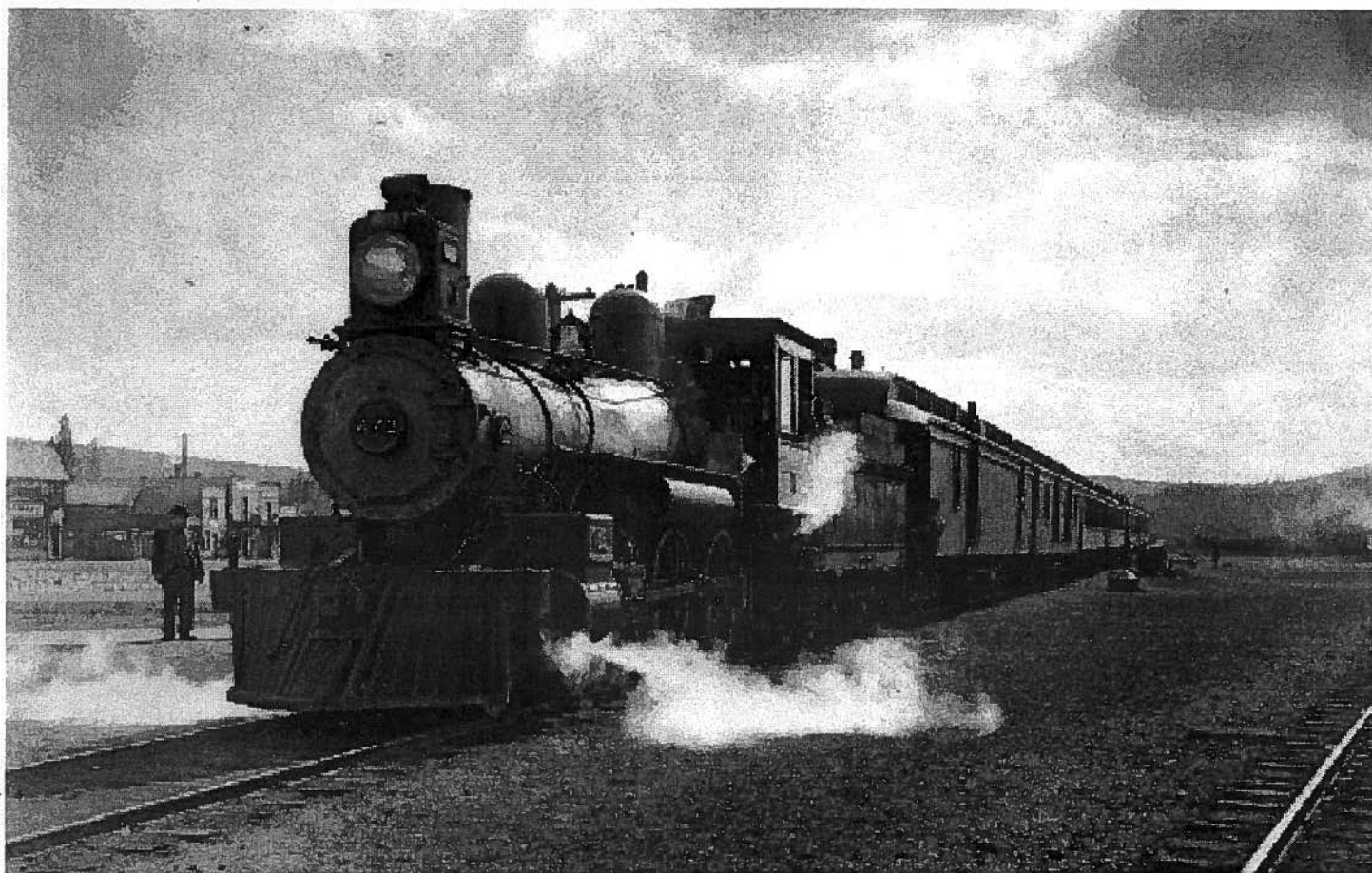


BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL NEWS

Journal of the British Columbia Historical Federation

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Winter 2000/2001
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BC Archives, C-08273

The Canadian Pacific's Crowsnest Route train at Cranbrook about 1900. Remember the smell of coal and steam?

Robert Turner, curator emeritus at the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria, is an authority on the history of railroads and steamships in British Columbia and he has written and published a dozen books on BC's transportation history.

In this issue he writes about the Crowsnest Route.

Archival Adventures

The Flood of 1894

Yellowhead

Cedar Cottage

"Single Tax" Taylor

Patricia Theatre

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

Sex and Violence

THE PROMOTION of and public education in BC's documentary heritage is no small task. Real estate, memorabilia, and collectibles are in the public eye, but not archives, although our knowledge and understanding of the past depends on documents. Archives need help to increase public awareness of the true value of their collections and the documentary history of our province.

We welcome therefore the recent formation of the "Friends of the British Columbia Archives," which had its inaugural meeting in Victoria on a sunny Saturday in October.

The "Friends of the British Columbia Archives" want to increase the awareness of what is at the BC Archives, and assist the BC Archives in the acquisition and preservation of records of historical significance and making these more widely available.

The BC Archives takes care of an astonishing amount of material about the entire Northwest area of the continent. The holdings are not confined to government records but include a huge variety of records on subjects touching the development and the people of this province. It is all owned by the citizens of BC but few realize the extent of this valuable asset.

More information on the "Friends of British Columbia Archives" and how to participate in their efforts can be found on page 39.

But what has an archives to do with "Sex and Violence?" Dr. Jean Barman, speaker at the inaugural meeting of the "Friends," kindly agreed to publish the text of her talk on the subject in this issue of *BC Historical News*.

The editor

Ladner and the Flood of 1894

by Gwen Szychter

Gwen Szychter, local historian and heritage enthusiast, has written and published a series of books on the past of Ladner, BC. She is currently widening her research to the rest of Delta, with the intention of creating a second series of publications. Her Web site is www.ladnerslanding.com

THE residents affected by the 1993 overflow of the Mississippi River in the Midwestern United States undoubtedly have applied the label “the big flood” to their experience. In all likelihood, they will be dating events in their lives from that time. This is typical of how people remember historical events.

There are many people still living in Delta, who remember graphically the flood of 1948, arguably British Columbia’s most disastrous. But for those who lived on the Fraser River and in its vicinity the definitive flood, “the big flood” against which all others are compared, is the 1894 one. Local lore has led us to believe that this flood had the greatest impact on the residents of Chilliwack and other points upriver. Ladner and environs were believed to have suffered minimal damage, being most adversely affected in January 1895 instead, when rain and tide combined to put the village under water. Not so.

The winter of 1893–1894 saw unusually heavy snow deposits in the upper Fraser Valley. This snow pack, melted at the end of May by unseasonably hot temperatures, caused all the streams emptying into the Fraser to overflow their banks. From there the domino effect brought disaster to the communities along the river.

On 25 May 1894, Quesnel reported that the water in the Fraser River was rising “half an inch per hour.” By 4 June, the flood waters had exceeded the previous record set in 1882; at New Westminster the river registered 13 feet 9 ½ inches above the low water mark. Many locales on the lower Fraser were under water by then, including Annacis Island. And the waters continued to rise until 10 June. This was the peak of the flood. Afterwards the waters of the Fraser began to subside, but by then a tremendous amount of damage had been done in the valley, with thousands of acres under water.

The files of the Provincial Archives in Victoria reveal the extent of the damage suffered by Delta’s farmers. Much of the municipality escaped unscathed. The village at Ladner’s Landing was threatened for a time on 3 June, when the dyke burst opposite Chinatown. Feverish sandbagging by the residents, many of whom were at the time



Courtesy W.H. Ladner III

attending Sunday morning service in the Presbyterian church, prevented any serious problems. Westham Island suffered some flooding, with some pasture land and hay crops being reported under water after two hundred feet of the existing dyke was washed out. The Dominion Government wharf there, as well as London’s wharf, collapsed and were swept away. Brodie’s Cannery on Deas Island was inundated and fell into the river.

But it was Crescent Island that bore the brunt of the overflow from the Fraser. Not surprisingly, therefore, the names of Crescent Island farmers predominated among the requests for relief.

The provincial government in Victoria established fairly quickly a Fraser River Flood Relief Fund, for the dispersal of seed to those farmers affected, so that they could re-sow their fields once the water had subsided. Two grain merchants in New Westminster, Brackman-Ker, and Youdall & Sinclair, provided the seed for farmers in this

Right: Paul Ladner, Reeve William Ladner’s son, was in charge of the dispersal of seeds. He was well regarded and educated, and knew his neighbours well. Photo ca. 1900.

municipality, and deliveries were made, naturally enough, by the boats that typically plied the Fraser.

This disaster had occurred at a crucial time of year for local farmers. If the water did not subside fairly quickly and the land did not dry out enough to enable the planting of a second crop, they would be forced to buy fodder, that is, hay, oats, turnips, or other feed, for their cattle over winter. This would be an intolerable financial burden for many of these men who were just getting established on the land. Luckily the waters receded in time to sow another crop.

In each municipality the reeve was designated to oversee the operation. In Delta the agent was Paul Ladner, son of then Reeve William H. Ladner, who had delegated the position to the younger man. Political patronage at its most blatant? Probably. However, Paul Ladner was well-regarded and educated, and knew his neighbours well, as can be seen from his reports, some of which follow. In addition, the job probably did not pay much, and appeared to have been only a month or so in duration.

In any event, the applications from local farmers, while brief and to the point, are also informative. A sampling of those applications gives us a clear idea of the effect of the disaster locally.

The following letter from a farmer located on the southeast bank of Crescent Slough is typical:

Ladner's Landing, June 16th [1894]

Gentlemen,

All my farm being completely submerged by the flood I have lost all my crop. I hereby make application for a ton of potatoes, 500 lbs. of oats, 1 sack barley and 1 lb. turnip seed.

I am yours
respect[fully]

Ernest R. Chidell

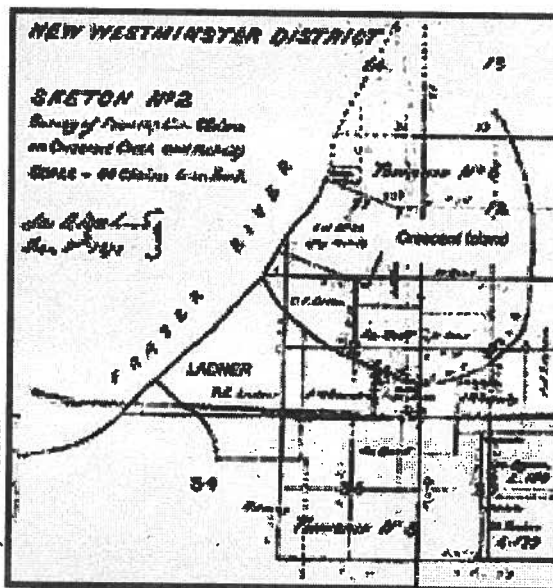
Mr. Chidell appeared to be leaving nothing to chance, giving the agent an itemized list of his requirements.

