 boxes apples.

William P Turner; artist, wood engraver and teacher; wife and 2 children. Loss: Mahogany box with 36 whole cake colours, manufactured by Winsor & Newton, drawing and painting studies, 2 mahogany boxes containing silver instruments, routing machine, engraving tools, carving tools, 27 engraving blocks (miscellaneous and salmon labels), engraving machine attachments, etc. Other property owned: None.

Johnny, Fort Rupert Indian; 34-year-old fisherman. Loss: $12 money, bed, pillow, blankets, pants, 2 shirts, undershirts, shoes, 2 pair gumboots, gum coat, apron, cartridges, rifle, sack of clothes and a box of food. Other property owned: None.

S. Wilcox; painter; wife and 5 children. Loss: 80 gal. paint oils, 1 barrel mineral paint, 300 lbs. white lead, 15 gals. mixed paint, 3 gals. varnish, 10 gals. turpentine, 10 books gold leaf, tube colours, brushes, graining tools, stencil for wall decorating, dry colours; etc. Other property owned: None.

A.G. Campbell; 31-year-old farmer. Loss: Clothing and glassware. Other property owned: 1 team horses, a few hens, "I am bust, started on a rented place. This is the truth and nothing but the truth."

Sam Goldstone; 25-year-old barber; wife. Loss: List of barber supplies, "photos that money could not buy." Other property owned: None

Mrs. John Collier; 37-year-old wife of bartender. Loss: Bookcase including Dickens' works, Shakespeare's works, Byron's works, encyclopaedias, complete Halls Caines works, large family Bible, large family Doctor's book, numerous books. Other property owned: None.

Mrs. L. Hughes; husband and 2 children. Loss: Collection of curios including fancy work from the Philippine Islands, Indian horn dippers and spoons. (on display in Public Library). Other property owned: House and lot.

"Writing the Coast": Bertrand William Sinclair's BC Stories

Richard J.Lane

Richard Lane is a professor in English at the University of Westminster in London, UK.

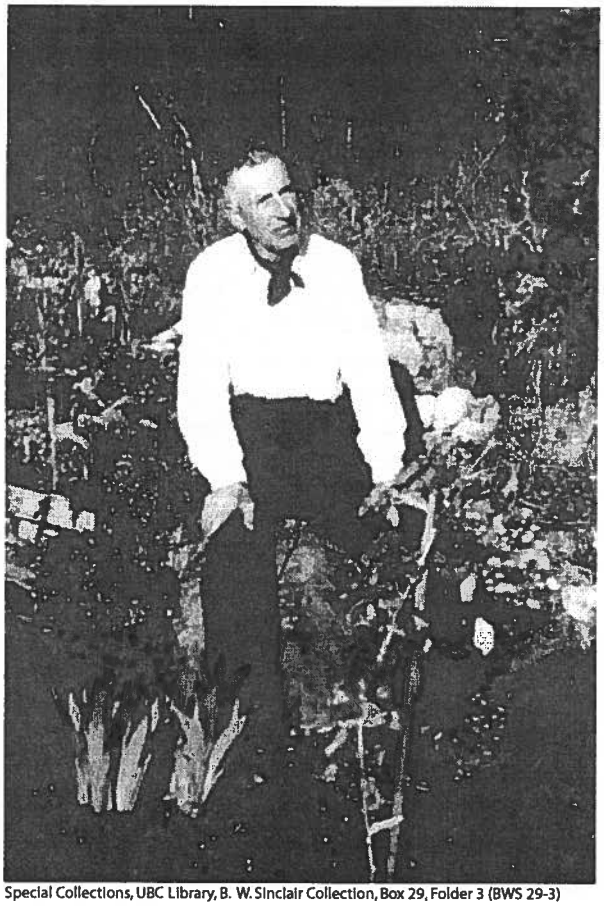
> A man justified his existence, I vowed, when he went down to deep waters with hook and line and brought back food for a multitude.[1]

So wrote Bertrand William Sinclair, a man better known for his novels of the Wild West or the logging industry of British Columbia. But Sinclair was a fisherman too, and wrote many a fisherman's "yarn" while working the BC coast. His published work in this area started with the novel *Poor Man's Rock* (1920), set on Lasqueti Island, which, as he describes it, "...lies in the Gulf of Georgia midway between a mainland made of mountains like the Alps, the Andes, and the Himalayas all jumbled together...and the low delta-like shore of Vancouver Island."[2] Sinclair followed *Poor Man's Rock* with a number of well received fictional works, in particular *The Inverted Pyramid* (1924) and *Wild West* (1926), the latter a return to his Montana years.[3] Sales of his later novels were not what he had become used to; writing to the Registrar of Canadian Citizenship in 1963, Sinclair said: "When the acute depression of the early '30s struck, the economic effects made it impossible for me to earn a living by writing. I had a good able 8-ton boat, and I had fished salmon in 1918 and 1919. Then I didn't fish again until 1936. I have operated as a licensed salmon troller each year since, 26 consecutive seasons." [4] The Depression certainly hit British Columbia hard; many of the province's primary industries depended on strong international demand, yet Black Thursday, on the 29 October, 1929, was to lead swiftly to the opposite.[5] In 1931, Premier Tolmie decided that his free-market principles needed some professional reinforcement; he handed over the province's problems for assessment to a group of businessmen. The result was the Kidd Report, published in 1932, arguing that "...further taxation being impossible, the only alternative lay in sharply reducing provincial expenditures. Social services must be cut back drastically."[6] It was exactly this sort of disregard of social value that Sinclair despised. Sinclair's time at Lasqueti Island had brought him, once more, into contact with those who would suffer most from such "expert" advice and ideology. His salmon fishing of 1918 is briefly mentioned in Elda Mason's history of Lasqueti Island: "...at anchor in Squitty Bay at the time was Bertrand Sinclair's boat while that author was busy at work on his book *Poor Man's Rock*."[7] Sinclair had bought a salmon troller in 1919, and moved permanently to Pender Harbour in 1922—the lure of the salmon was undoubtedly never to leave Sinclair again.

Where had this writer of the BC coast come from? How had he found his way to the province which would come to call itself "Beautiful British Columbia"? Born in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1881, Sinclair was soon to arrive in North America at the age of eight years. Laurie Ricou notes that Sinclair "...was born William Brown Sinclair on 9 January 1881... to George Bertrand and Robina Williamson Sinclair. According to an obituary in the *Vancouver Province*, William came to Canada with his mother in 1889 and settled in Regina, Saskatchewan. He ran away from home at age fourteen and became a cowboy in Montana."[8] Sinclair published his first short story, "The N-Bar Freak" in 1902; it was published in the San Francisco *Argonaut* earning him the grand sum of $12.50. While working at the Tingley Ranch in Montana, Sinclair met B.M. Bower, a talented young Western writer who had launched her own career writing for the pulps. Bertha Bower would become famous for her *Chip of the Flying U* stories and an extensive list of Westerns, although her publishers would suppress all knowledge of her gender. Kate Baird Anderson, Bower's grand-daughter and biographer, notes how Sinclair and Bower "...were catalysts for each other...The first two Flying U stories, and 'Chip' were written while Bill [Sinclair] was there. He was the only person to read the novelette before she sent it [to her publishers], and was the basis for the main character..."[9] Their literary interests developed as in a romance; Bower left her first husband, Clayton, and married Sinclair in 1905. Perhaps this is reflected in the title of Sinclair's

[1] Bertrand William Sinclair, "Cargo Reef", The University of British Columbia, Special Collections Division, Bertrand William Sinclair Collection (BWS), Box 3, Folder 17 (3-17).
[2] Bertrand William Sinclair, *Poor Man's Rock*, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1920), p.18.
[3] Sinclair often ignored his first two, and some of the later novels in listing his work; the full list of novels is as follows: *Raw Gold* (1908), *The Land of Frozen Suns* (1910), *North of Fifty-Three* (1915), *Big Timber: A Story of the North West* (1916), *Burned Bridges* (1919), *Poor Man's Rock* (1920), *The Hidden Places* (1922), *The Inverted Pyramid* (1924), *Wild West* (1926), *Pirates of the Plains* (1928), *Gunpowder Lightning* (1930), *Down the Dark Alley* (1935), *Both Sides of the Law* (1951), *Room for the Rolling M* (1954).
4 To Registrar of Canadian Citizenship, May 2, 1963, BWS 29-3.
[5] George Woodcock, *British Columbia: A History of the Province*, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1990), p.211.
[6] Jean Barman, *The West Beyond The West: A History of British Columbia*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p.253.
[7] Elda Mason, *Lasqueti Island: History & Memory*, (Lantzville, B.C.: Byron Mason), p.15.

1905 *Argonaut* publication, "A Mix Up With Cupid." *The Blue Mule* took Sinclair's third short-story, but the *Argonaut* was to be his main supporter in the early years, publishing "Under Flying Hoops," "The Stress of the Trail," and "There's Never a Law," to name but a few. Sinclair gradually gained access to other pulps, such as *Western Field*, *Popular* and *The Bohemian*. One of Sinclair's keenest desires was to present the range west with historical accuracy, a desire which would remain with him throughout his writing career. Sinclair and Bower parted ways in 1911; Kate Anderson notes that he left Bower in anger, which was "...perhaps the only way he could make the break to find his own voice and path. He never gave her due credit for being his mentor and lover/mother."[10] Sinclair moved to Vancouver in 1912 with his second wife, Ruth, Bower's cousin—and so the story returns to British Columbia.



Special Collections, UBC Library, B. W. Sinclair Collection, Box 29, Folder 3 (BWS 29-3)

Sinclair's move from Vancouver to Pender Harbour didn't go unnoticed. In 1922, Stewart Edward White wrote to Sinclair about a sailing incident: "You are in the papers as tipping over in a dinghy and being rescued at last moment by a tug. How about it?"[11] Sinclair's somewhat exasperated reply is full of the spirit that would send him trolling in future years, in harsh and demanding conditions: "Yes, I swamped the Kitten in a hell-roaring southeaster, and rode the submerged hull till a rowboat from a tug took me off. And the local correspondent made a splurge about it, as he was hard put for items... I had her reefed down close, but it was no breeze for a dinghy. The local inhabitants think I'm a damned fool for sailing in such a wind, but I ask you, if a man can't sail when there is wind, when can he sail?"[12] Although Sinclair was to publish seven more novels after his move to Pender Harbour, his love-affair with the sea triggered a change in the material used for the pulps. While he would never stop writing about his experiences of the range west, the BC coast became more and more of an obsession. In the first six months of 1922, for example, Sinclair made eight sales from four short-stories: "Yo-Ho And A Bottle of Rum" and "The Golden Fleece" (*Maclean's* and *Metropolitan Magazine*), "Over the Border" and "Sorrowful Island" (*Maclean's* and *Popular Magazine*). The combined income from these stories was just under fifteen hundred dollars, supplementing the 1922 publication of *The Hidden Places*. Throughout his correspondence, Sinclair gives the impression that after the Depression his writing was entirely replaced by his trolling activities; this is not at all accurate. In 1937, he was writing and selling short-stories through Jacques Chambrun, Inc., of New York City. While the prices paid for pulp stories certainly plummeted, Sinclair's literary output remained high, and his readers keen. In 1938, for example, Jno T. Connell wrote to Sinclair asking for details of the trolling boats described in his short-stories of the BC coast, treating Sinclair as a writer who has an obvious working experience of what he was writing about.[13] Connell wrote that he read with interest and pleasure Sinclair's stories of salmon fishing, but he also wanted some business advice for his two 36-foot luggers: "...as I have found the salmon spoons used in the west very effective in taking Kingfish, I am anxious to get a diagram of the layout for trolling on the salmon boats—how the outriggers are rigged and arranged, how the line is taken in with the engine, just how the whole set up is made."[14] Sinclair's

[8] Laurie Ricou, "Bertrand William Sinclair (9 January 1881-20 October 1972)," *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, (NY: Gale Research, 1990), Ed. W.H. New, Vol. 92, Canadian Writers, 1890-1990; pp.362/3.
[9] Kate Baird Anderson to Richard J. Lane, Jan. 15, 1995.
[10] Kate Baird Anderson to Laurie Ricou, Jan. 12, 1995.
[11] Stewart Edward White to Bertrand William Sinclair, Nov. 1, 1922, BWS 1-22.
[12] Bertrand William Sinclair to Stewart Edward White, Nov. 13, 1922, BWS 1-22.
[13] Jno. T. Connell to Bertrand William Sinclair, Oct. 9, 1938, BWS 1-7 and Bertrand William Sinclair to Jno. T. Connell, Nov. 2, 1938, BWS 1-7.
[14] Jno. T. Connell to Bertrand William Sinclair, Oct. 9, 1938, BWS 1-7.

Centre: *Portrait of Bertrand William Sinclair, ca. 1950. Reproduced with the kind permission of George Brandak at the Special Collections and University Archives Division, UBC Library.*

typical response was to spend time and effort in his reply, modestly condemning his sketches while providing practical detail and advice. He notes in particular that "I sure have had working experience with salmon trollers in the North Pacific, having trolled commercially the last three years from June to October, working a thirty-six foot powerboat single-handed." He adds further that it is through his work as a "bona fide salmon troller" that his BC coast stories gain "punch."[15]

Sinclair's reluctance to describe his writing activities during the Depression may have had more to do with falling sales than anything else. His novel *Down The Dark Alley*, published in 1935, certainly failed to live up to his expectations. The novel's over-complex romance structure is probably more suited to a television soap-opera than a written work of fiction, and Sinclair's stereotypical gender-roles were beginning to seem a bit old-fashioned even in 1935.[16] But the failure of *Down The Dark Alley* does not mean that Sinclair's coast writings should be forgotten or ignored, since in many respects the short-stories of this period succeed where the later novels do not. For example, where the short-stories are controlled and contained, *Down The Dark Alley* sprawls and over-runs.