Most letters tended to be explanatory, giving some detail of the farmer's situation, perhaps because previous experience with government suggested the necessity of taking nothing for granted. Since farmers had seldom been in government, even in those days, perhaps the detail of the following application is not excessive:

Ladners Landing, June 9th 1894

To Reeve Ladner,

My ground was under two feet of water all last week and the crop I had in is ruined. I had one acre planted



Left: 1873 survey map of "Crescent Creek and vicinity." Crescent Creek, now Crescent Slough, connects at both ends to the Fraser River. The land bordered by the Crescent Slough and the Fraser River is known as Crescent Island. Today's Ladner is to the west. Travellers going south exit the Deas tunnel on Crescent Island.

& if I can get 5 or 6 sacks I could plant again for my own use (potatoes).

L. V. Lucas

Another letter writer who believed in the direct approach, giving a list of specific requirements, was Douglas Dove, who farmed with his brother, Spencer, on 156 acres on the mainland opposite the easternmost end of Tilbury Island. Because of the farm's location, his address is somewhat different from that of the other petitioners:

New Westminster B.C. June 19th /94

Dear Sir,

My farm having been flooded with the high water I make an application for the following seeds.

1 ton oats

300 lbs. of Timothy Seed [replaced by "400 lbs Millet"]

6 lbs. Turnip seed

½ ton Potatoes

Douglas D. Dove

New Westminster, B.C.

West ½ of Lot 130 Gp 2 Delta Municipality

This is one of the few instances in which changes to the requested materials or amounts were noted directly on the applicant's letter. An assessment of the damage to Dove's property was contained in the Distributor's Report made out by Paul Ladner for this application:

This 10 acres of newly seeded hay will be a complete loss as it is covered with sediment about two inches deep & the pasture will be damaged very considerably for the same reason. Garden & roots a total loss. The fences on this property have been very much damaged & about one third drifted away.

Right: One of the other letters applying for seeds "...to be given to farmers that have had their crops ruined by the overflow of the Fraser..."

On the back of many letters was noted the approval given by the Provincial Secretary or his assistant, as in the following:

Ladners June the 18/94

Dear Sir,

I beg to apply for 500 Lbs Potatoes as my crop has all been lost in the recent flood. My land is situate[d] on Crescent Island on Lot 149 G[roup] 2.

R. W. Hawthorne

Mr. Paul Ladner, Ladners

On the reverse is written the following order:

Messrs Youdall & Sinclair, Please fill the enclosed order by delivering to R. W. Hawthorne, Ladner. James Baker Provincial Secy

Evidence that it had been delivered is noted, "delivered June 26th 94 MS".

All deliveries were recorded in this fashion, directly on the order written by either Baker or Townsend.

Applications continued to come in, as late as the early part of July. It may have been that news of the relief program did not reach everyone in the district for some time, although deliveries of seed from the government began to arrive on June 26th. This appears to have been the last letter received:

Ladner Landing, July 5th 1894

Paul E Ladner Esq, Agent for Distribution of Seeds

Dear Sir,

I beg to apply for one and a half ton of Seed Potatoes

E. Beadleston

At the bottom is a notation: "Please fill this order, Wm B. Townsend, For Prov Sectr"

The appointed agent, in this case, Paul Ladner, also filed a letter of recommendation in respect of each application, referred to earlier as the Distributor's Report. It appears that these recommendations were generally acted upon, but they also reveal a lot about the community and its individuals, not to mention serving as a barometer of the relationship of each applicant to the Ladner family.

The following notation is probably the most negative, and since Nathaniel Mitchell had been in dire financial straits in the early 1890s, to the point of losing one of his original holdings, Ladner's comments are not surprising. The notation reads as follows:

Ladner June 11th 94
Province of Delta, offunapability
Dear Sir
In accordance with notice given by local Government regarding seeds to be given to farmers that have had their crops ruined by the overflow of the Fraser I request the following

10. Sh	Barley
10 "	Oats
15 "	Potatoes
4 Ch	Turnips

And Oblige
Yours Truly
W. J. Watson

BC Archives

This applicant is in debt about as much as he can be, his farm is heavily mortgaged. It would be useless to grant more than half of what he asks for but [I] would suggest that he be allowed 500 lbs of potatoes. My reason for suggesting cutting his application down one half is that with his horses it would be impossible for him to put it all in.

It is apparent from other papers that Mitchell received less than he expected as a result of his application, but whether he registered a complaint at being shortchanged is not known, at least not from the surviving records in this file. The reason put forth by Ladner is also unclear. Were this man's horses incapable of doing the amount of work required because they were too old? Or did he not have enough horses for the work? We shall never know.

Finally, we should not be deceived into believing that there were no fraudulent or exaggerated claims. Delta contained, as it does now, a cross-section of inhabitants, some honest and law-abiding, and some not. One farmer, George

*Distributors Report on
Spencer Dove's Application*

Average in grain 17

*" " Potatoes 24
" " Roots 1
" " Hay & Potatoes 14*

*Grain potatoes & roots a complete
loss & hay so badly covered with
sediment that it is only fit for
pasture*

Applica for

*1/4 Tons. Oats
4 lbs Turnip seed
millet 1/2 Tons Potatoes
225 lbs Turnip seed*

*Paul B. Ladner
Delta*

*The fences are very much damaged
on this property a considerable
portion being carried away entirely*

BC Archives

edied by governmental assistance. This was a serious consideration for some farmers, as is evident in Ladner's comments on the damage to the Dove property.

Paul Landner's report gives us the clearest picture of the effects of the flood, one that is quite in contrast to the reports of the newspaper, in which downriver locations, such as Delta, got secondary coverage. And so we can lay to rest the first myth, namely that the inhabitants of Delta were scarcely affected by the flood of 1894. However, to be fair to the *Daily Columbian*, we need to remember that the newspaper was published in New Westminster and attempted to serve all the Fraser Valley and the interior of the Province. At the time of the disaster it was more committed to reporting the really extensive damage of the flood, which was upriver. On its front page, the paper carried news of the daily rise in the river's level at various points and the effect on the nearby inhabitants.

A second myth shattered by the contents of these files is that of the much-touted self-reliance of early settlers. Certainly in the early years, before there was much in the way of an organized government in Victoria and before the municipality of Delta was organized and incorporated, self-reliance may have been the rule. But by the 1890s and perhaps even sooner, government assistance was welcomed and employed to the individual's advantage—hardly the stand-on-our-own-two-feet attitude of popular lore.

However, one does not have to look far to find a positive aspect of this disaster. The experience of 1894, coupled with another inundation in January 1895, motivated local residents finally to do something collectively about the situation. Since organizing to put pressure on the provincial government was the only viable solution to the unpredictability of the Fraser River, they organized. And politicians, not only in Victoria, but also in Delta, recognizing that they were dispensable if they did not respond to the demands of the voters, devised and implemented a system of publicly owned and maintained dykes.

Locally this took the form of the Delta Dyke and Drainage Bylaw 1895, under which the dyking was paid for through local taxes over a period of years. Farmers in the end paid for this protection from the river, but at least they all paid and they paid proportionately. And the much-needed dyke was built. No more discussion and no more promises. ~

*Left: Paul Ladner's
Distributor's reports
regarding Spencer Dove's
claim: "Grain, potatoes &
roots a complete loss &
hay so badly covered with
sediment that it is only fit
for pasture.... The fences
are very much damaged on
this property a considerable
portion being carried away
entirely."*

Lassiter, made application for quantities of oats, millet, potatoes, barley, and turnip seed, all of which were reduced by at least half. Of turnip seed he requested ten pounds, but was given only four pounds. Ladner remarked in his report, "This man applies for enough turnip seed to provide feed for one hundred cattle through the winter & he has but twenty-five." It is left to the reader to speculate as to what Lassiter had intended to do with the surplus seed, but Paul Ladner was obviously nobody's fool.

At the end of the operation the agent made a report to the government on the quantity of seed that had been given out to the applicants. A total of thirty-four applications for seed relief were received from Delta farmers, of which only one was denied outright. It was stated in the newspaper that the recipients of seed grain and potatoes were "expected to return the seed in kind next year," but no record exists of this occurring and it is apparent that at least some farmers believed they were being "given" the seed. Nor is there any indication that the loss of fencing was rem-

SOURCES:

BC Archives, File FOI,
Box 12.
The Daily Columbian, 23
May 1894 to 19 June
1894 inclusive, 27 and
28 June 1894, and 25
July 1894.
Land Title Office, New
Westminster, records.

Sex and Violence in the BC Archives: Adventures in Historical Detection

by Jean Barman

Dr. Jean Barman teaches at the University of British Columbia and is the author of *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia*.

Talk given at the inaugural meeting of the "Friends of the BC Archives," in Victoria on 21 October 2000.

As a long-time user of the British Columbia Archives, I can think of no more appropriate event than the inauguration of a Friends group. The archives has gone through many changes—I can remember when the name was so long no one knew quite what it was—and I'm sure all of us applaud the return to the direct and straightforward British Columbia Archives. While we miss John Bovey's interested presence in the reading room, we appreciate the initiatives taken by Gary Mitchell since he was appointed Provincial Archivist two years ago. Thank you, Gary.

Gary and everyone else connected with the BC Archives have not had an easy time. We are, around the world, in the midst of an archival revolution. The technology that invades our everyday life has nowhere made a greater contribution than with archives. We as users have access to repositories in ways that we would not even have dreamt of just a few years ago.

No technical innovation has been as critical for my research life as is the BC Archives Web site. I find myself using it, almost every day, for some reason or another. For me the three key elements of the Web site are access to textual records, both government documents and private papers; to vital events, in other words, birth, marriage, and death records; and to visual resources, over a hundred thousand images held by BC Archives.