Nonetheless, *Down The Dark Alley* is part of the BC coast writings, dealing with the effects of the Volstead Act upon the fortunes of Vancouver's "rum-runners" and the projected development of a new diesel engine (which would of course have had great significance for the salmon trolling industry). The Eighteenth Amendment is portrayed in *Down The Dark Alley* as "...a challenge to the individual" which, rather than having its intended effect, spawned a whole new profitable industry: "The traffic began on the Pacific coast in a small way. Bold entrepreneurs who saw a chance to make money ran with one or two hundred cases from Vancouver to Puget Sound, in fast motor-launches."[17] The novel depicts a decadent Vancouver where the smuggling of liquor has become an organized industry on the brink of collapse, and where the greed of a few selected smugglers reflects the more general post-war greed of an ever-expanding city. The protagonist is seeking to make a fortune as part of a package of reparations: a moral rather than purely economic crusade.

Sinclair's short-stories of the BC coast are written in quite a different style from *Down The Dark Alley*: perhaps the best description, to use an old-fashioned technological metaphor, would be that of a *telegraphic style*. One of the first impressions given by the stories is that they are written by a man who is in a hurry, possibly writing in between tending to his trolling gear, stealing a few minutes before sleep, or, more likely, cramming a year's writing into the winter break from trolling. In other words, Sinclair uses a snappy "pulp" style with all the "pulp" romance ingredients. But Sinclair the thinker cannot be effaced: "Prelude To Storm," for all its pulp qualities, is essentially a story about representation—more importantly for a modernist writer such as Sinclair, it is a story about *filmic representation*. Not only was Sinclair concerned with the question of who would represent the BC coast, but he also wondered which medium would be used to best advantage? He recognized the growth and power of the film industry, fearing the distortions he had seen with Hollywood "Cowboy" movies. In many ways, his fears were justified; today, a whole series of television programmes (such as *The X Files*) can be filmed in BC without the province being identified as such.[18] So Sinclair set out to do some "representing" himself, although he focused more on the personalities and relationships amongst the men and women working the coast; thus his "history" of the salmon industry gives only incidental glimpses of places and technologies important to those doing more academic research.

The BC coast stories are a development of Sinclair's Western material, and this can be seen in the way that "mateship" functions throughout. Partly derived from "the partner" in typical Westerns, and partly representing the fact that two small trolling boats would often form an informal pair to watch out for one another, the relationship between men has as strong a place in the stories as the other romance elements. In "Blow The Cat Down" the close male bond is disrupted by Mary Carmichael—the cat is a loosely veiled reference to what the men are fighting over, although the fact that it is a "tomcat" means that the protagonist is quite happy to keep him on board the new boat as a surrogate male partner. Women are represented as problematic intruders into the harmony of working men's lives: they are constructed as either virgins or whores, helpers or parasites. The city—in this case Vancouver—is a place of oppressive loss of individuality, and it is no accident that the scheming Doreen Beacon in "Prelude to Storm" wants to manipulate and control the protagonist's life.

[15] Bertrand William Sinclair to Jno. T. Connell, Nov. 2, 1938, BWS 1-7.

[16] See my comments on gender in the novels and short stories of Bertrand William Sinclair in, R.J. Lane, "British Columbia's War of Two Worlds: The Birth of the Modern Age in Bertrand Sinclair's Fiction," *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, Vol. XXXI, No.1, 1996, pp.71-81, "Dreams of a Frontier Classic: Inverted Pyramids in the New World," *Commonwealth: Essays and Studies*, Vol. 17, No.2, Spring 1995, pp.50-57, and "Archive Simulations: Reading the Bertrand Sinclair Collection," *BC Studies*, No. 97, Spring 1993, pp.51-71.

[17] Bertrand William Sinclair, Down The Dark Alley, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935) p. 59 & p. 61.

[18] See Stephen Miller, "The Grid: Living in Hollywood North," in. Paul Delany, ed. *Vancouver: Representing the Postmodern City*, (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1994), pp. 282-294.

[19] Bertrand William Sinclair, "The Golden Fleece," in Carole Gerson, ed., *Vancouver Short Stories* (Vancouver: UBC, 1992) p.20.

Throughout Sinclair's work, city women are portrayed as threatening and dangerous—perhaps this is because the modern city was a place where women not only found independent work, but where they began to break free of their predefined roles within the patriarchal family. Here, men who choose to stay in the city become soft and "feminized" like Sherrin in "The Golden Fleece"; undoubtedly, the fact that Sinclair wrote about what he perceived as purely "masculine" activities always caused problems when it came to fitting women into his scheme of things.

Sinclair seems to be torn in his BC Coast stories between a vision of home as being fixed on firm ground, for example his house at Pender Harbour, and home as being the trolling boat itself, exploring the inlets and waterways of British Columbia. In "The Golden Fleece", the central character, Sherrin, gazes for a while at the Capilano Mountains, dreaming of escaping the office for some hunting and fishing. His gaze soon turns to the boats in "Galata Wharf" in Vancouver, which his office overlooks: "The lesser craft intrigue his fancy most. He knows something of them and the men that man them—tugs, halibut schooners, purse-seiners, stubby yachts and yachty powerboats. They serve, for profit or pleasure, a thousand miles of coastline, a myriad of islands, inaccessible save by the furrowed highway of the sea. A hardy lot."[19] Sherrin has become involved in "rum running" to the extent of investing some cash in one of the smuggling boats. What makes this financial investment important for him is not the projected economic return—rather, it is the emotional connection that he gains with the adventurous, but risky, sea-faring world of the smuggler. Sherrin is a man insulated from "the hot glow of struggle", yet his investment enables him to form an empathic bond which in turn generates his imagined narrative of what the smuggling boat, the *Tosca*, is experiencing amidst severe storms. The tensions in this story between desk-bound home and experiences of the sea reflects the tensions in Sinclair's life as a desk-bound writer and fisherman; these tensions allowed Sinclair to write stories anchored in the realities of the BC coast while still having room to spin the yarns, exaggerate, play with myths and recount overheard fragments of stories. Sinclair's yarns are part of the BC fabric, while fabricating in turn more stories to share with family, friends and distant readers.

PUBLICATION DETAILS. "The Golden Fleece" was reprinted in Carole Gerson, ed., *Vancouver Short Stories*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1985; reprinted 1992), pp.20-33. The editor notes that Sinclair's "...first-hand knowledge of the waters and conditions of the Pacific Coast contributes to the realism of stories like 'The Golden Fleece." (p.33). Sinclair's financial records show that "The Golden Fleece." was sold to the *Metropolitan* and *Maclean's* in 1922.

All other short-stories mentioned have been accessed from the original or in manuscript form, with the kind permission of George Brandak at The University of British Columbia, Special Collections Division in Vancouver.

A Historical Aspect of the Fire of 1898

by Fred Braches

ARCHIE AND DALE (KERR) MILLER'S article about the Great Fire in New Westminster (pp. 24–25) reminded me that the fire may have had unknown implications for researchers of early years of BC history. A serious loss of documents of historical value is reported, for instance, in a letter written by the Indian Agent, Frank Devlin, to the Indian Superintendent in Victoria, W. Vowell. The New Westminster Agency was accountable for a large part of the province. The letter, dated 13 September 1898, a day after the fire, reads as follows:

> Sir, I have the honor to report for your information that in the Fire which broke out in this City on Saturday night last my Office with practically all the contents thereof was destroyed I only having saved a few Maps and a few Books. I am not quite certain yet if the books are safe. I put them in the Vault in the Land Office which has not yet been opened. The fire was so fierce that I am afraid everything will be scorched even what was placed in the Vaults.
>
> Will you please duplicate the Order which I sent to your Office in the early part of July last for supplies for this Agency for the current year and kindly add thereto one letter press and one ruler. Request the Department to fill this Order without delay as I am entirely out of all Stationery, Forms, etc.
>
> Your Obedient Servant,
>
> Frank Devlin, Indian Agent

The letter books containing copies of outgoing correspondence survived, but incoming correspondence received prior to September, 1898 was lost in the fire. The surviving letter books are now part of the Department on Indian Affairs (DIA) files, kept at the National Archives of Canada, referred to as Record Group 10 (RG10) and available on microfilm.

The letter mentioned above has the following reference: DIA RG10 No 1452 Letterbook New Westminster Agency 1898–1899 p. 388 Reel V-14264. To distinguish files relating to western Canada, i.e. Canada west of the Ontario/Manitoba border, the DIA added the reference "Black Series" to these files.

As shown by George Richard in his prize-winning essay on aboriginal water rights (*BC Historical News*, Spring 1999), the RG10 records include not only evidence of lives lived on reserves, but also document the interface between First Nations and immigrant settler groups.

Most students of local immigrant history are not aware that the RG10 files also hold details of the lives of immigrant settlers, their descendants, and their communities, often not available from other sources, such as municipal records.

One wonders what more, besides the records of the Indian Agent, went up in flames during that fateful night in 1889.

Book Reviews

Books for review and book reviews should be sent to:
Anne Yandle, Book Review Editor BC Historical News, 3450 West 20th Avenue, Vancouver BC V6S 1E4

Kathryn Bridge
By Snowshoe, Buckboard and Steamer: Women of the Frontier.
Reviewed by Frances Lew

Bill Merilees
Newcastle Island: A Place of Discovery.
Reviewed by Phyllis Reeve

Branwen Patenaude
Golden Nuggets: Roadhouse Portraits Along the Cariboo's Gold-Rush Trail.
Reviewed by Esther Darlington

Al King with Kate Braid
Red Bait! Struggles of a Mine Mill Local.
Reviewed by Ron Welwood

Charles S. Burne
The Fraser River Gold Fever of 1858.
Reviewed by Fred Braches

Raymond Cubs
Vancouver's Society of Italians.
Reviewed by Gordon R. Elliott

Charlene Porsild
Gamblers and Dreamers: Women, Men and Community in the Klondike.
Reviewed by Lew Green

Charles Lillard with Terry Glavin
A Voice Great Within Us.
Reviewed by George Newell

E.C. Burton and Robert S. Grant
Wheels, Skis and Floats: The Northern Adventures of a Pioneer Pilot.
Reviewed by Kirk Salloum

A.R. Williams
Bush and Artic Pilot.
Reviewed by Kirk Salloum

John Adams
Historic Guide to Ross Bay Cemetery, Victoria, BC, Canada.
Reviewed by Ron Welwood

Mary and Ted Bentley
Gabriola: Petroglyph Island.
Reviewed by Phyllis Reeve

J.G. MacGregor
Peter Fidler: Canada's Forgotten Explorer 1769–1822.
Reviewed by Barry Gough

CORRECTION AND APOLOGY:
The review in *BC Historical News* 32:2 of *The Sale-Room*, by Norman Simmons, was by accident wrongly attributed to Kelsey McCleod, whereas it was in fact written by Phyllis Reeve. The editor apologizes for his mistake and any upset it may have caused the two individuals concerned.

REVIEWERS:

Frances Lew is a journalist with CBC Radio in Northwestern BC.
Phyllis Reeve lives on Gabriola Island.
Esther Darlington, a resident of Cache Creek, is an enthusiastic Cariboo historian.
Ron Welwood is President of the British Columbia Historical Federation.
Fred Braches is Editor of this journal.
Gordon R. Elliott is Professor Emeritus of English, Simon Fraser University.
Lew Green has spent many years in the North as a geologist.
George Newell is a member of the Victoria Historical Society.
Kirk Salloum is an educational instructor living in Vancouver.
Barry Gough is Professor of History at Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario.

Lieutenant-Governor's Medal For Historical Writing.
First place BCHF Writing Competition

BY SNOWSHOE, BUCKBOARD AND STEAMER: WOMEN OF THE FRONTIER. KATHRYN BRIDGE. VICTORIA: SONO NIS PRESS, 1998. 231 PP. ILLUS. $19.95.
REVIEWED BY FRANCES LEW

In her latest book, historian and archivist Kathryn Bridge tries to add some gender balance to the existing record on BC colonial history.

The book brings together the stories of four pioneering women who lived and travelled in backwoods BC between the 1860s and 1890s. The book is no small feat, considering how little documentation exists, on early immigrant women to BC. Bridge has combed the BC Archives for journals, letters, articles, and other clues to help her reconstruct the stories of these four intriguing women. Her detective work has paid off, with an attractive, engaging book.

The women in this book were trailblazers, and in some ways oddities in their time—white, female, and daring to venture into isolated and unknown pockets of early BC—from Vancouver Island, to the Nass Valley, to the Cariboo. The women ranged from the wife of the Anglican Bishop of New Westminster, to the daughter of a fairly well-to-do, would-be farmer.

Bridge wanted to include women from diverse walks of life, but that proved to be impossible, because not all 19th century immigrant women were literate enough to produce letters and diaries. The few records that exist, come from educated, middle-class women. Bridge admits, "They were all wives or daughters of upper-middle-class men ... these women were very secure in their sense of position within the social order and had, to a certain degree in their dealings with those they felt were beneath them, an arrogance born of this assumption."

This leads to one of the most interesting elements in these stories: insight into 19th-century race relations between the white colonizers and the local First Nations, as well as the Chinese servants hired by the white families. These women often held the same world views prevalent among most British immigrants of the time, including an unwavering belief in the superiority of British society. There are often patronizing references to First Nations and Chinese people. Native people were often regarded as merely there to serve the British colonizers—there to help them do the washing, chop the firewood, and guide them in the backwoods. But these interactions also made some of the women question the assumptions of the day. That happened to Eleanor Fellows, who immigrated from England to Vancouver Island in the 1860s with her husband, who owned a hardware business in Victoria. At one point, they live in a cottage in the woods near Esquimalt Harbour, and Eleanor vents her anger at the "westerners" who have devastated the native population by introducing "firewater...a shameful business". She even attacks the stereotypes of the day: "As for the Indians, I had now seen enough of them to take them at their true value...their faces are

as intelligent and as prepossessing as are those of many among the best of my fellow-countrymen...that the aborigines of to-day are a 'wretchedly degraded race', idle and thriftless, etc., is an accusation devoid of truth". Eleanor tells an amusing anecdote about her Native friend and servant "Lucy." Though there's some condescension in her tone, it's also obvious Eleanor has genuine affection for Lucy, as she describes her delight in introducing Lucy to the joys of cherry pie. Elsewhere, Eleanor says "At no time during our twelve-months' stay at the house in the woods did the Indians of the neighbouring village act towards us in any hostile manner". But she also adds this observation: "One reason for this pleasant state of things probably was that the land on which the village stood had not yet become sufficiently valuable to tempt the white man's greed."

Eleanor is perhaps the most interesting of the four women in this collection. Because of her musical talents, she even became a bit of a minor celebrity during her time in the Victoria area. After singing at several public concerts, she garnered enthusiastic reviews, but that didn't win her any friends, because Eleanor was dabbling in "the stage" at a time when it was unacceptable for respectable "ladies" to perform publicly. Bridge says this, combined with her strong personality and lack of deference to her husband in public, led to her being ostracized by her "peers," who saw her as "somewhat lacking in refinement".

The writing by the four women in this collection is somewhat uneven. Some are more polished writers than others, but Kathryn Bridge warns us ahead of time with her own commentary. For example, Bridge refers to Kate Woods's "frequently inelegant style." Kate completed an amazing journey from Victoria, up the Inside Passage, and overland through the Nass Valley in the early spring of 1880. She and her brother sailed from Victoria to the Nisga'a Village of Kincolith (a village which still remains one of BC's most isolated communities—accessible today only by plane or boat). From Kincolith, they undertook an arduous 26-day snowshoe journey through the deep snow and ice, accompanied by several Nisga'a guides. Their destination was a mission near Kispiox, where Kate's sister and missionary brother-in-law were living. This snowshoe journey is one of the most incredible adventures detailed in this book, but I found Kate's writing style didn't quite do full justice to the experience. It's a competent account of the physical details of the sometimes harrowing, often exhilarating trip, but Kate isn't very reflective about the experience, so the account lacks depth. Then again, anyone who has to wake up at 1:30 A.M. to leave camp at 3:30 for the day's journey, can be excused for skimping on the introspection. It's just that given today's huge interest in all things Nisga'a, it would have been wonderful to read Kate's reflections on Nisga'a/white relations in the 19th century, as she journeyed with her Nisga'a guides.

Ultimately, this is a fun, enjoyable book. It's full of terrific stories, nice photos from the BC Archives and private collections, and some impressive sketches by the women pioneers themselves. Kathryn Bridge has brought us the real voices of four inspiring women, who give us a rare glimpse into the world of 19th century colonial BC, through female eyes.

Newcastle Island: A Place of Discovery. Bill Merilees. Surrey, BC: Heritage House Publishing, 1998. 128 pp. Illus, index, notes. Softcover $11.95.

Reviewed by Phyllis Reeve

Bill Merilees has crammed this little book with enough information to set a reader's head spinning. Or to send a dozen historians off in various directions, following his leads. Or to enhance the enjoyment of any tourist.

One of the first of British Columbia's provincial marine parks, and one of the most accessible, Newcastle Island in Nanaimo harbour is a destination for picnickers and boaters, a popular stop-over for summer cruisers. It takes its name from the English coal-mining centre of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and provided several of the sites for the mining activity which drove Nanaimo after 1850. The mining has finished, but the picnicking continues.

The author knows exactly what he is doing: "The purpose of this book is to put before the reader a simple, accurate account of Newcastle Island's history and to provide a suitable companion for any visitor to its shoreline." But he has given us something more than a disposable guidebook, and that is part of his intention: "I have not attempted to fully develop each story; many await, and are worthy of, further research. It is in the interests of such research that I provide a list of references, copies of which are on file with the Nanaimo Community Archives and Nanaimo branch of the Vancouver Island Regional Library. All photographs, illustrations, tape recordings, and other materials gathered as part of this project have likewise been placed in these archival repositories."

Even without full development of the story, Merilees provides maximum information in minimal space. The chapter, "The Role of Sandstone," for instance, relates the discovery of the island's superior sandstone and the development of the industry, outlines the methods for quarrying, and documents some of the notable projects using Newcastle sandstone: among these the United States Mint in San Francisco, the BC Penitentiary, the supports for the Alexandra suspension bridge near Spuzzum, the Bank of Montreal in Vancouver, a private mausoleum in Napa, California, Lord Nelson School in Vancouver, Christ Church Cathedral in Victoria, and a number of Victoria fireplaces. The McDonald Cut-Stone Company cut cylindrical sandstone blocks which would grind wood into pulp. The pulpstone operation relocated to Gabriola Island in 1932. Photographs enliven almost every page, and sidebars offer informational titbits.

Other chapters give us a Japanese herring saltery, a shipwreck, a murder, the world's longest telephone cable—and the CPR pavilion, "the only surviving dance pavilion from the indigenous coastal resort industry that flourished in British Columbia between the two world wars."

All summer long, people come into my store on Gabriola in search of a "book about the island." Bill Merilees's book about Newcastle is exactly the sort of pocket history they want and Gabriola lacks. I'm envious.

Honorary Mention BCHF Writing Competition

Golden Nuggets; Roadhouse Portraits Along the Cariboo's Gold-Rush Trail Branwen Patenaude. Nanoose Bay: Heritage House Publications, 1998. 96pp. Illus. $16.95.

Reviewed by Esther Darlington

Glossy pictorial histories like Heritage House Publications' *Golden Nuggets, Roadhouse Portraits Along the Cariboo's Gold-Rush Trail* by Branwen Patenaude are sure-fire winners at every major tourist stop these days. But such books are more than eye catchers. They often contain juicy tidbits. In this case, "nuggets" of personal detail about the rugged roistering characters and places not found in standard history texts. Branwen Patenaude

has unearthed another treasure trove along the Cariboo Gold Trail that leaves a fine legacy of BC history for the casual reader.

Heritage House Publications should be congratulated for producing a beautifully laid out book from cover to cover.

Roadhouses may seem, at first glance, a less than promising subject material. "Plain Janes" along the dusty Cariboo trail, they were neither attractive nor were they particularly durable, many of them. Often built in a hurry to accommodate the ever increasing numbers of travellers, few of the buildings had prepossessing exteriors. Utterly graceless for the most part, these road houses were built strictly along practical lines, and the immediate surroundings of barnyards, stables and outbuildings did little to enhance the air quality. But fill these houses with pioneer folk of real colour and substance, tragic circumstance and achievement that defied almost every obstacle a new territory can hold, and you have the prescription for a fascinating taste of Cariboo frontier life during the horsedrawn transportation era.

Branwen Patenaude's painstaking research includes a wealth of detail about families, social life and mercantile endeavours that worked for their time and their place in the development of the Cariboo. Future historians, movie makers and writers will draw upon this wealth for years to come. *Golden Nuggets* includes some South Cariboo points that have hitherto been almost ignored. For example, Ashcroft, once the transportation terminus for the railroads, providing freight service and passenger transport for goods and persons bound for northern Cariboo points, is well represented.

The photographs, many of them produced by pioneer photographers like Charles Gentile, are numerous and varied. They are spread tastefully and imaginatively throughout the book. Oval portraits of the main characters in the history of historic Hat Creek Ranch, for example, are overlayed against the backdrop of the beautiful Hat Creek Valley with a smaller picture of a sideview of Hat Creek House. Obscure hamlets such as Jesmond, Dog Creek, Alkali Lake, Pavilion, and Fountain House are included, leaving "no stone unturned" along the Gold Rush Trail.

In all, *Golden Nuggets*, is a fitting crown of achievement for both Branwen Patenaude and Heritage House Publications. They have left us a legacy of history both memorable and infinitely pleasurable to read.

Red Bait!
Struggles of a Mine Mill Local
Al King with Kate Braid. Vancouver: Kingbird Publishing, 1998. 176 pp. Illus. $20.00. (Available from the publisher, 8096 Elliott Street, Vancouver, BC V5S 2P2)
Reviewed by Ron Welwood

Al King, capably assisted by Kate Braid, relates his association with the fledgling International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers (IUMMSW or Mine Mill) of Trail, BC starting in the late 1930s. King, born and raised an Irish Catholic in Protestant Manchester, England, learned at an early age to fight "the right way—clean and honest." His commitment to improve the lot of his fellow workers directly parallels the struggle of Mine Mill, particularly after the Second World War.

The title of this book is quite revealing. The definition of red bait is "to harass and persecute (a person) on account of known or suspected Communist sympathies." King, by his own admission not a very good communist, belonged to the party because he believed in unionism and "a code of behaviour that allows people to live in community, in peace and harmony with each other." Throughout his working life he fought for these principles. In spite of the personal suffering caused by his red label, King continued to struggle for his causes in an honourable manner. In fact, this book ably illustrates the open and democratic process used by the IUMMSW compared to the rather underhanded tactics employed by some other labour organizations. Mine Mill not only negotiated for fair wage compensation, but also was a staunch advocate for health and safety issues, workers' compensation and pensions.

King's memoir is documented, often in colourful language, as if it was a personal chat over a glass of beer around the kitchen table. Insightful vignettes are highlighted in framed sidebars and are relevant to adjacent text. Although a useful "Guide to Abbreviations" is listed at the beginning of the book, either a more detailed contents page or an index would be helpful for future reference. However, this is an excellent first hand account and a primary source of information relating to the Mine Mill union and the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company (COMINCO). An appendix includes Ross Jordan's "The Struggle: A Brief History of Local Labour Movements and the Rossland Miners' Union Hall" (1985).

Mr. King stated that "the Mine Mill union very early committed itself to the health and safety of workers and I intend to document it in a separate history." Since Al King is a man of his word, let us sincerely hope he is able to fulfil this promise. Anyone who is interested in an insider view of the Mine Mill union movement of British Columbia would be well advised to consult this insightful publication.

The Fraser River Gold Fever of 1858.
Charles S. Burne. Blind Bay, BC: Sambrook Publishing, 1997. 218 pp. Illus. Softcover $15.95
Reviewed by Fred Braches

Two university-trained young men team up with an experienced placer miner and a cockney ex-employee of the Hudson Bay Co. to form a partnership to mine for gold in the Fraser canyon in 1858. The honest and decent foursome have a successful season because of dedication and shared skills. One of the university lads shows an intelligent interest in what is happening to the First Nations people caught in the gold rush, and his sympathetic actions earn him a special chief status and the hand of the Chief's mission-school trained daughter, Little Dove. The other three settle down for a happy life in British Columbia as well.

The story is studded with references to historical events of the day. Efforts to express authentic historical records in dialogue are not always successful, and the conversations on these subjects sound untrue. No serious attempts have been made either to avoid modern vernacular. The use of broken English in "Native" talking is an unfortunate choice, given the respect of the author for First Nations culture.

The book shows the author's rich experience of outdoor living, fishing, hunting, and of course, the pursuit of placer gold. This personal knowledge echoes in the adventures of the gold-seeking foursome and gives their life in the canyon the colour of a modern camping outing in the wilderness. The 19th century seems often far removed.

This is a historical novel allowing the author some liberty in presenting facts. Of little value for historians the book may attract readers of this genre looking for an entertaining account, even if this is not great literature. Those interested in factual history may prefer to read Netta Sterne's recent book *Fraser Gold 1858!*

VANCOUVER'S SOCIETY OF ITALIANS. RAYMOND CUBS. MADEIRA PARK, BC: HARBOUR PUBLISHING, 1998. 223 PP ILLUS., INDEX. 28 PAGES OF NOTES.

REVIEWED BY GORDON R. ELLIOTT

The blurb on the dust jacket of this book by Raymond Cubs—retired from *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Vancouver Province* and in the 1970s a contributor to *L'Eco d'Italia*—calls the book "a compelling social history"; in the foreword, Judge Dolores Holmes thanks Raymond Cubs "for the many hours he has spent compiling this history;" in the preface, Cubs himself says that he takes "pride in presenting this historical account of Vancouver's pioneer Italians and their institutions" and that he dedicates it to the "many wonderful people who played a positive role in ... our Italian–Canadian community, circa 1904-1966...." He goes on to say that he was "guided by a single criterion: to chronicle the documented contributions of the men and women closely associated with Vancouver's Italian mutual aid societies". He trusts that he has "fulfilled adequately this primary objective."