The Web site is a godsend, particularly for those of us from the mainland who tend to use the archives through the mad dash method. By this I mean getting up at 4 or 5 to catch the 7 A.M. ferry to get to the archives by its opening at 9:30 and then another dash back at about 7:30 in the evening for the final, 9 P.M. ferry and so home by midnight, if all goes well. These mad dashes concentrate the mind most wonderfully. The limited amount of time we have forces us to focus on precisely what it is we *really* want and then to go

for the jugular, so to speak. It is precisely this that makes the Web site so valuable in allowing us to do preliminary research before we ever leave home. For the Web site alone, and to encourage its continuing development, we should all become fervent supporters of the BC Archives through the new Friends group.

There is still, I hasten to add, an element of serendipity that enters into research. However strategic we think that we are the folder we open up might well contain something just a little bit different than what we thought would be there. Sometimes the contents are cause for disappointment, other times we come upon an unexpected treasure that takes our research in a whole new direction. It is inevitable that the BC Archives, or indeed any archives, is organized around big events and important persons. These are often our starting points, for by their very nature they generate far more records in a concentrated fashion than do the ordinary and the mundane of everyday lives. All the same, BC Archives is a treasure trove of the unexpected, particularly now that we have the Web site to give assistance. By describing three of the most provocative finds I've made in connection with my ongoing research in British Columbia history, I hope to make the larger point that the archives is not just about big events, but also about peoples' real lives in all of their diversity and complexity.

No aspects of human behaviour are more intimate than sex and violence. They touch us all at some point in our lives, vicariously if not directly. We are affected by the temptation, if not the reality. So it was for the Nova Scotian schoolteacher, two Mexican packers, and Cowichan Native woman with two husbands whose stories await us in the BC Archives. These three adventures in historical detection highlight the many ways that the BC Archives can help us toward greater understanding of all aspects of this province in which we live.

*Archives and
Archivist*

Editor Frances Gundry



Left: Jessie McQueen

It was in connection with this research that I met my Nova Scotian schoolteacher, Jessie McQueen. She was one of many attracted west to British Columbia to teach in the wake of the transcontinental railway completed in the mid-1880s. The simple requirement to write an examination gave young persons like her, who had already attended normal school elsewhere a real advantage in entering the classroom. The plan was that Jessie would teach three years to assist the family economy back home in Pictou County, where teachers got \$60 a term compared with \$60 a month in British Columbia. Then Jessie would be free to marry, and there was every reason for her to do so, given the uneven sex ratio, particularly in areas like the Nicola Valley where she taught.

Yet Jessie did not marry, and I wanted to know why. Here was a very presentable young woman in a social setting where persons like her were at a premium. Yet she remained single year after year and taught, over her lifetime, in not just the Nicola Valley, but at Salmon Arm, Campbell Creek, Rossland, and Salt Spring Island, among other locations. BC Archives came to the rescue. Among its treasures are the letters that Jessie and her sister Annie wrote home to Nova Scotia, generously donated by a great niece, Margaret McCurrach, herself a lifetime teacher living in Victoria.

Jessie McQueen's letters reveal blossoming sexuality ending in violence. The man who caught Jessie's fancy was Thomas Hall, a young Englishman who courted her through such means as a letter consisting in its entirety of a line from Sir Walter Scott's poem "The Lady of the Lake." "The stag at eve had drunk his fill where danced the moon on Monan's rill."² Jessie came to realize that one of the reasons Tom resorted to poetry was that he did not have much schooling and she began to tutor him. Her respect grew when he turned out to be a good pupil, and she gave him a small Bible that he thereafter, according to family memory, carried in his shirt pocket next to his heart. As the courting became more earnest, the two exchanged photographs. Tom and Jessie went riding together, and they made plans to attend the 24 May picnic at Nicola Lake celebrating Queen Victoria's birthday.

Then the unthinkable happened. "On Wednesday morning he walked to school with me..., and the next Wednesday he was killed.... I said goodbye so carelessly, and never dreamed that I would

ADVENTURE 1

HOW COME JESSIE MCQUEEN STAYED SINGLE?

The first of the three adventures in historical detection grows out of my longstanding interest in teachers and teaching in nineteenth century British Columbia. I have been intrigued by the province's distinctiveness in not having a teachers' college, normal school, or any organized means to train teachers. Up to the turn of the century, persons wanting to teach simply had to pass a knowledge-based examination not that different than what it took to graduate from high school.

My research goal has been to understand the motives and attitudes of persons going into teaching. What I have discovered is an occupation viewed primarily as a stopgap in the life course.¹ Young men taught until they got the funds together to study for a profession, acquire a piece of land, or go into business. Women anticipated marriage, a goal facilitated in nineteenth-century British Columbia by the very uneven sex ratio among the non-Aboriginal or newcomer population. The frontier nature of much of the province meant that there were far more men than women to go around until after the First World War.

1 See Jean Barman, "British Columbia's Pioneer Teachers," in Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, and J. Donald Wilson, ed., *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia* (Calgary: Detselig, 1995), 189-208.

2 Information taken from Jean Barman, "Domesticating British Columbia: Westward with the McQueen sisters of Pictou County, Nova Scotia," book manuscript under consideration for publication.

BC Archives Ms 839, 860

BC Archives Gil 1727

[illegible]

The McQueen family letters, divided between the BC Archives and the Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia, gave me an understanding that I would not have obtained in any other way of how sex and violence can touch ordinary lives. I am grateful, particularly given that I have just finished a book-length manuscript now with a publisher about Jessie and her sister Annie's adventures in British Columbia, entitled "Domesticating British Columbia: Westward with the McQueen sisters of Pictou County, Nova Scotia."

WHY DID RAPHAEL VALENZUELA AND ANGELO GUTIÉRREZ GET INTO A FIGHT?

I have for some time attempted to give meaning to the thousands of relationships that sprung up during the fur trade and the gold rush between newcomer men and Aboriginal women.³ Such ties, be they one-night stands or life long matches, are difficult to disentangle for several reasons. Most of their participants were ordinary people, far less likely to have their lives traced in



Left: Group of packers. Photo from W.A. Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia* (1909).

Opposite page, top: Page from one of Jessie McQueen's letters.

Opposite page, bottom: Page from Gutiérrez court case.

public archives than the handful of men at the top. Such relationships were tainted by racism. Almost all newcomers accepted the notion of a hierarchy of the races, which conveniently put them on top. Aboriginal people were doubly disparaged, being darker in skin colour and non-Christian and so "uncivilized." Newcomers' quest for Aboriginal peoples' land heightened racist rhetoric, whose consequences became a very convenient basis for dispossession.

Racism was double-edged in the case of several hundred Hispanics who arrived in British Columbia during the gold rush, mainly to work as packers. Many of them had come north for the California gold rush beginning in 1849, and just kept going when gold was discovered here in 1858. Speaking Spanish, these men were, even if literate, not generally literate in English. Due to the racism that rebounded on anyone of darker complexion, they almost always partnered with Aboriginal women.

Whereas all hybrid or mixed-race relationships are hard to trace, those of Hispanics are, for these reasons, particularly difficult to uncover. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that this second adventure in historical detection is a joint effort. It was initiated by my husband Roderick J. Barman, who is a historian of Latin America interested in the Hispanic presence in British Columbia,⁴ encouraged by Marie Elliott, who is on the Friends organizing committee,⁵ and assisted by Chris Hanna, a consummate contract researcher at BC Archives.⁶

With this second adventure in historical detection, a little bit of luck made the difference. A court case giving a window into the complex relationship between sex and violence for two Mexican packers was next to one being sought

for another purpose in a judge's bench book, or record of cases tried.⁷ Angelo Gutiérrez was charged with "assault with intent to maim, disfigure etc. one Raphael Valenzuela." The two men, both Mexicans who came with the gold rush, had been "good friends" for "many years." Sex and violence now parted them.

At the heart of the matter lay an accusation that Valenzuela had made against Gutiérrez's "klootchman," the word in Chinook jargon for Aboriginal woman. Valenzuela accused her of having gone "to town to look after lovers." So informed, Gutiérrez felt compelled to defend his masculinity as the expense of his long friendship. Angelo Gutiérrez was not so much concerned about what his klootchman had, or had not, done but rather about the suggestion that he did not, as a man, have adequate control over his woman's actions. It was Gutiérrez's own honour and not that of his klootchman that was at stake in the confrontation ending in violence.

Raphael Valenzuela explained to the court what happened during the late afternoon in question after he made the accusation against Gutiérrez's woman.

"[Gutiérrez] came to where I was & asked me to go to his house – went to his house – He invited me in. I said How do you do. He asked me to sit down. I was making a paper cigarette. He asked me if I had told his Klootchman she went to town to see her lovers. I said Yes. Then—he said—You..., using an expression as if ... [my] mother was a whore. At the same time he came at me. I caught him by the two arms—and said I didn't understand you asked me over to fight me...he drew his [Bowie] knife—I then threw him off and run—About 10 yards I fell down. He followed after me—he struck me in the back

3 See Jean Barman, "Taming Aboriginal Sexuality: Gender, Power, and Race in British Columbia, 1850-1900," *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly* 115-16 (Fall-Winter 1997-98), 237-66; "What a Difference a Border Makes: Aboriginal Racial Intermixture in the Pacific Northwest," *Journal of the West* 38,3 (July 1999), 14-20; "Invisible Women: Aboriginal Mothers and Mixed-Race Daughters in Rural British Columbia," in R. W. Sandwell, ed., *Beyond the City Limits: Rural History in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 159-79; "Families vs. Schools: Children of Aboriginal Descent in British Columbia Classrooms of the Late Nineteenth Century," in Edgar-Andre Montigny and Lori Chambers, ed., *Family Matters: Papers in Post-Confederation Canadian Family History* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1998), 73-89.

4 See Roderick J. Barman, "Packing in British Columbia: transport on a resource frontier," *Journal of Transport History* 21, 2 (September 2000): 140-67.

5 See Marie Elliott, *Gold and Grand Dreams: Cariboo East in the Early Years* (Victoria: Horsdal & Schubart, 2000).

6 Available by phone at 250-595-7501, by fax at 250-595-7461.

7 "The Queen vs. Angelo Guteritz - Indic. 1 for Assault with intent to maim, disfigure, etc. one Raphael Vanezualo," 17 October 1874, BC Archives, GR 1727, Judge Gray's Bench Book, 1874.

8 Inquest on E.B. Fisher, 25 September 1865, BCA, GR 1328, Records of Provincial Secretary, F15/5a.

9 Fisher correspondence and related materials, BC Archives, GR485, box 15, folders 1-2.

10 Edward Brande Fisher, pre-emption of Piers Island, BC Archives, GR766, box, 5, file 697.

11 British Columbia, Division of Vital Statistics, Death registration, 48-3820.

12 "Cowichan - The Death of Fisher," *Colonist*, 23 September 1865.