He has indeed fulfilled this primary objective. And has done more. His first chapter, "Farewell to Marino," is about the 1995 funeral of his 91-year-old father, a key figure in Vancouver's Italian community and in The Sons of Italy Mutual Aid Society, its name having been suggested by Angelo Calori, owner of the Europe Hotel. This first chapter also neatly introduces the Branca family: Filippo worked to found the Veneta Benevolent Society, and in 1963 his son Angelo fostered the Confratellanza Italo-Canadese Society. The tensions, rivalries and jealousies between the Veneta Society and the Sons of Italy remained until the community faced the idea of fascism in Italy. Later, even, Cubs and Branca really came together to support the creation of the present Italian Community Centre on Slocan Street, an effort not really forwarded by old timers, but by post-war newcomers.

Most chapters following the first give insights into old families involved in the various Italian societies over the years and while doing so tell something of the members and activities of those societies, but beginning with the funeral in the first chapter, and with the second chapter flipping back to Marino's arrival in Vancouver at the age of six in 1910, the book could almost be considered a biography of Marino Cubs by his son. In addition, however, this second chapter, like all the others, introduces more and more well-known names, names such as Carrelli, Galetti, and Ferrera, Anderlini, Cianci, Delasala, and Marchese, but the major figure throughout this book, the major thread running through it, is Marino Cubs. And, with him, Angelo Branca.

But while telling us of his father, Raymond Cubs sprinkles into his text other items of interest. For instance, after the Governor General, the Duke of Connaught, had cut the ribbon to open Connaught Bridge—now Cambie Street Bridge—the first person to cross it was Alberto Principe in a horse-drawn beer-wagon; the 64-foot-high Italian-created arch on Hastings Street at Homer, under which the Governor General progressed, introduced Carlo Marega, the sculptor, to the city. The next chapter, only two pages long and entitled "Murder!," works in such names as Nick Cosco, Gabrielle Iacobucci, and Mario Montenario, the man who murdered Angelo Teti, the owner of the Sylvia Hotel. The fourth chapter, only a page and a half, introduces Giuseppi Guasparri who "in the early 1880s" became the first Italian to settle in the Hastings Mill area after fighting in the American Civil War as "John Lewis" and after coming to British Columbia for Cariboo gold. The fifth chapter, another one of two pages, tells us about hunger during World War II and about men who joined the Canadian army.

And so it goes. With lots of pictures and lots of names. Funerals at Mountain View. The Italian Ladies' League. Restaurants. Bars. Hotels. A singing teacher. The best in sport: Marino Cubs, Tosca Trasolini and, of course, boxer Angelo Branca, Canadian Middleweight Champion in 1934, and Felice DiPalma as "Phil Palmer" fighting pro at Madison Square Garden. The Grape merchants—Branca, Tosi, Minichiello, Bosa—sold to the average man for home consumption only, to people who would of course never ever consider selling wine for profit. But turn the page and you find that "Scores of Italian families sold small amounts of home-made wine to their friends and lodgers." Were they the ones bootlegging in that joint on Abbott Street in the early 1940s? Or in that other one so easily accessible on Homer? Not identified are the "big four booze baron families [who] lived on Seymour, Prior, Union and Georgia Streets."

The story continues. The celebration of successes, and of the jealousies such successes engendered. Stories of picnics and of banquets, and annotated photographs of them. But contributing to the obvious rivalries was the arrival of the Fascisti in Vancouver, and one of the possible repercussions of that arrival was the creation of the Vancouver Italian-Canadian Mutual Aid Society, the third such society in the small community.

Depending on a reader's definition of "history," picnics and banquets become much less important than the problems created for the community by *Il Duce's* conquest of Ethiopia and the subsequent rising of local interest in Fascism. By 1937 the Italian Vice-Consul, Dr. Brancucci, was openly reproaching local Italians for daring to criticize Italy, but though the "naive" Marino Cubs seems at first to have followed the same line while writing for the new newspaper, *L'Eco Italo-Canadese*, not all the community did so. With Alberto Boccini, Cubs bought the newspaper in 1938. The partnership did not last very long after Cubs and Boccini had a fight in their 12th-floor office of the Dominion Bank Building: "Verbal abuse escalated to push and shove. The men struggled toward an open window. With Marino pressing his thumbs against his adversary's throat, Boccini fell backward onto the windowsill. Draped precariously on the outside ledge, Boccini barely managed to save himself from falling to the street below. Fortunately, both men came to their senses in time to avert a certain tragedy." For the reader, such dramatic action comes as a major relief.

The picnics and parties and the elections of queens of this and of that continued, but by 1940 political issues were becoming severe and the ominous "Pact of Steel" forced local Italian societies to think of amalgamating in order to meet the dangers to face all of them in a short time. On June 10, 1940, at a meeting of the new Vancouver Canadian-Italian Vigilance Association, Angelo Branca, its founder, led the attack on Fascism; Marino Cubs, who had led the Sons of Italy to back the new association, served as secretary.

War came, and two chapters—both too short, but both thought-provoking—tell of problems faced by internees at Alberta's easy-going Kananaskis camp and at Ontario's more structured and socially different Petawawa camp. They also tell of problems faced at home in Vancouver at the time—struggles for food, the loss of income, and the ruined businesses. Other men, enlisted men, however, travelled the world. One of them, a Vancouver man who could speak no Italian, went

at his mother's request to visit her relatives in Frosinoni, southeast of Rome, relatives he did not know and could not talk to. But they could and they did smile at and laugh with each other all evening. Such human touches are rare in this book, and almost as soon as the war is over the round of banquets and school classes and choirs take precedence. All with pictures and lists of people. But war had brought new blood to Vancouver's Italian society, new blood which saw the divisions in the local community and set out to bring the factions together.

Raymond Cubs does meet his primary objective, but whether successfully or not is disputable. The title of the book *Vancouver's Society of Italians,* is somewhat misleading when the author himself wants to concentrate on Vancouver's Italian mutual aid societies, plural, though he includes almost any association of people while telling really little about them. Judge Holmes thanks him for "compiling this history," but whereas a history is a logically developed narrative, even a story with a plot, this volume sometimes seems like a clutter of notes, many unrelated to Cubs'"primary objective". His many wanderings away from that objective also often obscure his theme. In addition, his lists of names smother action, and surely a history should move the readers on in one direction or another, possibly emotionally as well as in space or in time. That first chapter of only two pages has one list of ten names and another of fifteen. The index indicates roughly 1200 names, many of them appearing 7, 8, 10,11,12 times, 40 for Angelo Branca and 70 for Marino Cubs, most of them old families. Identified as a daughter of Angelo Branca in a footnote, Judge Dolores Holmes calls this a social history, but even in generalities a social history could comment on who all these people were, where they came from, why they came, what they wanted here, and why some of them gave up and returned "home".

The book also purports to show Vancouver's Italian world "circa 1904–1966"—a large "about," a great "approximation": people coming in the 1950s and 1960s are too often ignored. Anna Terrana, a Member of Parliament, earns only one short sentence; Peter Olivieri, who was producing pasta as early as 1957 and who had become locally famous for it by 1966, earned one footnote; Nando Flaim, a well-known stonemason, none. Not so a man with an Italian title who came to Canada in the 1920s: he earned almost a page of family background and ten footnotes; seven families of the same name appear today in the Vancouver Telephone Directory. Why they remain here might be part of a real social history.

Although difficult to read because of its being broken up by those lists of names, by the many, many pictures, and by its in vogue sidebars, because of its not going into any great depth on any subject, and because the action without plot slows down at times to even less than a snail's pace, this book is worth reading if only for the homage it renders to Vancouver's Italian community which itself might not give the book an overwhelming reception because the shape of the book does not allow it to fit easily into any normal bookcase and the owners are therefore forced rather to ostentatiously display the book on coffee tables. But some advice to readers: do not skip those 28 pages of footnotes which supply information so important that it should have been worked into the 170 pages of text. And even more advice: find a copy of *Opening Doors: Vancouver's East End,* a 1979 publication of the Provincial Archives Sound Heritage program, the issue which prints decent-length interviews with Angelo Branca, Marino Cubs, and Ray Cubs himself, three interviews containing material which would have added much to this volume, material which might enhance any subsequent volume.

Gamblers and Dreamers: Women, Men and Community in the Klondike. Charlene Porsild. Nebraska: UBC Press, 1998. 250 pp. Illus. Paperback $20.00,
Reviewed by Lew Green

The size and importance of the Klondike gold rush is all but forgotten today. In 1900, the best year, the $22,275,000 worth of gold recovered represented close to 35 percent of the total dollar value of Canada's mineral production. The search, that began with the California Gold Rush of 1848, had moved north through British Columbia, and in time would continue into Alaska.

The author describes *Gamblers and Dreamers* as "a social history of a mining camp created in a few weeks which then developed into a permanent settlement and a complex society over the next few years," and in a later paragraph states:

> In the pages that follow, I have attempted to reconstruct several key components of Dawson City between 1896 and 1905. Rather than concentrate on administrators, bureaucrats, and other celebrated figures of the period, as other Klondike historians have done, I have chosen to focus on the more anonymous men and women who lived and worked in Dawson in its earliest years. The experience of the ordinary Klondiker, then, is at the heart of this book. The results challenge pre-existing notions of an egalitarian, transitory, male mining camp and demonstrate that a heterogeneous and stratified community emerged early and remained long after the gold rush ended.

For Dawson it is difficult to overlook the turmoil inflicted on the community by officialdom in the form of Clifford Sifton, Canada's Minister of the Interior until March 1905. Sifton, who would never visit the Klondike, believed that gold production would fall as the initial mining was completed and that the future lay in large-scale, capital-intensive operations taking over and reworking the ground. The concept was correct but his attempts to force change by granting concessions covering large blocks of ground were disastrous. Dawsonites and miners united to protest perceived injustices threatening their well-being. Many individuals, uncertain about the future of mining in the Klondike, left to return outside or to join new gold rushes on the Alaska side.

Components of the Dawson community are examined and described. Like other cities of the period Dawson had a social structure with the commissioner at the top, progressing through the ranks of the professional and mercantile sectors to the miners and labourers on which all depended and at the base the prostitutes, Metis and Native people.

The book contains new information about a fascinating piece of Canadian history including many brief individual stories. However, reading it one has to remember that Dawson had a young population and, judging by the Dawson newspapers and contemporary accounts, there was always a lot going on and a great deal of humour. Somehow this fails to come through. For example, prostitution described as "hard work done under trying conditions" contrasts Laura Berton's scene of "unparalleled gaiety" observed on a surreptitious trip to observe the prostitutes of Lousetown.

Also Noted: *Mountain Heritage Magazine, 1998.* 327 Hoodoo Crescent, Canmore, Alberta, T1W 1A8. $29.00 for two years.
Vol 1:1 includes articles "Women in the Rockies," and "Randle Robertson and the Burgess Shale."
Vol. 1:2 includes "Robson Revisited—Who was Really First to the Top of the Rockies," and "The Ghost of Stanley Thompson."

A Voice Great Within Us.
Charles Lillard with Terry Glavin.
Vancouver: Transmontanus /New Star Books, 1998. 116 pp. Illus., bibliography. $16
Reviewed by George Newell

At the time of his death, in 1997, Charles Lillard had accumulated a considerable quantity of material about Chinook and had begun to select from his own writings on the subject for publication in book form. With Lillard's death, Terry Glavin completed the project, adding to Lillard's some of his own articles. On the seven sections in *A Voice Great within Us*, four are written by Lillard, three are by Glavin, and Glavin has also provided a foreword. Possibly the best short description of the book's contents is provided on its front cover—"The Story of Chinook, B.C.'s Lost Language, with a Chinook Lexicon, Examples of its Use, a Map and Gazetteer of Chinook Place Names, Chinook Poetry, and a Discussion of its Origin and Legacy."

A Voice Great Within Us does not claim to be a definitive study of Chinook and its use. The authors are more modest in their aims. Whether or not it qualifies as a language is a central issue. The article in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (2nd ed., 1988) calls it a jargon, as does *A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (1967). Glavin, for his part, prefers language:

> It's not just because the term 'language' dresses it up a little and makes it more presentable. It's that the term 'jargon' applies to specialized or technical terminology, and generally implies little more than a vocabulary of slang. Chinook was far more than that.

He notes that "It expanded upon itself, and is elaborately expressive."

Readers of *A Voice Great Within Us* may well be surprised by the extent to which the language, or jargon, if you prefer, was used throughout British Columbia. "Over time," Glavin writes, "a body of Chinook literature began to evolve, and it went in many directions, not the least of which was poetry and popular songs." Although only eleven published items are listed in the bibliography, many more are mentioned in the text and in the captions which accompany the illustrations. Lillard's section, "A Chinook Gazetteer, circa 1997", an updated version of the chapter he wrote for *Men of the Forest* (David Day, comp. and ed., 1977), illustrates the extent to which Chinook words have been adopted as place names. In the Chinook to English half of his "A Chinook Lexicon", Glavin lists 286 Chinook words, a few of which, such as *chuck* and *skookum*, are widely known.

Chinook, despite its extensive use over many decades, has received limited coverage in the province's standard histories. *A Voice Great Within Us* should bring some much-warranted attention, and will be of interest to a wide range of British Columbians.