13 George Purser, pre-emption of Purser Island, 21 September 1868, BC Archives, GR766, box, 8, file 1062.

14 Census of Canada, 1881, district Cowichan and Salt Spring, household 123.

15 Inquest on George Purser, 18-1885, BC Archives, GR 1327, Attorney General, Inquisitions, 1872-1937.

16 G[eorge] Stainburn to C.C. McKenzie, Burgoyne Bay, 4 October 1881 and 11 January 1882, BC Archives, GR1445, BC Superintendent of Education, Inward Correspondence.

of the head twice."

At this point Valenzuela showed his scars to the jury, which may have been responsible for their finding Gutiérrez guilty and his being sentenced to two years of hard labour.

This second adventure reveals a different relationship between sex and violence than does the first. It is not affection between a man and a woman that is undone by violence, but rather a case of masculine honour having to be defended. In striking Raphael Valenzuela, Angelo Gutiérrez was not, I want to reiterate, defending his *klootchman's* honour but rather his own. To have even an old friend like Valenzuela charge him with being a cuckold, with being betrayed by a woman for another man, was what caused Gutiérrez to act as he did. Despite the high price that he paid in terms of imprisonment, Gutiérrez's honour, his masculinity, remained intact.

ADVENTURE 3

WHAT WAS SARA ALIAS ANNE'S ROLE IN TWO HUSBANDS' VIOLENT DEATHS?

This second vignette serves as a useful prelude to my third adventure in historical detection.

The image of Aboriginal women as agents of seduction and initiators of violence was widespread during the gold rush. These women's illiteracy has made it extremely difficult for them to defend themselves across time from the charges so easily levelled against them by men like Valenzuela. Or so I thought.

One of the most intriguing stories I have come across is of a Cowichan woman known at different points in her life by the Christian names of Sara and Anne who had two newcomer husbands die violently, one after the other. Speculation has passed down, even among descendants that she might have done in one or both of them. In each case, the BC Archives has served to exonerate this Cowichan Native woman, or so you can decide.

Husband number one was the father of George Fisher. George was recalled by his grandchildren as neat and orderly, quite refined, and very much an Englishman. He used to tell his family about how, after his father died violently when he was an infant, he was taken away from his Aboriginal mother Sara by the priests at Catholic St. Louis College in Victoria, who then raised him to adulthood. So what happened?

Two sets of records in the BC Archives, both of which I found through the Web site, gave me the story of George's parents and hence of the first violent death involving this Cowichan woman. The first are the inquests where there was a suspicious death.⁸ The Web site for inquests gives some by name, others only by date, so the absence of a name is no guarantee that no inquest exists. The second set of records that helped me to piece the story together I found through serendipity. One evening, while looking for something else, I decided to search one more time by name for any new information that might be available about George's father, Edward Brande Fisher. To my pleasure, a new source turned up on the screen. Materials are constantly being added to the Web site, making it useful, every once in a while, to search once again for some critical, missing piece of data.

What I had located were the records from an intestate estate, in other words, the estate of someone who died without a will. As soon as I had time to make one of my mad dashes to Victoria, I requested the folders to find a treasure trove of family letters and also the very pocketbook that the Cowichan woman's first husband had with him when he died at her side.⁹ I was touching documents that may well have lain unbidden in their files since shortly after Edward Brande Fisher's violent death in September 1865. By putting these two sources together with newspaper accounts from the Victoria press, also available on microfilm in the BC Archives, another little drama of sex and violence took shape.

The story is a classic tale from the British Columbia gold rush. In December 1862 a well-heeled young Englishman, twenty-year old Edward Brande Fisher, boarded a White Star packet ship at Liverpool. Having booked "First Class Cabin Passage" for the weighty sum of £52 10 shillings, or \$265, which was more than most men made in a year, he and his 40 cubic feet of luggage set out for Victoria. The letters his widowed mother back in London wrote to her dear Teddy, as she called him, he carefully kept even though he increasingly did not respond. "I wish my dear boy I would hear you were doing some thing for your living—an idle life at any time is bad besides if you spend your capital you will soon find yourself in the wrong." Her letters became desperate for even a scrap of news from an errant son who, instead of heading to the gold fields, used his inheritance to make a very differ-

Opposite page, left:
*Teacher's letter lamenting
circumstances of Purser
children.*

Opposite page, right:
George Fisher.

The mother, an Indian woman married to Purser, is at Victoria with a baby who is weeping and I do not know what else she may be doing. But Tuesday she ought to have sent some things & other things for the use of the family, but they did not arrive. In the meanwhile they cannot get any more provisions at the store. The clerkman has trusted her to a considerable extent, and there is probability of his ever being paid. The Purser have been arrested



ent life for himself than would have been possible at home. Not only did young Teddy Fisher soon cohabit with a young Cowichan woman who he called Sara, he legally married her in January 1864, a highly unusual commitment for the time. A few months later he pre-empted Piers Island, 150 acres in size, located just north of Saanich Inlet.¹⁰ Their son George was born there in June 1865.¹¹

Just three months after George's birth, Teddy Fisher was dead. The violent circumstances seemed, at first, to implicate his Aboriginal wife Sara. According to Victoria's *Colonist* newspaper, "the female who was with him at his death was his wife, and it is alleged that she had previously been betrothed to a young Indian who may have fired the fatal shot out of jealousy or revenge. The woman states that he was stepping over a log and was using his gun as a prop when it accidentally exploded, and the charge entered his chest."¹²

The inquest cleared Sara Fisher of blame, but not to the extent that she was able to keep her baby or her husband's money. Even though legally married, she was an Aboriginal woman and, as "there is a considerable amount of property belonging to the Estate, it seems necessary that a Guardian (as Administrator) should be appointed;

if it can legally be done, to protect the interests of both [mother and child]." Teddy Fisher's mother back home in London approved. Having been informed of the death, she hired a Victoria solicitor in order to "do justice to all concerned." By this she meant insulating the family from a hybrid infant being landed on them while ensuring he was not brought up a 'savage.' And so it became clear to me, through records I found in the BC Archives, how it was that baby George was made a ward of the Catholic order of Christian Brothers, who very possibly got the estate in exchange for bringing him up as a young pseudo Englishman.

But that's not the end of the story of our young Cowichan woman, for she has been implicated in not just one but two violent deaths of newcomer husbands. Rebounding, as she had to, from the loss of husband and child, Sara soon lit upon George Purser, who had come out from England in 1858 as a sapper with the Royal Engineers. As I found out by once again checking pre-emption records, also in BC Archives and indexed for Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands on the Web site, Purser took over Fisher's pre-emption on Piers Island.¹³ At about the same time the first of half a dozen children by Sara, whom he renamed Anne, was born.¹⁴

So began a second cycle in which sexuality would again end in violence. My understanding of what happened came in two stages through the BC Archives. The first was, once again, an inquest; in this case into George Purser's death in 1885.¹⁵ The second find came through serendipity. In connection with my research on teachers, I read through the incoming correspondence of the BC Superintendent of Education, available in the BC Archives on microfilm. This is a marvellous source for the social history of late-nineteenth century British Columbia, containing thousands of letters from people in communities around the province, giving a grassroots perspective on their needs and aspirations. Unfortunately, it is not indexed,

either by person or place, but simply organized chronologically.

All of a sudden, one day, I came across the name Purser in a fashion that tore at my heart strings.¹⁶ In the fall of 1881 the teacher at Burgoyne Bay on Salt Spring Island, where the family now lived, fretted to the Superintendent of Education how his four Purser pupils were “not very well provided with shoes & clothing...in this cold damp weather.” By the next January the Purser family was, so the teacher reported, “in a situation of considerable difficulty and hardship.” As to the reason: “George Purser, the father, is almost helpless with paralysis.” His wife Anne had to go out to work, and perforce took the only job the dominant society permitted Aboriginal women. “The mother, an Indian woman married to Purser, is at Victoria with a baby, she is washing and I do not know what else she may be doing. Last Tuesday she ought to have sent home some flour & other things from town for the use of the family, but they did not arrive. ... Altogether Purser and his family are in a very deplorable state.”

The teacher's letters make explicable another part of George Fisher's story that has come down through descendants. He told his grandchildren how he wanted to become a priest, but that his mother beseeched him, at age sixteen, to leave his studies to assist his younger half siblings.

Now I knew the reason, and the inquest into George Purser's violent death gave me another chapter in this little frontier drama, the second to involve this Cowichan woman who had transformed herself from Sara Fisher into Anne Purser.

George Fisher and his half brothers were the principal witnesses at the inquest into Purser's death. Their stories reveal that at some point Sara, alias Anne, had simply given up. As George explained about his stepfather, “he said very little, he was a very quiet man, I do not think he was happy; he [was] troubled, I think because my mother had left him. She had been away about a year.” The eldest Purser son testified about his father that “the night before he died ... he asked me if I knew for sure that my mother had got another man, I told him yes, and he said, ‘That’s all I wanted to know.’” George Fisher then described how the very next day he was “getting out some cedar” when “I heard a gun go off in the house.” All hope gone, his stepfather had killed himself.

At this point, I can only leave to your reflections whether this enigmatic Cowichan woman,

still only in her mid-thirties, was or was not culpable in the death of her second husband. At the least, thanks to the BC Archives, I learned the circumstances of the violent deaths of the two men with whom her life had been entangled. I should add as a postscript, that I still don't know, nor do descendants so far as I am aware, how Sara alias Anne picked up the pieces. Maybe another research adventure is on the way.

CONCLUSION

What, then, do these three adventures in historical detection have to tell us? What can we learn from our Nova Scotian schoolteacher, two Mexican packers, and our Cowichan woman's encounters with sex and violence?

Three things, I think.

First, the BC Archives must be congratulated, and then congratulated again, on its response to the archival revolution. Research, particularly for those of us across the water, has become much more accessible as a consequence of the Web site than we would ever have thought possible even a year or two ago.

Secondly, the image of the BC Archives as the somewhat staid repository of records only of the powerful and the political is simply not correct. Yes, there is a need to collect government records, but the archives is also a magnificent storehouse of information and insights about ordinary men and women at their most intimate. Here I've used sex and violence as a means to make the larger point that the BC Archives is about all of us, and we must each encourage everyone at the archives to continue to collect the stories of all of our lives in all of their richness and diversity. The Friends of the BC Archives gives us an opportunity to do so.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, I hope I have convinced you of the joy of research. Yes, we start out with specific goals and think of ourselves as organized researchers, but something more gives the true pleasure to what we are doing, and that is the element of adventure. We can never quite tell where we will end up. We may now realize how it was that Jessie McQueen stayed single, why Angelo Gutiérrez went to jail to protect his honour, and what role Sara alias Anne played in her two husbands' violent deaths. But there are many more adventures just waiting to be had by each and every one of us in the BC Archives. ∞

Railway Route through the Crowsnest

by Robert Turner and Randal Macnair

ON 7 December 1898 a gala excursion left Nelson on the beautiful, brand new Canadian Pacific sternwheeler *SS Moyie* en route to Kootenay Landing and an awaiting passenger train for Cranbrook. The guests were travelling to a banquet at Cranbrook to celebrate the opening of the new Canadian Pacific Railway route via the Crowsnest Pass from southern Alberta through to Kootenay Landing at the southern end of Kootenay Lake. With connecting steamer services to Nelson, the railway provided a direct route from the mainline of the CPR just east of Lethbridge through to the Columbia River at Robson. From there steamers ran up the Columbia to Arrowhead and to another rail connection with the CPR mainline at Revelstoke.

The railway route was built to provide the resource-rich area stretching along the Canada-United States border with efficient transportation and communications in an era where that meant only one thing: a railway. After much local agitation and pressure from British Columbia, an agreement was reached between the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company and the Federal government to build the railway through the Crow. The agreement provided a cash subsidy and land grant for the railway and in return, the CPR agreed to a permanent reduction in freight rates. Ironically, the railway has been known over the years not so much

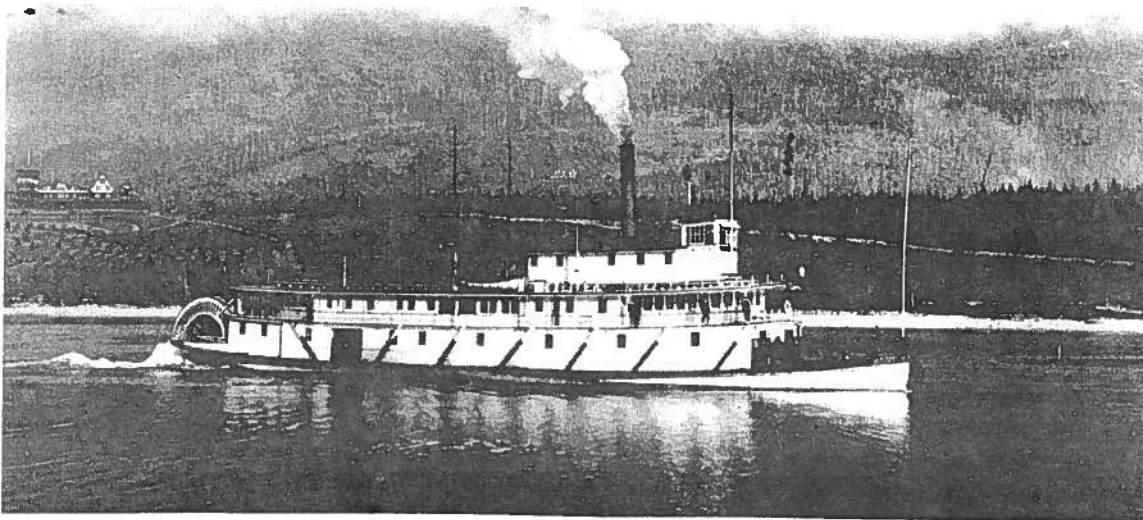
for its importance as a transportation route but for the legacy of its freight rates, the famous or infamous "Crow Rates."

Construction of this new rail route was by no means easy. Working west from Lethbridge towards the mountains, the railway was forced to build a series of major bridges and cuttings. Later this route would be bypassed and the huge Lethbridge Viaduct of High Bridge built as part of a more efficient alignment of the railway. In the mountains, winter conditions were severe and the workers suffered from the cold, poor camp conditions and long hours of hard labour for little pay. The complaints of labourers prompted a parliamentary inquiry into conditions on the railway. Nonetheless, the railway progressed westward and reached Kootenay Landing and a "temporary" end of track that would remain in use for over 30 years.

The new Crow Route brought the Kootenays a much closer and more efficient connection with the rest of Canada and most of the route would continue to be a key part of British Columbia's transportation network to the present day. The people of the region celebrated the new railway with great enthusiasm and looked forward to the extension of the CPR west to the Boundary District and eventually to Vancouver, completing a Coast-to-Kootenay railway. Over the next decade, the CPR also improved the services on its steamer connections in the interior with the con-

Bob Turner is a curator emeritus at the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria and has written extensively on BC's transportation history. He is also the project historian for the restoration of the *SS Moyie* at Kaslo and a heritage consultant. His 13th book, highlighting the Canadian Pacific's coastal liners, will be published in the spring. Several others, he hopes, will follow soon after.

Randal Macnair is a heritage consultant living in Fernie in the Crowsnest Pass region. He curated and produced a travelling exhibit for the centennial of the Crowsnest Pass Railway route. He developed Web sites and worked on heritage projects in BC and Alberta. Most of his work presently focuses on the coal mining heritage of the Elk Valley, a heritage that owes its existence to the Crowsnest Railway route.



Left: The *SS Moyie*, shown here during the First World War, was built for the Crowsnest Route in 1898.

Crow Rates

The Crow Rates had little to do with the Crowsnest railway itself but set low rates for the movement of grain from the Prairies and for the shipment of manufactured goods and some other commodities to the Prairies from the manufacturing centres of eastern Canada.

Later the Crow Rates were extended to all railways in western Canada, including the Canadian National that had absolutely nothing to do with the original Crowsnest Pass railway. The Crow Rates became a controversial element in Canadian politics and in the shipping of grain across western Canada.

As the years went by, the rates established in the late 1800s reflected less and less of the real costs of moving grain, and they became an increasing financial burden on the railways and a significant disincentive for capital investment. Of course, the railways seldom got much sympathy from the general public or their elected officials, but the net result by the 1960s and 1970s was an increasingly obsolete grain transport system from the Canadian Prairies to export terminals.

The general movement in North America towards free trade and deregulation of the economy led to the phasing out of the Crow Rates in the 1980s and 1990s. The phase-out of the Crow Rates was controversial and received with consternation by many who saw their disappearance as the beginning of major changes in the rail system and of higher costs for Prairie grain producers.

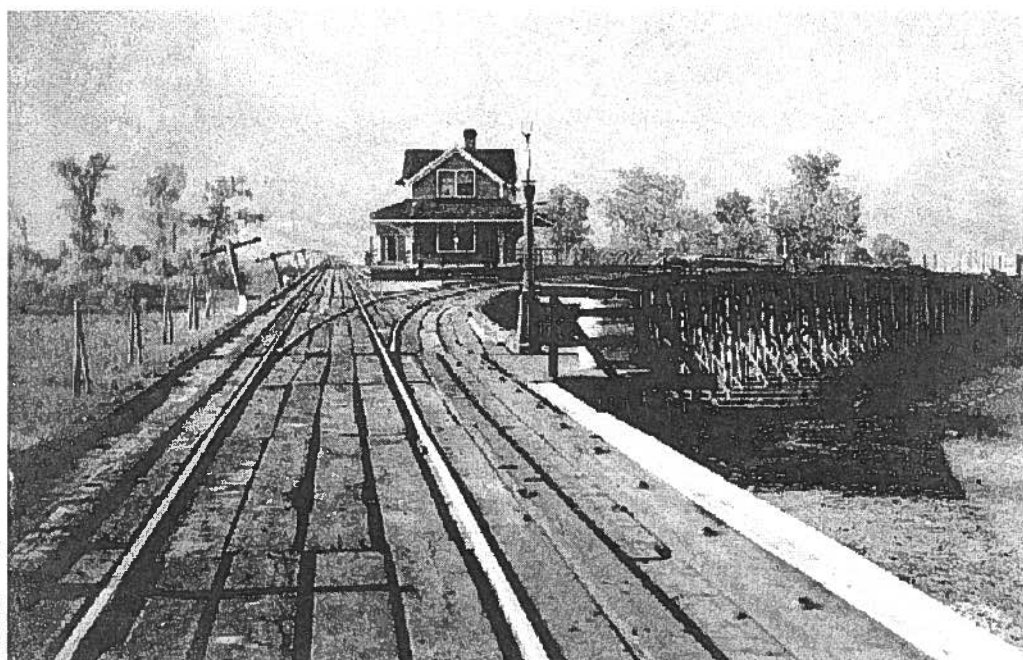
struction of larger and faster sternwheelers, including the *Kuskanook* and *Nasookin* for service on Kootenay Lake and the *Bonnington* for the Arrow Lakes route.

Within a few years the CPR extended its trackage west to the Boundary District and in 1915 it opened the Kettle Valley Railway joining with the main line at Spences Bridge. The next year saw completion of its route through the Coquihalla Pass to Hope and a connection with the main line across the Fraser River. Passengers and freight could now travel all the way from Vancouver to Lethbridge along the southern boundary of British Columbia and Alberta. Steamer services remained an important link in the Crow Route until the end of 1930 when the railway opened along the western shore of Kootenay Lake between Kootenay Landing and Procter, east of Nelson.

Mining is central to the story of the Crowsnest Route. In the 1890s and early 1900s, southern British Columbia was in the midst of a mining boom that extended all across the province from the East Kootenays through Nelson and the Slocan to Rossland and on west to Grand Forks and Phoenix in the Boundary District. Silver, copper, and lead ore discoveries drove an industrial expansion that transformed the southern districts along the international boundary. Key to the success of metal mining were several factors: capital, labour, markets, transport, and fuel for power and smelting. The Crowsnest Route provided efficient and economical transport and access to markets, and linked the mining districts together, making it possible for ores to be shipped to smelters. Moreover, the Crowsnest Coal field, with its huge deposits of high-grade steaming and coking coal, provided coke for the smelters and fuel for the steam locomotives on the railways and for steam boilers driving pumps, compressors, and hoists. The railway was the sinew that bound the mining and industrial complex together and made it economically functional.