Wheels, Skis and Floats: The Northern Adventures of a Pioneer Pilot. E.C. (Ted) Burton and Robert S. Grant. Surrey, BC: Hancock House Publishers, 1998. 171 pp. Illus., appendix. Paperback $19.95

Bush and Arctic Pilot. A.R. (Al) Williams. Surrey, BC: Hancock House Publishers, 1998. 255 pp. Illus. Paperback $23.95
Reviewed by Kirk Salloum

Early Canadian aviators are seldom acknowledged for their role in this country's development. Their stories, however, contribute significantly to Canada's history, as is illustrated by the two books *Wheels, Skis and Floats: The Northern Adventures of a Pioneer Pilot* and *Bush and Arctic Pilot.*

Wheels, Skis and Floats is rooted in a 20-thousand word manuscript written in the late 1940s by Edward Cherry Burton. The authors of the book, Robert Grant (an established aviation writer) and Ted Burton (Edward's son), along with the help of Edward's and Ted's spouses, rewrote the manuscript in its present form. Interspersed throughout the text are doggerel and sketches by Edward Burton and a collection of photographs.

Burton was an aviation pioneer who found the lifestyle challenging and rewarding. Born in England, he emigrated to homestead in Saskatchewan in the early 1900s. There he was tried for killing a man and acquitted by the court by reason of self-defense (he had been attacked by three assailants). Burton then moved to rural Toronto. Shortly thereafter war broke out. After being rejected by the infantry, Burton managed to join the Royal Flying Corps which was seeking recruits "with lots of the devil." The early flying skills Burton acquired during the war proved to be a major asset to his future.

As his commercial aviation career unfolded, Burton's reputation as an excellent pilot grew. He had the ability to understand and "feel" his way through each new aircraft design that he flew. His skills and luck assisted him in surviving a number of life-threatening accidents. In one mishap, Burton became the first Canadian to make a forced parachute jump at night. In a more unfortunate incident, he suffered permanent damage to his left leg.

In Burton's days, pilots flew without the benefit of radios to inform them of poor weather and were often required to make unscheduled landings in dubious terrain. During such times, Burton would sketch and write poetry while waiting for the weather to clear. Many of these artistic endeavours made their way into letters he sent to his wife and son.

The manuscript that Burton compiled conveys not only his knowledge of and experiences in aviation, but how the airplane affected northern and rural life. Having worked across various regions of Canada, Burton provides the reader with stories that happened directly to him or those people around him: one describes "Canada's first aerial [bank robber] getaway."

The book is as much a history of Canadian aviation as it is a biography of an aviator who became the oldest licensed commercial pilot until his flying certificate lapsed for medical reasons. Burton "saw aviation grow from a shaky fledging start through regular trans-Atlantic scheduled flights to the beginning of the space age."

Bush and Arctic Pilot is an autobiographical account of A.R. Williams's flying days which began in the 1950s. As a child he thought about a story in which "daddy bear" takes his family for an airplane ride and later learned from his aviator brothers "that humans (not just bears) could fly." Initially, Williams wrote vignettes about his aviation career for family members and was encouraged by them and friends to have the stories published.

Through Williams's photographs, his personal stories, and the stories he heard, the reader is provided with a captivating view of Canada's aviation history. Williams also discusses the management of aviation companies, the regulating of aviation, northern and rural Canadian lifestyles, and economic conditions at the time. An added dimension of local history is supplied in these stories: as examples, the reader learns how particular places received their names, such as Flin Flon and No Run Lake; the reader is introduced to characters who were involved in the aviation industry, such as General Custer's great-grandson and Tom Lamb who "virtually invented flying in Manitoba."

These stories capture the notion that pilots can become intimate with individual aircraft; that "these machines do develop personalities of their own." Williams spends considerable time discussing the designs and engineering concerns of different aircraft within the context of his stories. As a humorous example, he points out that some aircraft engines are better for cooking a can of beans than others. Like many pilots that flew in rural and northern Canada, Williams had close calls with landings and takeoffs. Since Williams had a good understanding of each aircraft he flew, he managed to survive the most life-threatening situations imaginable. Other catastrophes were avoided by keeping aircraft well-maintained and giving them frequent visual inspections.

This book goes beyond having value for its portrayal of aviation in northern and rural Canada. Williams's stories convey a picture of a vocation that has ended: the self-reliance of pilots has been replaced by air traffic control and global positioning systems. In Williams's words, "I flew for the love and freedom of flight. In those days, the bush pilot and Arctic pilot was probably the last free human on the planet.... Those days are gone forever."

Williams's book and the one by Grant and Burton capture the aviation spirit of their times. While one is biographical and the other autobiographical, both outline how pilots of the day learned quickly to recognize the eccentricities of each aircraft. Their careers required them to spend considerable time away from their families and to adapt to Canada's rural-northern cultures, climate, and geography. Williams and Burton were individuals who could appreciate the ironies that accompanied their experiences. No matter which book you pick up to read, either would be intriguing and beyond belief by today's aviation standards.

Historic Guide to Ross Bay Cemetery, Victoria, BC, Canada. John Adams. Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1998. 48pp. Illus., maps. Paperback $9.95

Reviewed by Ron Welwood

Cemeteries reflect the nature and times of the surrounding community and are often the earliest form of planned landscape. In the nineteenth century open garden-like cemeteries were developed. Burial grounds were transformed into peaceful, beautiful gardens in order to make the dead accessible to the living. These cemeteries emphasized the sanctity of the family as well as a sense of tranquillity and a focus on public health.

Ross Bay Cemetery, now designated a heritage site by Victoria City Council has been in use since 1873. The current population of Victoria's necropolis is about 28 thousand. This guide includes over 150 entries to selected gravesites of both the rich and famous as well as the poor and lesser known. Some of its citizens include the who's who of early British Columbia.

This small publication is as good as it gets. It has an excellent layout with an overall map located in the centre of the booklet. The tours are broadly organized by denomination. Each of the thirteen tours includes a detailed map and is complemented by either contemporary or historic black and white photographs. The detailed map includes numbered site locations and additional map notes. It is followed by entries beginning with surname, monument description, given name(s), dates, epitaph, and a brief biography.

The beginning of this monograph includes a history of Ross Bay Cemetery and suggestions for using the guide. Near the end there are useful notes on monument makers, a key to tombstone symbols and illustrations of monument styles. A very thorough index is located at the end (this reviewer has only one very minor suggestion: for multiple referenced entries, use boldface type to indicate the main entry).

John Adams, a well-respected necrologist, must be heralded for publishing this excellent, updated revision of his 1983 monograph. The modest price makes this resurrection issue an outstanding deal. It certainly is an ideal template for anyone interested in such an unusual undertaking!

Peter Fidler: Canada's Forgotten Explorer 1769-1822. J.G. MacGregor. new edition; Calgary: Fifth House, 1998. 265 pp., maps. Paperback $12.95

Reviewed by Barry Gough

This fine publisher's Western Canadian Classics reproduces some of the best western Canadian history, biography, memoirs, stories of explorers and homesteaders, and other great works. A recent addition to this good list is James MacGregor's pioneering biography of a less than well known explorer of western Canada: the HBC's Peter Fidler. Often regarded as an "also ran" in the remarkable and vibrant history of Canadian exploration, Fidler is given his literary due in this work. Thus the reprinting of this account, first published by McClelland & Stewart over three decades ago, in 1966, is a testament of its subject and the literary durability of MacGregor, whose travels in search of this subject (often by bus) and love of character are legendary.

Historical scholarship has pushed back the darkness on Fidler since MacGregor's book first appeared, and this new edition does nothing to advance the record or reflect this recent research. It is fair to state that Robert Allen's biography of Fidler, in The Dictionary of Canadian Biography, ought to be consulted in the first instance by any serious student of the subject. But leaving the technicalities aside (if one is able to do so) it will be appreciated that MacGregor had a wide canvas to work upon, featuring a less than vibrant character. Not all of Canada's explorers "jump out of the page" such as Mackenzie or Fraser. Many, like Fidler, led prosaic lives.

And what about Fidler? This robust Englishman brought to the Northwest scholarly capabilities and accounting skills. He served under Philip Turnor, and the two of them were given a better opportunity as surveyors owing to the fact that David Thompson had suffered an eye injury and was temporarily incapacitated. Fidler honed his skills in the interior. In 1792-93, too late to catch Mackenzie, he journeyed to the foothills of the Rockies. In subsequent years he ran or built several HBC posts, perhaps the most significant of which was Nottingham House, on English Island, Lake Athabasca (near Fort Chipewyan of the North West Company). Fidler was on the receiving end of reprisals by North West Company and XY Company; he was particularly targetted by the great pest in these matters, Samuel Black. In 1806-1810 Fidler had a quieter duty: surveying Red River, Lake Winnipeg and region. Again, in June 1810 the dreaded Black paid him an unwelcome call, this time in company with his boon companion Peter Skene Ogden. (Why hasn't a movie been made out of this?) We find Fidler escorting the second group of Selkirk Settlers in 1812, then surveying river lots on the model of Lower Canada. He was pensioned off in 1821, and was treated with some veneration in later years. His partner in life was Mary, a Swampy Cree, with whom he had a very large family.

Fidler was largely self taught as a surveyor. He had an interest in various matters, but he lacked a formal education that would have

put him into a premier league of explorers and journalists. He seems to have had no dash, and showed no spirited leadership skills. But he followed orders. However, his legacy will always be that he was a surveyor and map maker who left contributions to that branch of science and geography. The HBC was made very much of a number of such lesser lights, and indeed the whole history of the country and nation of Canada may be an aggregate of such individuals. Harold Innis said of Peter Pond that he was one of the sons of Martha, by which he meant an everyday worker and not a luminary. The same could be said of Fidler.

This book, appearing again, will be welcomed by those interested in the western process in that age when fur was king—before the age of railway and settler. In many ways it was a happier age for all involved, but it presaged a different sort of imperium. Fidler was an agent of empire, a servant of the geometric, a quantifier of landscape. He did his job to his firm's satisfaction, and he left an important historical and biographical legacy amply advertised in his useful, though now somewhat dated, treatment.

Gabriola: Petroglyph Island. Mary and Ted Bentley. Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1998. Soft cover $14.95.
Reviewed by Phyllis Reeve

In 1976 the Bentleys discovered a major petroglyph site on Gabriola Island. Describing themselves as "amateur archaeologists and fascinated admirers of native culture", they proved to be the ideal discoverers, promoters, and protectors of these rock glyphs and the others on Gabriola. Carrying little in the way of academic, political, or spiritual baggage, they proceeded with infinite care and common sense to record and share their discovery. They approached the owners of the land, Weldwood of Canada, who subsequently donated the site to the Province. In 1981 Sono Nis published the first edition of this book, which has been an invaluable guide, souvenir and restraint for eager and over-eager petroglyph hunters.

In the twenty-two years since their discovery, more petroglyphs have been revealed, and "petroglyphs have become an important identity for the island. They have emerged as a cultural component and are a source of pride and inspiration for modern-day islanders. Interest in the carvings has crossed over from a small number of professional archaeologists and dedicated amateurs to the general population." Those years also witnessed, among both Native and non-Native peoples, an increased reverence for these stunning remnants of an almost forgotten past.

The new edition contains fifty more pages than the first, partly because of larger, more readable print and a more useful arrangement of photographs, drawings and charts. Each site now has its own chapter, as has the new Gabriola Museum and Petroglyph Park.—For pilgrims disappointed with the inevitable fading of the Weldwood Site, now politically renamed the Church Site, and longing to see the glyphs which hide on private land, the Park offers excellent and accessible replicas.—The Bentleys have added a new foreword and accounts of new discoveries reported even as the book went to press.

The Bentleys focus on the Gabriola sites, recording and describing, making some connections, but leaving it to the sources in their bibliography to comment on the full context of aboriginal culture. Nor do they spend much time speculating on the psychic and spiritual aura of the sites.

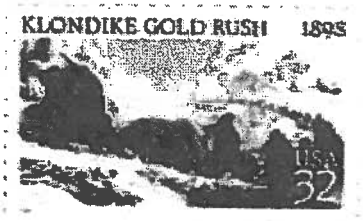
As a Gabriola resident, who has been clamouring for some years for this second edition, I am delighted with the book, but I find it difficult to judge its wider relevance. Perhaps its value lies in its deliberate focus on the known and the knowable, and in its provision of a model of intelligent stewardship.

The Land of Heart's Delight

In 1911 a booklet was published to attract settlers from Britain titled *The Land of Heart's Delight*. Mike Layland of Victoria and his company Baytext Communications Inc. borrowed the title for a colourful reproduction of a 1913 map of Vancouver Island sponsored by a Victoria realtor of the day. You will find this map in the shops of the Royal BC Museum in Victoria and the Vancouver Maritime Museum. Or call Mike at (250) 477-2734 for a point of sale near you.

From the Editor

100 Years Ago



The 1898 gold rush had an enormous impact on the lives of many British Columbians and United States citizens. The centennial of Yukon gold was remembered by the US Postal Services with a stamp. Canada Post missed the opportunity.

Commemorative stamps relating to our British Columbia history are scarce. Suggestions to issue commemorative stamps honouring personalities important for the history of our province do not seem to find a receptive ear in Ottawa. Canada Post Corporation could not be convinced to honour Captain Vancouver or issue a Boas/Teit commemorative stamp. Why is that?

I wonder if the philatelists among our readers could tell us which (if any) BC history stamps have been issued and when.

The Other Simma Holt

The following letter was received from Mrs. June Wilson of Kimberley with reference to Laura Duke's article on Simma Holt in *BC Historical News*, 32:2, Spring 1999:

> I have just read "Against a Tide of Change: an Interpretation of the Writings of Simma Holt, 1960–1974" by Laura Duke.
>
> There are many omissions and errors. Simma's parents came from the Ukraine and were not Russians. The family was Jewish born and bred. This article makes it sound as if Simma and Len had money—not true. They eventually did own a house but it took many years of struggle and assistance from Simma's dad.
>
> I truly believe that something should be done to tell Simma's true story. I do not like to think of this article being a lasting memory and that it is on record at the Historical Society. Someone should interview Simma and the true story written and it should be published in the same magazine. As the editor, can you do something about this?

I hope that by publishing this letter I encourage one of our readers to follow up on Mrs. Wilson's suggestion to interview Mrs. Holt and write an article for publication in *BC Historical News*.

Federation News

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting 1 May 1999 in Merritt Civic Centre

Ron Welwood called the meeting to order at 8:35 A.M. Fifty-five registered delegates and a few guests attended. Arnold Ranneris, corresponding secretary; Joel Vinge, subscription secretary; Nancy Peter, membership secretary; and R. George Thomson, recording secretary sent regrets. The Minutes of the 1998 AGM in Surrey were accepted as circulated. Leonard McCann/Myrtle Haslam.

Treasurers Report: Ron Greene announced that, effective 1 April 1999, the accounts of the *BC Historical News* will be recombined with the Federation account. Moved that the signing officers be expanded to include the editor of the *News* to ascertain that there is a smooth flow of the *News* business expenses. Signing officers will be any two of the following: president, treasurer, corresponding secretary and editor. Ron Greene/Melva Dwyer. A vote of thanks was moved to the retiring *News* treasurer, June De Groot. Ron Greene/Alice Glanville. KPMG Chartered Accountants donated their evaluative expertise and prepared a final summary. Moved Ron Greene/Leonard McCann that KPMG be appointed for the coming year. Moved Ron Greene/Alice Glanville that the secretary write a thank you to KPMG. The treasurer then presented highlights of the report. Full members paid $1975 (1997–98) + $1711 (1998–99), but affiliates quadrupled from 260 members to 1124. Report accepted. Ron Greene/Myrtle Haslam. Carried.

Committee Reports

News Publishing: Tony Farr noted that subscriptions to the *BC Historical News* through Member societies—although offered a reduced subscription rate for their members—vary from zero to 100% of those enlisted locally. He appealed to all member societies to take a subscription for their society and to urge their members to become subscribers. Fred Braches requested that members wishing to subscribe at the reduced Member rate of $12 subscribe through their local secretary. Individual subscriptions ($15) should go directly to the *BC Historical News* subscription secretary, Joel Vinge. First time contributors of articles printed in the *BC Historcal News* will receive a one-year complimentary subscription, commencing with the summer 1999 issue.

Writing Competition: Shirley Cuthbertson thanked the former coordinators of this committee, and the three judges who had a heavy load reading, and carefully evaluating, 43 books, 22 of which arrived late December barely before the deadline. Non-fiction books are eligible; fiction books with historical slant were returned to sender.

Historical Trails & Markers: John Spittle reiterated the plea by Charles Hou for added

voices to appeal for preservation of the Anderson Lake Trail in the Fraser Canyon. John also described the frustration of a visitor wishing to access the Mackenzie Trail from Quesnel to Bella Coola.

Publications Assistance: A report from Nancy Stubbs was read indicating that a few inquiries have been handled but no writer has a book nearing completion, thus requiring a loan to help pay printing costs.

Archivist: Margaret Stoneberg announced that as the BC Historical Association/Federation is now 77 years old, we should be preparing to publish a history of our organization. She needs histories of the various branches to roll into the story of BCHF.

Membership: Nancy Peter sent in her resignation, which was accepted with regret. There are 33 member societies representing, when we add affiliates, 2218 persons. Terry Simpson of Nanaimo volunteered to fill this position.

David Mattison Website Prize

David Mattison promises to donate $100 for a prize but wishes the BCHF to arrange for judges and to establish the entrance requirements. Moved Alice Glanville/Leonard McCann that we accept this offer in principle.

Okanagan History Talking Books

Fred Broderick of Kelowna and his mother Molly Broderick described the development of their talking book program.

President's Report: Ron Welwood stated that the BCHF has used its collective "clout" twice in the past year. First was to protest the proposed reduction of BC publications for sale in ferry bookshops. The second was to point out to the federal government that a tax on blank audio recording tapes is preposterous. The president extended thanks to the table officers and committee heads who have worked hard to keep the BCHF business flowing smoothly.

Reports from Member Societies: Some highlight from reports given by delegates from our roster of local societies. Societies heard from were:

Alberni District Historical Society received a legacy from Helen Ford to aid with the archives.

Arrow Lakes Historical Society had their first book reprinted, the third book has sold out, and their fourth book is nearing completion.

Atlin Historical Society had a grand reopening of the Globe Theatre in August 1998 after three years of restoration.

Boundary Historical Society held a luncheon at Golden Heights heritage home and restaurant to celebrate their 48th Anniversary.

Bowen Island Museum is working very hard with interesting speciality events as fundraisers.

Burnaby Historical Society Laura Duke won the Evelin Salisbury $1,000 scholarship. The Burnaby Historical Society is restoring Interurban Car #1223.

Chemainus Valley Historical Society has switched from evening meetings to 11:30 A.M. luncheon gatherings.

COWICHAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY declined to sponsor a book on the history of Duncan so a separate group has arranged for Tom Henry to write this book.

DISTRICT 69 HISTORICAL seem to be busy people. They recommend history buffs to visit the Comox Airforce Museum.

EAST KOOTENAY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION had a good bus trip through Rogers Pass to Revelstoke with tour guide Milton Parent on the Revelstoke–Nakusp leg, Nikkei Memorial Centre in New Denver, Slocan City, Nelson, Creston, and return to Cranbrook.

GULF ISLANDS BRANCH BCHF has 100 members spread over four islands. They shuttle between islands adjusting to ferry schedules. Senator Pat Carney hosted a recent meeting.

KAMLOOPS MUSEUM ASSOCIATION Cuyler Page is preparing new exhibits. The Art Gallery has moved out of the building.

KOOTENAY MUSEUM ASSOCIATION. Nelson Museum is part of a regional heritage group, a support organization that is hoping to include East and West Kootenay and Boundary District.

NANAIMO HISTORICAL SOCIETY is helping the City of Nanaimo with community celebrations for the 125th year of Incorporation.

NORTH SHORE HISTORICAL, i.e. the north shore of Burrard Inlet, or the City and District of North Vancouver. Busy preparing a history of North Vancouver.

NORTH SHUSWAP HISTORICAL SOCIETY has a young president, enthusiastically introducing Shuswap Chronicles V.

PRINCETON & DISTRICT MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES. The museum has been given a large collection of fossils. Local organizations are preparing their histories for a book on Princeton for the year 2000, which marks Princeton's 140th Anniversary of founding.

SALT SPRING ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Their president, Ken Mackenzie, is conducting two railway elder hostels, followed by leading an elder hostel on Salt Spring Island.

SURREY HISTORICAL SOCIETY has increased attendance by setting their meetings on Saturday mornings.

VANCOUVER HISTORICAL SOCIETY has 199 members. The Vancouver bibliography has now expanded to 16,000 listings.

VICTORIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY has two outings planned plus regular meetings with speakers.

CONFERENCE 2000 IN PORT ALBERNI: Meg Schoffield outlined some of the planned highlights. Enthusiasm is growing within the Alberni membership and expectations are raised for prospective delegates.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS: Alice Glanville was Nominations Chair.
Ron Welwood, president; Wayne Desrochers, 1st vice-president; Melva Dwyer- 2nd vice-president; Arnold Ranneris, corresponding secretary; Ronald Greene, treasurer; Roy Pallant and Bob Cathro, members at large. All were returned by acclamation. Elizabeth (Betty) Brown of Victoria agreed to become the recording secretary.

MEMBERSHIP: Moved Myrtle Haslam/ Melva Dwyer that the membership fee for 1999-2000 be $1.00 per person of each member society. Carried.

NEW BUSINESS:

Captain Vancouver Day: Ted Roberts of Victoria asks support for an appeal to have 12 May named "Captain George Vancouver Day" within the province to honour the explorer of our coastline. May 12th was the date of Captain Vancouver's death. Moved Leonard McCann/Pam Odgers that we ask our Corresponding Secretary to write on behalf of our Federation.

Provincial Heritage Sites: Naomi Miller briefly outlined the plight of historic buildings and sites owned by the province. She urged delegates to agitate for more responsible care of those sites.

ADJOURNMENT: Tony Farr moved that the meeting adjourn at 11:38 A.M.

Acting Recording Secretary:
Naomi Miller

WINNERS OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL FEDERATION WRITING COMPETITION FOR BOOKS ON ANY FACET OF BC HISTORY, PUBLISHED IN 1998.

BC HISTORICAL FEDERATION
WRITING COMPETITION

By Snowshoe, Buckboard and Steamer: Women of the Frontier
Kathryn Bridge, Sono Nis Press, Victoria BC
Lieutenant Governor Medal for Historical Writing
First Place in BCHF Writing Competion

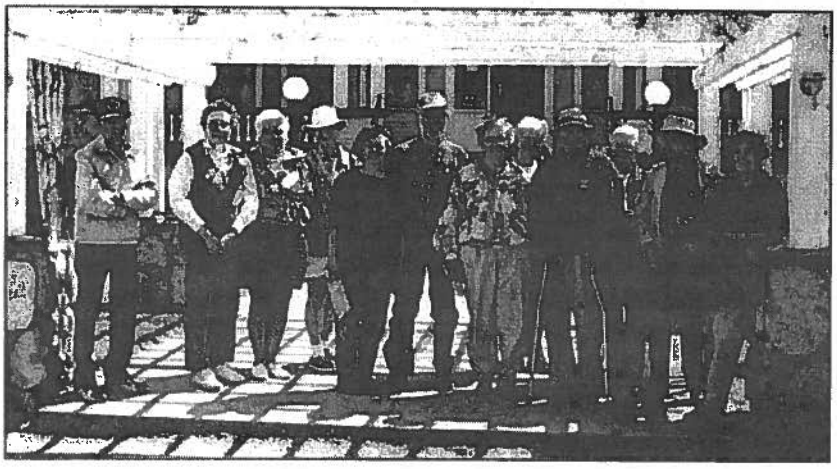
Tie Hackers to Timber Harvester: The History of Logging in the BC Interior
Ken Drushka, Harbour Publishing, Madeira Park BC
Second place in BCHF Writing Competition

The Fort Langley Journals: 1827-30
Morag Maclachlan, contribution by Wayne Suttles, UBC Press, Vancouver BC
Third place in BCHF Writing Competition

Honorary Mention:
Between Forest and Sea: Memories of Belcarra
John Doerksen, Mike Cotton, Colleen MacDonald,
The Belcarra Historical Group, 4975 Belacarra Bay Road, BC V3H 4N5

Golden Nuggets: Roadhouse Portraits Along The Cariboo's Gold Rush Trail,
Branwen Patenaude, Heritage House Publishing Co. Ltd., Surrey BC

MERRITT 1999



Above: *"Flourishing Under the Sun" in front of the Quilchena Hotel. Photo by John Spittle.*

by Naomi Miller

The Nicola Valley Museum and Archives Association hosted a wonderful weekend. Delegates learned a lot and laughed a lot. On Thursday, 29 April 1999 the mayor of Merritt, Clara Norgaard, and BCHF President Ron Welwood welcomed the gathering in the museum's Senior Citizens Building. Greetings were exchanged by old friends and handshakes extended to first time attendees. Visitors moved between the wine and cheese reception and the neatly presented exhibits in the Nicola Valley Museum.

On Friday morning two buses were loaded with delegates. The first stop was the Nicola Ranch a few miles out of town. Tour guides in cowboy garb boarded the buses and gave a thumbnail history of this site, which was intended to become a town until the CPR changed plans for a rail route. They explained the breeds of cattle, the mechanics of feed lots and ranch life in the early years. At the rear of the ranch many corrals contain fallow deer raised from stock imported from New Zealand. The deer provide antlers for the Asian market and meat for exclusive restaurants. The restored Murray Church and interesting cemetery sit beside a gift shop and petting zoo. The buses then proceeded to the Quilchena Hotel for lunch and a tour of the lovely building. After lunch our guides were Steve and Mike Rose, fourth generation owners of the spread. We were treated to a display of cowboys and herd dogs directing yearling cattle into a chute where they were doused with anti-wood-tick spray. Commentary, laced with anecdotes, informed about silage compacting, alfalfa growing, bunch grass enhancement, honey and pollination benefits, fence patrol, the building of the old barn, harness repair and machinery maintenance. We heard about the emergency trucking of cattle out of a forest fire zone, flood mitigation, arson of the Douglas Lake Band Catholic Church and its rebuilding, the polo fields at Guichon's Quilchena Ranch, which were transformed to a modern golf course, and activities on Nicola Lake. All stories to further whet interest.

On the left (top to bottom):

Cattle is what ranching is all about. Photo by Leonard McCann.

Irene Alexander, delegate of the North Shore Historical Society, North Vancouver, dwarfed by a wheel of a mining rig. Photo courtesy Irene Alexander.

The Quilchena Hotel built in 1908. Photo by Leonard McCann.

The old courthouse, built in 1913, accross the street from Murray church. Photo by Irene Alexander.

The Nicola Valley Community Band performed during the Happy Hour on Friday. After a fine supper Christine Pilgrim appeared demonstrating 1890s women's fashions—from hats and hatpins to petticoats and button boots, This "teacher from Barkerville" strutted around demonstrating various parts of the wardrobe with hilarious commentary.