Large-scale coal mining began in the Crowsnest at the same time as the railway was opened for service and the relationship between coal and the Crowsnest line continues over 100 years later. Nearly all of the Crowsnest coal was mined underground and the seams proved to be enormous. In some places the coal seams were over 40 feet thick and of good quality. The major mines on the British Columbia side of the pass were developed by the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company, which controlled most of the coal lands in the area. The Canadian Pacific itself developed a short-lived mine and coking plant at Hosmer.¹

The Canadian Pacific was not the only railway in the Crowsnest region. James J. Hill's Great Northern built northwards from Rexford, Montana, to reach Fernie in 1904 and Michel four years later. The GN route, known properly as the Crows Nest Southern



Right: *The original terminus of the Crowsnest Route at the south end of Kootenay Lake: Kootenay Landing station and steamer dock.*

Ktunaxa

The Ktunaxa, sometimes written as Kootenay, Kootenai or Kutenai peoples who lived in the region for hundreds of generations, used the Crowsnest Pass as a travel and trading route through the mountains. The route finally adopted by the railway was to pass through or near many areas used by the Ktunaxa for hunting and fishing and for harvesting food, medicine, and materials and other sites that were sacred. The railway brought tremendous and lasting changes because it was an enormous catalyst for settlement and subdivision of the land, industrial development, landscape and ecosystem change as well as bringing profound pressures for cultural change.

The changes in land ownership and land use through logging, mining, agriculture and urban settlement disrupted their way of life in many ways. Not least was the establishment of reserves that often held little relationship to their traditional resource use patterns. For the Ktunaxa People issues of lands and aboriginal title are an ongoing concern and certainly reflect back on the alienation of lands and the disruptions of their culture that came with the building of the Crowsnest Route and the many profound changes that followed with the railway.

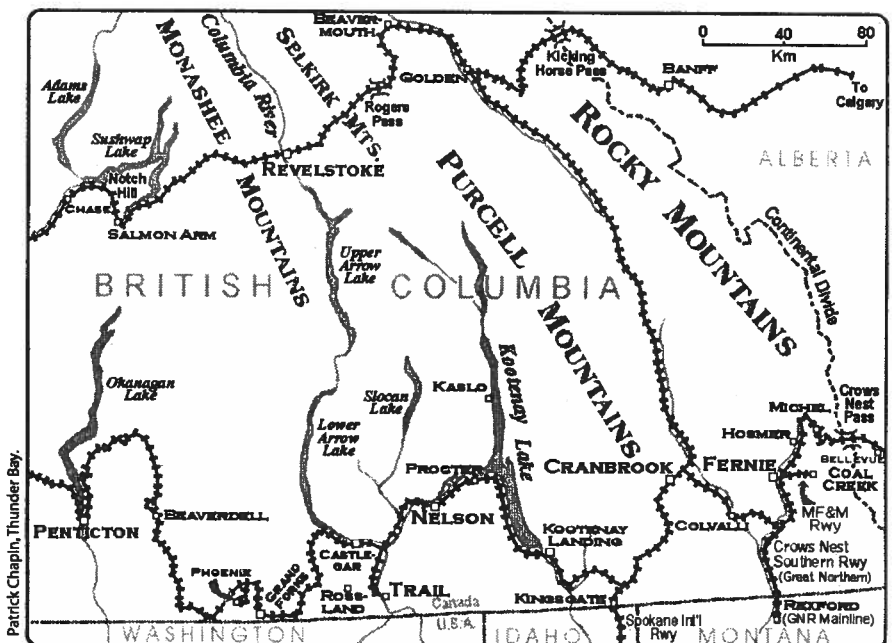
¹Work in the mines was difficult and dangerous and there were many accidents as well as several major, horrible explosions. Although the mines were monitored for coal gas and dust accumulations and were generally well ventilated, explosions occurred with tragic frequency. At Fernie in 1902, 128 men were lost in an explosion at Coal Creek. At Bellevue 30 men died in a 1910 explosion. Worst of all, in 1914, 189 men were killed in a terrible explosion at Hillcrest. Then, at Michel in 1916, 12 miners died from an explosion and the next year 34 were killed at Coal Creek. There were other losses but once it was determined that lightning was often the cause of these explosions and the underground railway systems were grounded and other precautions taken, the safety record was greatly improved.

Railway, provided a water level grade from the pass south to the GN main line and gave the American transcontinental access to the coal it needed for locomotive fuel and for the mines and smelters along its route. Hill acquired substantial interests in the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company and his railway built branch lines into all of the major mining districts of Southern British Columbia. The competition between the GN and the CPR for control of the area was fierce and continued through to the beginning of the First World War. However, the GN line to Fernie was abandoned in the 1930s after the GN switched to oil for fuel in its steam locomotives and as other sources of coal became available in the United States. Today, Highway No. 3 follows much of the old GNR right-of-way through the Elk Valley.

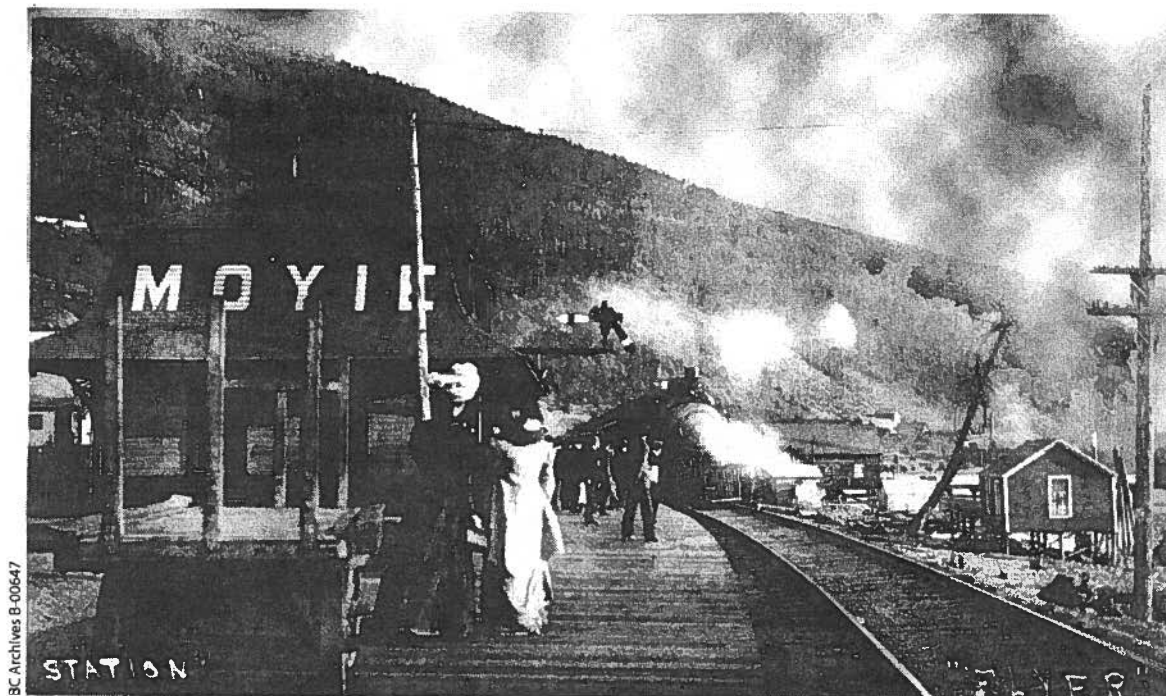
backing of the Canadian Pacific. It connected with the CPR at the BC-Idaho border at Kingsgate-Eastport. What made this route so important was the gateway it provided into the US Northwest for the Canadian Pacific. The CPR, in connection with the Soo Line which it controlled, developed a first-class train service from St. Paul and Minneapolis through to North Portal, Saskatchewan, and westward across the Prairies to the Crowsnest Route, Cranbrook, and the Spokane International. From Spokane, connections over the Union Pacific's Oregon Railway & Navigation Company gave a fast and convenient service through to Portland. Beautiful new trains of equipment for this service, called the "Soo-Spokane Train de Luxe," were built in 1906-

The Morrissey, Fernie & Michel Railway was incorporated in 1903 to build trackage to the mines at Coal Creek and elsewhere in the district. The line operated frequent passenger services for the miners and their families between Fernie and the mines. It remained in operation until 1957 and, ironically, was one of the first railways to use a diesel locomotive in British Columbia. Several of the MF&M's passenger cars and other rolling stock survive today at Heritage Park in Calgary and at Fort Steele Heritage Town at Fort Steele. Its diesel locomotive, an early Baldwin design, is preserved at the California State Railroad Museum in Sacramento, California.

Another railway that had an important impact on the region was the Spokane International, built by Daniel Chase Corbin of Spokane with the



Right: The Soo-Line-CPR's "Flyer" at Moyie about 1908. This was a beautifully appointed train. Cars from the Soo-Spokane "Train de Luxe" are being restored at the Canadian Museum of Rail Travel at Cranbrook.



1907 and operated in direct competition with the luxury trains of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific. Unfortunately, this outstanding service did not last and was suspended in 1914. Fortunately, the "Soo-Spokane" train is being restored as one of the many outstanding exhibits at the Canadian Museum of Rail Travel at Cranbrook. The repatriation of two of the key cars from the train and their ongoing restoration is an outstanding achievement in heritage preservation.

Passenger services along the Crow Route remained important through the Second World War and into the 1950s. In the 1950s diesels replaced steam locomotives on the CPR on the Crow Route and throughout British Columbia. As patronage declined, passenger trains were re-equipped with Rail Diesel Cars (Budd cars or "Dayliners") and they were used until service was withdrawn in 1964. By that time highways had been substantially improved throughout the southern interior and there was little demand for the passenger trains. The *Moyie*, the original Crow Boat of 1898, was the last of the CPR paddlewheelers in service and was retired in 1957. Fortunately, the faithful old steamer was acquired by a dedicated group of farsighted individuals at Kaslo for preservation and is now beautifully restored as a National Historic Site.

The demands for freight services also changed in the post-Second World War period as road sys-

tems expanded. Increasingly the railway carried primarily coal, bulk commodities, lumber, and similar products. Mines producing the once-rich ores were mostly worked out or were producing much smaller quantities of ores. In 1973, the CPR's Kettle Valley Railway was abandoned between Penticton and Beaverdell, severing the route across the southern interior. Traffic on other sections west of the Columbia continued to decline and freight service was all but gone by the late 1980s. In 1990 most of the remaining trackage west of Castlegar through the Boundary District and the southern Okanagan was formally abandoned. Since that time traffic west of Cranbrook, except for trains running south into the United States over the old Spokane International route, has dwindled, with the Trail Smelter and the pulp mill at Castlegar being the two largest remaining sources of traffic.