On Saturday morning the Annual General Meeting proceeded smoothly. A guest from the Okanagan Historical Society briefly introduced the new Talking Book program. Elections saw two new volunteers fill vacant seats. Elizabeth (Betty) Brown became Recording Secretary and Terry Simpson took the Membership Secretary's job. All other positions were refilled by acclamation.

Lunch was served in the meeting hall. Then it was back aboard the buses. En route to Logan Lake two local teenagers, Darren and Cindy, pointed out landmarks, some with delightful ancestral stories. The pause at the Logan Lake Visitor's Centre saw even the tour buses dwarfed by the giant machines on display at the parking lot.

The visit to the Highland Valley Copper Mine was noted as "the last tour prior to closure." This huge mine, one of the most technically advanced operations in the province, is closing due to low world prices for its product. Highland Valley Copper is the second largest consumer of electricity from BC Hydro, who have failed to give concessions which would allow the mine to continue processing the low-grade ore. Highland Valley Copper is an amalgamation of Bethlehem, Lornex and Highmont. It employed a thousand workers. In the office building these and other facts were presented and a video was shown of Highland Valley Copper's operation and reclamation successes. Up the hill we visited the maintenance shop where huge trucks and other machinery were being serviced. Crushers, trucks, and conveyor belts throw up clouds of white dust as raw ore is prepared for the mill.

On Saturday evening the diners were entertained with a collective challenge (on paper) to earn their turn to go to the buffet tables. Considerable hilarity resulted from the challenge of finding words near the end of the alphabet to get

most points—like claiming Zeballos as the furthest city away visited, or defining someone's eyes as "violet".

With James Teit's last surviving son, Sigurd Teit in the audience, guest speaker Wendy Wickwire of the University of Victoria introduced her studies of Merritt's own James Teit. To study native bands in British Columbia American ethnologists hired Franz Boaz, a German professor. The first few summers Boaz had difficulty accomplishing his goals. Then, in 1894, he met James Teit, and thereafter Teit's massive tomes of beautifully written notes came to Boaz each year. From 1897 to 1902 Teit worked with Harlan Smith of the American Museum of Natural History on the Jesup Expedition. That work included recording Indian songs on wax cylinders—a forerunner of oral history recording. Wickwire's research indicates that, far more than the academic Boaz, Teit deserves formal recognition for a huge resource of ethnographic history of western Canada and northwestern USA. (Esther Darlington wrote "The Man Who Lived with Indians." on anthropologist James Teit in *BC Historical News* 28:4)

The Nicola Valley Night Hawks gave a fascinating demonstration of native dancing. They compete in national and international dance festivals.

After that the spotlight was on the BCHF honourees. Alice Glanville lauded the work done by Melva Dwyer and declared Melva an Honorary Lifetime Member of the Federation. First Vice-President Wayne Desrochers presented Certificates of Appreciation to Merritt's much admired Barbara Watson and Bette Sulz. He proceeded with the presentation of Certificates of Appreciation to BCHF's Nancy Peter, R. George Thomson, June De Groot, Peter and Naomi Miller, and Melva Dwyer.

Writing Competition Chair Shirley Cuthbertson spoke of the challenge to the judges in picking the best from forty-three entries of 1998 books on BC history. She announced the winners, which are mentioned on page 39.

The winner of the award for the best article published in the *BC Historical News* in 1998 was Eric Swantje of Vancouver for his article "Stanley Park: Tourism and Development" (Vol. 31:3). Swantje, a B.A. from UBC, says that showing his work in our publication clinched his appointment to a research assignment for the federal Ministry of Indian and Northern Affairs. Finally, the winners of Heritage Trust scholarships, were introduced. Details in News & Notes.

On Sunday morning Merritt offered a farewell pancake breakfast for delegates, all of whom voted the program delivered by the Nicola Valley volunteers THE BEST YET.

Left column bottom:

Ron Greene, John Spittle and Alice Glanville. Photo courtesy John Spittle.

Centre column from top to bottom:

The winner of the writing competition, Kathryn Bridge, on the left, receives a Certificate of Merit from the commission's chair, Shirley Cuthbertson. Photo courtesy Kathryn Bridge.

The Nicola Valley Night Hawks impressed all by their fascinating presentation. Photo compliments of Merritt News.

The "shoolmarm from Barkerville," Christine Pilgrim, showed us the fashions of that other turn of the century. Photo by John Spittle.

Wendy Wickwire, here shown with Michael M'Gonigle in front of the Quilchena Hotel, spoke about James Teit at the Awards Banquet. Photo by John Spittle.

The well-tuned Nicola Valley Community Band played for us on Friday evening. Photo by Murphy Shewchuk.

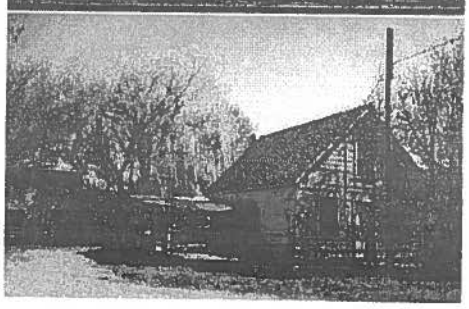
Ron and Frances Welwood in conversation with Merritt's Mayor Clara Norgaard. Photo by Murphy Shewchuk.

Below from top to bottom:

Stephanie, Emilie, and Wayne Desrochers. Photo by Naomi Miller.

Upper Nicola Murray church and cemetery. Photo by Leonard McCann.

The old Guichon house at the Home Ranch. Photo by Irene Alexander.



News and Notes

News items concerning Member and Affiliated Societies and the BC Historical Federation should be sent to:
Naomi Miller, Contributing Editor BC Historical News, PO Box 105, Wasa BC V0B 2K0

Anderson Brigade Trail

Charles Hou of Burnaby South Secondary School is heading an appeal to have the Anderson Brigade Trail from Alexandra Lodge to Gate Mountain in the Fraser Canyon declared a heritage park. If any reader wishes to add weight to this request please send your opinion to the Minister of the Environment, The Honorable Cathy McGregor, in Victoria. For more information please contact John Spittle, chair of our Historical Markers and Trail committee. His address and phone number can be found on the inside of the front cover of this issue.

Port Alberni Maritime Discovery Centre

This new centre is evolving as part of a new harbour marina. A "lighthouse" will be the core of the interpretative centre and it will have a viewing area from which visitors can identify local landmarks or watch deep-sea vessels working at the nearby terminal. The sponsors are searching for West Coast maritime artifacts. Potential donors are asked to contact the Alberni Valley Museum at 250-723-2181 or the Maritime Heritage Society at 250-723-6841.

Jewish Fashion Industry

An exhibit called "Broken Threads," shown at the Jewish Community Centre in Vancouver, featured Jewish clothing designers who led the German and Austrian high fashion industry between 1895 and 1938. Pride in ancestral success was shown mixed with sadness that it all came to such a tragic ending.

The Woodcocks Leave Saturna

With an article in the spring edition of 1997 of *BC Historical News* (30:2) Phillipa Woodcock introduced us to the history of the old stone house at Narvaez Bay. After their arrival in 1990 "Pip" Woodcock and her husband Derrick became deeply involved in community life on Saturna Island. The couple not only ran a bed & breakfast and a general store, they were also active in the theatre, the Lions Club, continuing education, craft fairs, church committees, the Historical Society and more. Recently they sold their Stone House and returned to England. At the farewell gathering Pip asked her friends to "allow enough change on Saturna to keep it growing."

Maurice Hodgson 1934-1998

Douglas College Creative Writing instructor Maurice Hodgson passed away on December 29, 1998. Many of our readers may remember with pleasure his book *The Squire of Kootenay West: A Biography of Bert Herridge* (Hancock House Publishers, 1976). *INside*, the Douglas College Newsletter wrote in his memory: "...Maurice was more than just a people person, he was a man of ideas, and this was after his compassion and understanding his other gift: the gift of thinking. He knew how to take initiative and make ideas work."

Judge James Harvey 1907–1999

The Honorable "Jim" Harvey of Prince Rupert died peacefully in his sleep at home on 9 May 1999. Judge Harvey contributed several interesting articles to our magazine in recent years. There was no public memorial service by his request. His ashes were spread in the harbour he looked over for many years.

Salt Spring Hosts BC's Birthday(?) Party

Dr. Richard Mackie, winner of the 1997 Lieutenant Governor's medal, argues that the colonial foundation of BC history began on 13 January 1849, when the British Government initiated the colonization on Vancouver Island and adjacent islands. The originators of our BC Historical Association (now Federation) debated the question if 19 November 1858, should be declared BC's birthday. In 1958 the provincial government (egged on by the Vancouver branch of the Native Sons of British Columbia) celebrated BC's centennial in August, because neither November nor January were deemed pleasant for outdoor activities,. The government is planning a 150th birthday bash in 2008.

Mackie arranged a 150th birthday party and conference on Saturday 9, and Sunday 10 January 1999 in Fulford Harbour on Salt Spring. Over 90 participants enjoyed two full days of speakers on four aspects of colonial history: imperial ideologies, First Nations responses to colonization, colonial immigration and society, and native landscape change. A Salt Spring Island lamb dinner was offered on the Saturday evening. There were five Salt Spring Island authors participating, with Ruth W. Sandwell using this event to launch a fine new collection of essays: *Beyond City limits: Rural History in British Columbia.* (UBC Press)

Selkirk College Acquisition

Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, who was an early President of the British Columbia Historical Association (now Federation) and Canada's first National Librarian, generously donated to the Selkirk College Library his complete set of the Champlain Society Publications and the *Canadian Historical Review* (1920–1966) The provenance of this collection makes it unique. Dr. Lamb acquired the earlier volumes from his friend Judge F.W. Howay.

Black History in Prince George

In February the College of New Caledonia hosted a lecture by Israel Prabhudass. Two hundred and fifty people crammed into the small theatre and the adjacent hallway to learn about British Columbians honoured during Black History Month. Portraits shown via the overhead projector included James Douglas, Harry Jerome, Emory Barnes, Hedi Fry, Rosemarie Brown, and the district's own John Robert Giscome. (See *BC Historical News* 23:3 "Giscome Portage and the Huble-Seebach Trading Post."

J. Arthur Lower's collection of Canadiana to Prince George

The library of the late J. Arthur Lower has been given to the University of Northern British Columbia in Prince George.

Lower's widow, Thelma, explains that this collection of Canadiana was directed to the new Prince George university because Arthur Lower worked in Prince George as a student, held his first teaching job at nearby Loos, wrote his MA thesis on the Grand Trunk Railway in BC in Prince George, and later

their son Philip and his family lived there for several years. Mrs. Lower extends thanks to Dean Robin Fisher and Librarian Neil Campbell for arranging the transfer of this valuable collection.

Doukhobors—100 years in Canada

In 1899 some 7,500 Doukhobors left their native Russia to escape persecution by the Czar. They practised pacifism and communal life and refused military service. The Doukhobors first settled in Saskatchewan but later most moved to the West Kootenay.

A radical splinter group called the Sons of Freedom gained notoriety by their protests. Many of their children briefly became wardens of the state. Most Doukhobors prefer a peaceful path. They belong to the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ and are not radicals. Anniversary celebrations were held in Castlegar and Grand Forks.

The War of the Nickel Bar

On 27 April 1947 a handful of children in Ladysmith protested the 3-cent increase in the price of chocolate bars and started a movement that spread accross Canada. (*The Beaver* 79:1) It you were involved in this event, or know anyone who was, please contact Yanick LeClerc: 2023 7 Ave SE, Calgary, AB T2G 0K2 Phone (403) 251-4554 or email yanick@hotbot.com

Galiano Museum Society

The Galiano Museum Society is working with the 75-year old Galiano Club to celebrate Galiano history over the years. They have only a tiny cottage available but offer rotating exhibits at the community activity centre. Robin Ridington has digitalized Alistair Ross's collection and some greatly enlarged pictures are mounted on walls. The spring 1999 meeting featured speakers on memories of life at the Porlier Pass light house.

Naomi Miller honoured

The Kootenay Lake Historical Society conferred an Honorary Lifetime Membership on Naomi Miller as a very special "Thank You!" The fifth annual BC Heritage Award, presented to Naomi on February 16, at a small ceremony in the Parliament Building in Victoria, was accompanied by a $10,000 prize "to be given to a non-profit heritage charity of the winner's choice." Naomi designated the Kootenay Lake Historical Society to receive the money for the maintenance of the S.S. *Moyie*. Naomi Miller received the cheque from Minister Ian Waddell then handed it over to Robert Turner who has been a consultant during the ten year restoration of the *Moyie*.

Fraser River History Conference

Please note that the dates for this year's Fraser History Conference to be held at Lillooet have been changed to October 15 to 17. If you have a topic you would like to contribute please contact Blake MacKenzie: email: prospect@uniserve.com. Phone: (604) 869-5630, fax: (604) 683-2495, or write to PO Box 1965, Hope BC V0X 1L0

Burnaby Heritage Awards

Pixie McGeachie was honoured with the Evelyn Salisbury Award for her work to "increase community awareness and sensitivity to heritage issues." Since she moved there in 1947 Pixie has been writing books and articles about Burnaby. Ellen Wirick was recognized for editing and publishing *The Burnaby Historical Society: 40-Year Diary 1957–1997*. Douglas Penn was honoured for his history of the Burnaby Fire Department. Laura Duke, who wrote an article on Simma Holt's writing in *BC Historical News* (32:2) won the Evelyn Salisbury Scholarship of $1,000. Congratulations to all winners.