The Crow Route of the late 1990s continues to be intimately linked with coal mining just as it was over 100 years ago, although now the coal is destined for export and distant power plants where once it was needed for local industry. The route through to the northern United States, via the Spokane International, which is now part of the Union Pacific, remains an important gateway for traffic from the US Midwest and the Canadian Prairies. Now the Crow Route could be said to include the line north to Golden whereas in 1898 the connection north to the main line

was via the Arrow Lakes to Revelstoke.

In the late 1960s coal mining in the Crow was given a new lease on life with the development by Kaiser Resources of new mines to produce huge volumes of coal for export to Japan. To ship the coal the CPR rebuilt its Kootenay Central route between Colvalli, south of Cranbrook, and Golden and put massive "unit" coal trains into service between the mines and a new export terminal south of Vancouver at Roberts Bank. These new trains, which entered service in 1970, were at first 88 cars long and were powered by 3,000-hp diesel locomotives. Because of the mountainous nature of the CPR route west of Golden, helper locomotives were needed and remote-controlled "slave" diesels were operated in the middle of the train. Before long the trains grew in length to over 110 cars. The success of these operations and continuing growth in traffic led to line improvements in the Selkirk Mountains and at Notch Hill, between Salmon Arm and Chase, which reduced the number of diesels required, and most recently the introduction of new General Electric locomotives, rated at 4400-hp, has reduced the number of diesels on these trains to just three. Other changes are evident in the trains of today. The traditional caboose is gone from nearly all freight trains and the impact of mergers and corporate changes is also evident. Soo Line diesels are often part of CPR trains as the Soo is absorbed into the CPR system, and on the Crow Route, Union Pacific locomotives are frequent visitors to Cranbrook.

After 100 years, the Crow Route has certainly proven an effective and efficient rail route. Its success was a quiet one. Aside from the notoriety of the Crow Rates, the railway itself has received little publicity. It was well engineered over a comparatively benign terrain. It lacked the sensational snowfalls of Rogers Pass or the engineering features of the Kicking Horse Pass and while beautiful, the landscapes lacked the spectacular qualities that made the CPR mainline through British Columbia world-famous. Nonetheless, the impact of the Crowsnest line on southern British Columbia and Alberta was profound. It has been a key to natural resource development and the corresponding development of settlement throughout the region, as well as the extensive impact on landscapes from logging and mining. Moreover, the railway had a profound impact on the people of the region: the Ktunaxa First Peoples and the settlers and immigrants who came

primarily from other parts of North America and from Europe. For nearly everyone along the railway, the route became an essential service for personal travel, mail, express, and the day-to-day commerce of the entire region.

The Crowsnest Route continues to influence the lives of people throughout the southern Rockies and its impact extends well beyond the confines of the mountain pass. The Crow Route is part of a continental railway system that reaches west to Roberts Bank, southwest to Portland and east across the country. As it did 100 years ago, the Crow Route links the region to the distant parts of the continent and it remains essential to the industrial economy of the region. Its impact will be felt for many years to come. ~

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The Crowsnest Railway Route Web site (www.crowsnest.bc.ca) includes an extensive bibliography and also includes original documents, legislation and newspaper reports.

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WWW.CROWSNEST.CA

As part of the Crowsnest Route centennial events in 1998, the Canadian Museum of Rail Travel developed an Internet Web site called the Crowsnest Railway Route which tells the history of the railway, steamer services, and related industries, and reflects on the lives of the people along the line and in particular in British Columbia.

This Web site is designed for easy access and also features highlights of the Canadian Museum of Rail Travel at Cranbrook, the SS Moyie National Historic Site, and other heritage attractions in the region.

As well, it includes many original documents, newspaper articles, and other source material. Bob Turner wrote the text and Roger Boulet designed the site.

“...That Old Rogue, the Iroquois Tête Jaune”

by Yvonne Mearns Klan

Yvonne Klan, author of several articles on early days in BC, is thrilled by narratives of high drama and adventure unreeled from HBCo microfilms.

THE haunting image of Tête Jaune, a blond Iroquois who roamed the Rocky Mountains in the early 1800s, has fired men's imagination for over a century. It inspired Howard O'Hagan to write the novel *Tay John*, a Canadian classic set in the 1880s. It gave rise to numerous theories to account for Tête Jaune's presence in the west, and equally numerous speculations about his identity. Yellowhead Mountain, Yellowhead Lake, Yellowhead Pass, and the village of Tête Jaune Cache, commemorate him. His profile guides travellers along Yellowhead Highway 16, which stretches from the Queen Charlotte Islands to Portage la Prairie, and BC's Highway 5 from Kamloops to Tête Jaune Cache. Yet little is known about him.

Howard O'Hagan's *Tay John* was conceived of an Irish evangelist and a Shuswap native woman. The historical Tête Jaune's lineage is less precise; even his name has caused much confusion. The muddle started in 1819 when Colin Robertson, a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) officer at St. Mary's on the Peace River, wrote that a group of Baymen embarking for New Caledonia was accompanied by "Pierre Hatsinaton, Guide." When the letter was copied in the fort's journal it read "with the Tête Jaune, Guide." However, account books of both the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company (NWC) refer to "Pierre Bostonais (*dit* Tête Jaune)." ¹ Pierre may well have been christened Hatsinaton but called "Bostonais" to denote his origin or residence in the United States. This would lend credence to speculation that he was the Tête Jaune referred to in an 1804-1805 journal kept by a trader in present-day Minnesota:

Nov. 9, 1804: ...this afternoon the Tete Jaune and Son come from hunting Beaver, made an indifferent hunt. paid their debts. gave them 6 Gall Rum. they drank peacably and gave me no manner of trouble.

Jan. 27, 1805: ...this afternoon the Tete Jaune's Son expired after a long and painful Malady of upwards of three Months. his Death costs me a Keg of Rum to content his relatives. he was a most excellent Indian, desired his father to pay his Debt and to be attentive to the White people. ²

Eight weeks later Tête Jaune again visited the post, repaired his canoe, and paddled out of fur trade records until 1816, when "Bostonnais dit Tete Jaune Pierre" appeared in a NWC ledger.

Towards the end of the 1700s Canadian and American fur traders were sending Iroquois, "who trapped with an application unknown to the Indians," ³ to the Missouri, Mississippi, and Saskatchewan rivers. For some Iroquois this was an idyllic life. Explorer Alexander Mackenzie noted that a small colony had emigrated to the Saskatchewan River in 1799, "to escape improvements of civilization in the east and to follow the mode of life of their forefathers." ⁴

In 1800 David Thompson, wishing to bring Iroquois trappers to Piegan country in the Rocky Mountain foothills, diplomatically consulted the Piegan chiefs. He told them that the Iroquois' homeland was so depleted in furs that they could no longer make a living there and had asked to be brought to the Rockies. He assured the chiefs that the immigrants "would behave quietly, would reside in the woody hills at the foot of the mountains, and serve as a barrier between the Piegans and their enemies." ⁵ The latter point was particularly pleasing to the frequently embattled Piegans and they gave their consent.

By the summer of 1801 more than 300 Iroquois and Mohawks had been brought west. They migrated to the meadowlands around today's Jasper and to the grazing fields in the valleys of the Peace and Smoky rivers. They frequented the sources of rivers yet unknown to white men, and traversed the rugged passes twisting through the Rockies into New Caledonia. When their contracts expired many were unwilling to leave their native wives and families and re-engaged. Others remained as "freemen"—unfettered wanderers who traded furs on the same basis as the local natives and contracted as temporary interpreters, guides, canoemen, and provision hunters.

The majority came from mission settlements along the St. Lawrence River. Alexander Mackenzie stated that many had been taught "reading and writing in their own language, and are

1 Hudson's Bay Co. Archives (HBCA) F.4/32, index; B.39/d/4, fo.5; B.239/d/245 fo.99d

2 Charles M. Gates, ed., *Five fur traders of the Northwest*. University of Minnesota Press. 1933. pp. 258, 266

3 A. S. Morton, ed. *Journal of Duncan McGillivray of the North West Company at Fort George on the Saskatchewan 1794-5*. Macmillan Company of Canada. Toronto. 1929. pp. li, 49.

4 W.K. Lamb, ed. *The journals and letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie*. Hakluyt Society at the University Press. Cambridge. 1970. p. 411

5 Victor Hopwood, ed., *Travels in Western North America, 1784-1812*. Macmillan of Canada. Toronto. 1972. p. 223

6 Lamb, 1970 p. 85

7 E.E. Rich, ed., *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817 to September 1822*. Champlain Society for Hudson's Bay Record Society. Toronto. 1939. p. 56 (CRCEB)

8 HBCA B.60/a/7, Feb. 4, 1808

9 F. Wentzel to R. McKenzie, Feb. 28, 1814 in Masson, L.R. *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest...* Impr. general A. Cote et Cie. Quebec. 1889.1890. vol. 1, p. 109

Notes continue on page 20

better instructed than the Canadian [i.e. today's Quebecois] inhabitants of the country of the lower ranks."⁶ The more pious taught their families and native hosts elements of Catholic prayer and ritual, and it was said that Iroquois voyageurs paddled more often to hymns than to Canadian paddle songs.

They were skillful canoemen. Colin Robertson held that Canadian voyageurs "may be more hardy or undergo more fatigue, but in either a rapid or traverse, give me [the Iroquois], from their calmness and presence of mind which never forsakes them in the greatest danger."⁷

They trapped relentlessly. In 1802 traders in the Saskatchewan District complained that the area had been trapped out by Iroquois who "leave nothing wherever they come." In 1808 Edmonton officers noted that "in a few years a beaver will be nearly as great a curiosity here as in London, 'tis the free Canadians and Iroquois with their steel traps that has so totally destroyed them."⁸ In 1814 NorWesters in Athabasca reported that local Indians "complain of the want of beaver (the Iroquois having ruined the Country)."⁹ And Daniel Harmon, an NWC clerk in New Caledonia, commented in October 1818,

As they are mere rovers, they do not feel the same interest, as those who permanently reside here, in keeping the stock of animals good, and therefore they make great havoc among the game, destroying alike the animals which are young and old. A number of Iroquois have passed several summers on this side of the mountain, which circumstance they knew to be displeasing to the Indians here, who have often threatened to kill them, if they persisted in destroying the animals on their lands. These menaces were disregarded. A month since, an Iroquois, with his wife and two children, were all killed, while asleep, by two Carriers of this village, which melancholy event, I hope, will prevent any of the Iroquois from coming into this region again.¹⁰

Ironically, while Harmon was writing this comment a contingent of Iroquois engaged by the HBC was preparing to enter New Caledonia.