Quarter Century

On July 17th, the Cowichan Historical Society in Duncan will hold a 25th anniversary dinner for their members at the Silver Bridge Inn. The main thrust of the Cowichan Historical Society is the operation of its museum and archives in the old, nationally recognized heritage railway station.

Phoenix Cemetery

The Boundary Historical Society has started with the restoration of the cemetery of the old townsite of Phoenix. During the winter some large trees were carefully removed and fallen trees were cut into pieces and taken away. Work parties are conducting a general cleanup and they are planning to fence the area, and fill the hollows of sunken graves. A researcher hopes to identify the 180 pioneers buried at the cemetery.

Letter from Australia

The envelope was addressed simply: "The Historical Society of British Columbia, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada." An ingenious postal worker scrawled on the envelope: "try 800 Johnson St. V8W." That took it to the Heritage Branch of the BC Government, where the letter was opened and promptly forwarded to Naomi Miller. It was a request for information on Rear Admiral Richard Charles Mayne, surveyor of Vancouver Island between 1855 and 1866 and of mainland BC from 1857 to 1861. A couple of phone calls were made to known maritime historians, who gathered the information on behalf of BCHF to go to Artarmon, NSW, Australia.

Talking Books

Molly Broderick of Okanagan Falls is visually impaired. On an Annual General Meeting of the Okanagan Historical Society, of which she is a life member, she suggested to issue the society's historical publications (there are 62 books) as talking books.

At first the project was postponed indefinitely because of the high costs of producing the master tapes. Then Molly's son Fred Broderick and the Kelowna-Rutland Lions Club got involved. Fred convinced the Lions and Lioness Clubs from Osoyoos to Salmon Arm to work together for the funding of the production of the master tapes.

The tapes are now produced by Apex Audio Visual of Kelowna and are read by professionals. Once a master tape is completed it is turned over to the Okanagan Historical Society who produce enough copies of the master to supply all the libraries in the area under their mandate. The project is a huge success. So far four volumes have been produced and the fifth is now in the making. Each volume has seven hours of listening. Please contact Jessie Ann Gamble of Armstrong at (250) 546-9416 if you would like to purchase a volume. The price of each volume is $45.00.

Heritage Trust Awards

Keith Simmonds, Constituency Executive Assistant to the Honorable Harry Lali, Minister of Transport and Highways, presented Heritage Trust scholarship awards of $5,000 to the following students:

Leonora Bar-el, Linguistics Department, University of British Columbia.

Laurell Crocker First Nations Studies, University of Northern British Columbia.

Rosaly Ing, Department of Educational Studies, University of British Columbia.

Cheri Rauser, School of Archive/Library Studies, University of British Columbia.

Brian Thom, Department of Anthropology, McGill University.

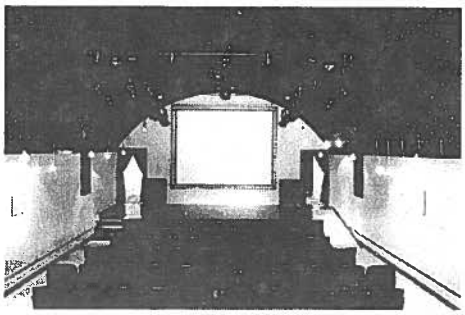
The ceremony took place on 1 May in Merritt at the Awards Banquet of the BC Historical Federation. Congratulations to all.

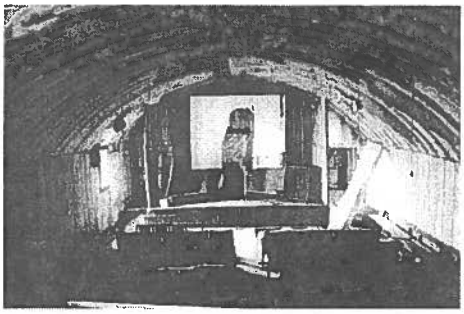
The Globe Theatre, Atlin BC

On August 1, 1998, the Atlin Historical Society celebrated the 100th anniversary of the discovery of gold in their community with the reopening of the Globe Theatre in the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor and a grandson of the original builder and owner of the theatre. Since the opening, the Globe is once more a key player of life in Atlin. A new live theatre group has been formed and the theater hosted a variety of events including movie and slide shows, and concerts.

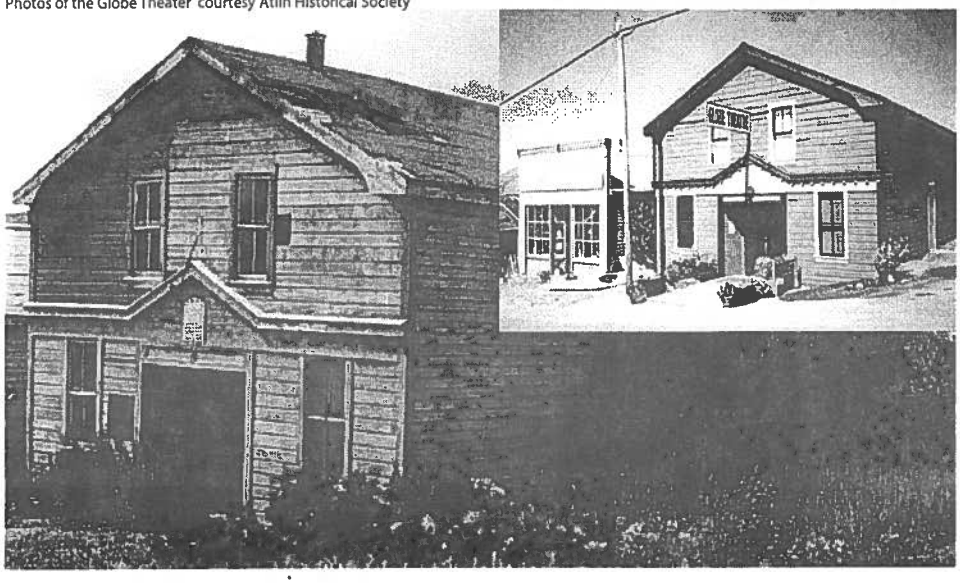
In 1995 the Society began the three year rehabilitation project of the Globe Theatre with a budget of $180,000. They secured $150,000 in assistance through British Columbia's Ministry of Small Business, Tourism and Culture. For lighting and projection equipment a further $20,000 was secured through the Vancouver Foundation. The remaining capital needs, the administration of the project and the research needed to complete the project were spearheaded by the Atlin Historical Society with great community support and hundreds of volunteer hours.

Atlin's Globe Theatre is one of the surviving legacies of the gold rush. Edwin Pillman built the Globe in 1917 after a fire devastated most of the town core. Typical of the northern architecture of its day, the Globe was hastily constructed with sills laid directly upon the ground. To keep the drafts out the interior walls were covered with rose coloured craft paper—the weight of light blotting paper—held in place with tin washers. The unassuming exterior gives no hint of the simple, but marvellous, vaulted arch ceiling inside the building. Tourism had grown steadily from the early 1900s into the 1920s but it crashed in the 1930s. Atlin dwindled, and when Pillman left the north and retired in the early 1940s, the Globe Theatre closed. In 1995, when the Atlin Historical Society became owners of the theatre the sills and joists had rotted, weather leaked in, walls had sunk into the ground, and the mostly rotting floor was heaved and distorted. The 9-x-12 foot movie screen was torn and original seating had deteriorated. Restored historic seats (34) were complemented with purchased used seating (63). During the restoration of the seating, newspapers under the upholstery showed that the seats were made in 1907 in the Chicago area. An old program from the Moore Theatre in Seattle, built in 1907–1908, was found under a seat bottom. The Moore hit financial problems around 1911 and sold off details such as the upholstered seating.





Photos of the Globe Theater courtesy Atlin Historical Society



British Columbia Historical Federation
SCHOLARSHIP 1999–2000
Applications should be submitted before 15 May 2000

The British Columbia Historical Federation annually awards a $500 scholarship to a student completing third or fourth year at a British Columbia college or university.

To apply for the scholarship, candidates must submit:
1. A letter of application.
2. An essay of 1500-3000 words on a topic relating to the history of British Columbia. The essay must be suitable for publication, in *British Columbia Historical News*.
3. A professor's letter of recommendation.

Send submissions to: Frances Gundry Chair, B.C. Historical Federation Scholarship Committee, 255 Niagara Street Victoria BC V8V 1G4
(250) 385-6353 (home) (250) 387-3623 (work)
frances.gundry@gems3.gov.bc.ca

The winning essay will, and other selected submissions may be published in *British Columbia Historical News*.

Manuscripts for publication in *BC Historical News* should be sent to the editor. If at all possible submissions should not be more than 3,500 words. It would be appreciated if authors could also send us their manuscripts on a diskette. Illustrations are welcome and should be accompanied by captions, source information, registration numbers where applicable, and permission for publication. Photographs are preferred over laser copies. They will be returned uncut and unmarked.

Authors publishing in *BC Historical News* for the first time will receive a one-year complimentary subscription to the journal. If they wish, this complimentary subscription may be assigned to another person of their choice as a one-year gift subscription.

There is a yearly award, directed at amateur historians and students, for the Best Article published in *BC Historical News*.

British Columbia Historical Federation

Organized 31 October, 1922

Member Societies

Anderson Lake Historical Society
Box 40, D'Arcy BC V0N 1L0
Alberni District Historical Society
Box 284
Port Alberni
BC V9Y 7M7
Alder Grove Heritage Society
3190 - 271 Street
Aldergrove, BC V4W 3H7
Arrow Lakes Historical Society
RR#1, Site 1C, Comp. 27,
Nakusp BC V0G 1R0
Atlin Historical Society
Box 111, Atlin BC V0W 1A0
Boundary Historical Society
Box 1687
Grand Forks BC V0H 1H0
Burnaby Historical Society
6501 Deer Lake Avenue,
Burnaby BC V5G 3T6
Chemainus Valley Historical Society
Box 172
Chemainus BC V0R 1K0
Cowichan Historical Society
PO Box 1014
Duncan BC V9L 3Y2
District 69 Historical Society
Box 1452, Parksville BC V9P 2H4
East Kootenay Historical Association
c/o 109-45-23 Ave S.
Cranbrook BC V1C 4P1
Gulf Islands Branch, BCHF
c/o A. Loveridge, S.22, C.11, RR#1
Galiano Island BC V0N 1P0
Hedley Heritage Society
Box 218, Hedley BC V0X 1K0
Kamloops Museum Association
207 Seymour Street
Kamloops BC V2C 2E7
Koksilah School Historical Society
5203 Trans Canada Highway
Koksilah BC V0R 2C0
Kootenay Museum and Historical Society
402 Anderson Street
Nelson BC V1L 3Y3
Lantzville Historical Society
c/o Box 274, Lantzville BC V0R 2H0
Nanaimo Historical Society
PO Box 933, Station A
Nanaimo BC V9R 5N2
North Shore Historical Society
c/o 1541 Merlynn Crescent
North Vancouver BC V7J 2X9
North Shuswap Historical Society
Box 317, Celista BC V0E 1L0
Okanagan Historical Society
PO Box 313
Vernon BC V1T 6M3
Princeton & District Museum & Archives
Box 281, Princeton BC V0X 1W0
Qualicum Beach Hist. & Museum Society
587 Beach Road
Qualicum Beach BC V9K 1 K7
Salt Spring Island Historical Society
129 McPhillips Avenue
Salt Spring Island BC V8K 2T6
Sidney & North Saanich Historical Soc.
10840 Innwood Rd. RR3
North Saanich BC V8L 5H9
Silvery Slocan Historical Society
Box 301, New Denver BC V0G 1S0
Surrey Historical Society
Box 34003 17790 #10 Hwy.
Surrey BC V3S 8C4
Texada Island Heritage Society
Box 122, Van Anda BC V0N 3K0
Trail Historical Society
PO Box 405, Trail BC V1R 4L7
Vancouver Historical Society
PO Box 3071,
Vancouver BC V6B 3X6
Victoria Historical Society
PO Box 43035, Victoria North
Victoria BC V8X 3G2

Affiliated Groups

Bowen Island Historians
Langley Centennial Museum
Nakusp & District Museum Society
Nanaimo & District Museum Society
Native Daughters of BC
Nicola Valley Museum Archives Association
Union of BC Indian Chiefs (Research Program)

The British Columbia Historical Federation is an umbrella organization embracing regional societies.

Questions about membership and affiliation of societies should be directed to Terry Simpson, Membership Secretary, BC Historical Federation, 193 Bird Sanctuary, Nanaimo BC V9R 6G8

Please write to the Editor for any changes to be made to this list.

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BC HISTORICAL FEDERATION
WRITING COMPETITION

The British Columbia Historical Federation invites submissions of books for the seventeenth annual Competition for Writers of BC History.
Note that reprints or revisions of books are not eligible.

Any book presenting any facet of BC history, published in 1999, 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 proofreading, an adequate index, table of contents and bibliography, from first-time writers as well as established authors.

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 BCHF annual conference to be held in Port Alberni in May 2000.

SUBMISSION REQUIREMENTS: All books must have been published in 1999 and should be submitted as soon as possible after publication. Two copies of each book should be submitted. Books entered become property of the BC Historical Federation. Please state name, address and telephone number of sender, the selling price of all editions of the book, and, if the reader has to shop by mail, the address from which it may be purchased, including applicable shipping and handling costs.

SEND TO: BC Historical Federation Writing Competition
c/o Shirley Cuthbertson
#306-225 Belleville Street Victoria BC V8V 4T9

DEADLINE: December 31, 1999