For many years the HBC had been trying to penetrate the NorWesters' fur-rich strongholds in Athabasca, Peace River, and New Caledonia. Every attempt had been ruthlessly crushed. The NorWesters drove game away from the Baymen's path and so intimidated the natives that they refused to trade furs or provisions with the newcomers. Consequently in the winter of 1815 at least sixteen HBC voyageurs died of starvation along the Peace. Nonetheless the HBC persisted, and in the fall of 1818 an HBC brigade led by John Clarke had reached the forks of the Peace and Smoky Rivers (today's Grande Prairie, Alta.) and were building Fort St. Mary's. Clarke's relative ease in establishing this post was largely due to the early onset of winter, for while his men were erecting St. Mary's, the NWC's Peace River brigade, bringing reinforcements and trading goods from Montreal, became ice-bound far downriver leaving the NorWesters with insufficient men to drive Clarke away and not enough trade items to effectively compete with him.

Clarke's brigade was composed largely of Iroquois, many of

whom had previously served the NWC in this area, had forged across the Rockies, and were familiar with the country. Now under contract with the HBC, they were to return to New Caledonia and secure the natives' goodwill towards the Baymen who wanted to trade in their land. As winter tightened its icy grip, the Iroquois, led by Jose Gaubin, set off on their mission. (Other voyageurs were sent to live with local natives—a tactic which eased the strain on St. Mary's meager food resources and ensured that furs and game hunted by the natives went to Clarke rather than the NorWesters.)

Gaubin's party returned in the spring and reported that the New Caledonia natives were eager to have the HBC on their lands. During his journey Gaubin had encountered other Iroquois and brought them into the HBC's fold. One of the new recruits was Tête Jaune, who made his first appearance in HBC records as "Pierre, the Guide" in October 1819. In that same year the NWC wrote off the large debt he owed with the notation "deserted."

Colin Robertson took charge of St. Mary's over the 1819–1820 season. Determined to gain a footing in New Caledonia in 1820, he had earlier arranged for a brigade of trading goods to be sent from Norway House in time to cross the mountains well before freeze-up. At St. Mary's he sought the Iroquois' opinions of the mountain passes and the country beyond and Tête Jaune, who knew the territory well, drew a map for him, which unfortunately has not come to light.

In December, 1819, Robertson ordered Clerk Ignace Giasson, "with Tête Jaune, Guide," to take a party of Iroquois up the Smoky, hunt and cache provisions for St. Mary's until April 1820, then cross the mountains at the Smoky's source. In New Caledonia he was to advise the natives that an HBC brigade crammed with trading goods would arrive in the fall and urge them to withhold their furs from the NWC, trading instead with the Baymen when they arrived. Finally, Robertson warned Giasson to expect fierce opposition from the NorWesters, who "will throw every obstacle in the way of your having any intercourse with the Indians."¹¹

On 23 December Tête Jaune strapped on his snowshoes and guided the party (accompanied by wives who could serve as interpreters) up the Smoky. It was a hard and hungry journey. One man, near starvation, died after reaching a food cache and overeating. The group struggled on, hunting and caching provisions only to have one cache destroyed by bears and another spoiled by weather. At the end of March Giasson sent a report from Sheep Creek, some 300 kilometres up the Smoky, stating he would leave for New Caledonia 30 April. Their route through the Rockies is not known but most probably Tête Jaune led them through Robson Pass—from the Smoky's headwaters, along the base of Mt. Robson, past sprawling glaciers and alpine lakes, to the Robson River, which debouches at the Fraser River near today's Tête Jaune Cache. Almost certainly the route was not today's "Yellowhead."

- 10 W. K. Lamb, ed., *Sixteen years in the Indian Country. The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon*. The Macmillan Company of Canada. Toronto. 1957
- 11 HBCA B.190/a/2, 18 Dec. 1819.
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- 14 SAJ p. 132.
- 15 HBCA B.190/a/3, 29 Oct. 1820.
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- 23 HBCA B.5/a/1, 21 July 1824.
- 24 HBCA B.188/b/4, #11, 24 Oct. 1825.
- 25 HBCA B.188/a/8, 24 Sept. 1826.
- 26 HBCA B.188/a/10, 21 Apr. 1827.
- 27 HBCA B.188/a/10, 5 Sept. 1827.
- 28 HBCA B.188/a/10, 27 Apr. 1828.

News of the HBC's presence in New Caledonia raced through native lodges and reached the ears of incredulous NorWesters. At Ft. St. James a clerk wrote,

June 10: Indians report of there being at the Forks of Fraser's River one of the HBC clerks and three men with the Iroquois distributing out goods and tobacco Gratis with the promises of their coming in force early in the summer, but I can hardly credit them as certainly our Gentlemen in Peace River would have sent us notice of it, if such is the case they certainly will play the deuce with the Natives and get all their furs without my having it in my power to prevent them ... however it is false.¹²

Nevertheless he ordered his men to spread through the country and secure whatever furs and provisions the natives had before they could "fall into the clutches" of the HBC.

Summer passed into autumn and the HBC Peace River posts heard no more from Giasson. George Simpson, superintendent of the HBC's Athabasca Department, worried over the expedition's fate. His plans for New Caledonia were going badly awry. At Norway House the brigade destined for New Caledonia was delayed "by the misconduct of the people who were in a continual state of intoxication."¹³ Once underway the canoes were found to be poorly built, necessitating frequent stops for repairs. Obviously the brigade could not reach Peace River Portage before freeze-up and all hope of establishing New Caledonia in 1820 had to be abandoned. To cap matters, NorWesters from the Peace brought reports that Giasson's party had been killed by natives. Not surprisingly, the Iroquois destined for New Caledonia in 1821 had second thoughts and "positively declared that they will not renew their engagements unless Giasson returns safe, so if he does not make his appearance it will be quite impractical to establish the country next year."¹⁴

Simpson's worries were not entirely groundless. The NorWesters had indeed tried to persuade the natives to murder Giasson and his men but the New Caledonians had instead welcomed them, were keen to have them in their country, and dutifully hoarded their furs for the expected HBC brigade. When the canoes failed to arrive they were obliged to trade their furs—some five hundred pelts—with the NorWesters.

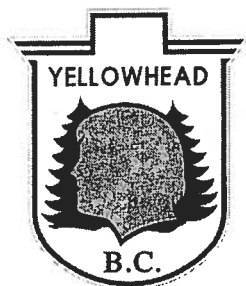
Giasson's party, resplendently clad, returned to St. Mary's ten months after their departure. "Beaver must be remarkably plentiful in that quarter," a clerk noted, "as they were all clothed in dressed

Coat Beaver."¹⁵ The arrival of Tête Jaune and his brother Baptiste was duly celebrated when "The Iroquois all enjoyed themselves with a booze."¹⁶ Giasson sent Simpson a report and a map (neither of which has survived) showing two sites he had selected for future establishments and, with the natives' approval, had marked "H.B.Coy." to signify possession.

Tête Jaune spent the remainder of the winter hunting up the Smoky. Unfortunately an unseasonably mild thaw settled over the area and was followed by a cold snap. The resultant snowcrust crackled under the hunters' feet, causing the startled prey to flee out of gunshot range. "Many of the Beaver Indians have been starved to death," Simpson noted, "one of our Iroquois and three belonging to the North West Coy. have shared the same fate."¹⁷ Tête Jaune returned to St. Mary's in May, haggard, starving, and without pelts. Nonetheless the journal records, "Old Tête Jaune was engaged for the New Caledonia."¹⁸

Meanwhile Simpson pushed ahead with plans to establish the new country in 1821. He urged officers along the Peace to engage Iroquois "without delay. I shall not limit you to terms, we absolutely need their services."¹⁹ He assembled "a formidable force" of six canoes, sixteen men, and four officers²⁰ to fight through the resistance expected from the NorWesters and in the summer of 1821 Tête Jaune guided the first HBC brigade to enter New Caledonia up the Peace. Contrary to expectations, it was a peaceful voyage for in the spring the rival companies had united under the banner of the Hudson's Bay Company.

With the union, all hands could work at gathering furs and provisions instead of harassing and spying on the opposition. The HBC suddenly found itself overburdened with too many men and too many posts. The Iroquois could no longer demand (and get) high wages; many could not even renew their engagements. As freemen they were not wanted around the forts, being perceived now as mischief-makers and, with their families, a drain on the area's resources. Nor were they wanted by the Beaver Indians, who threatened their lives if they tried to go up the Smoky where beaver were now all but extirpated. A former NWC officer wrote Chief Factor Smith at Ft. Chipewyan complaining of "the faithless Iroquois who were an intolerable burthen and expence to me throughout the winter."²¹ Smith, however, took a broader view and replied,



It is cruel to introduce foreign Indians to ruin [the host] country. The poor Beaver Indians with all their industry scrape only a miserable lively hood, their country exhausted of beaver and large animals, and by who? by the wild ambitious policy of the whites who study their interest first and then that of the natives...²²

Perhaps it was this animosity towards Iroquois that caused Tête Jaune and Baptiste to move with their families to New Caledonia. They arrived at Fort George (today's Prince George) in the fall of 1823, heavily in debt to the Company and so ragged that they were obliged to trade their cherished dogs in exchange for clothing. Though deemed "not very handy workmen" and "no great acquisition" they were hired for the winter.

With the spring break-up they paddled down the Fraser to Alexandria. Their presence infuriated the post's clerk, who noted that local natives were bringing in very few pelts,

...but the poor fellows are not so much to blame, the beaver lands having been destroyed ... by those two confounded Vagabonds, Tete Jaune and his brother Baptiste who have hunted there all spring. I wish they were anywhere except New Caledonia, even if it was in Hell for they do more mischief than they are worth. I am only sorry the Indians did not strip them naked provided they spared their lives, but I would not pity them.²³

Faced with such hostility, the brothers retreated to Jasper, a favorite Iroquois resort.

Leather, the most preferred trade item in New Caledonia, brought Tête Jaune into HBC records once again. Hides and sinew were collected at the prairie posts and paddled west via the Peace River. Governor Simpson chafed at this long and costly mode of transport and ordered Chief Trader James McMillan to find a route suited to packtrains. McMillan arrived at Jasper in October 1825 and tried to hire a guide familiar with such a route. Of all the men McMillan approached only Tête Jaune would agree to guide him. The little party threaded its way through the winding corridor that would evermore be known as "Yellowhead Pass" and emerged at a point on the Fraser called then, as now, Tête Jaune Cache. McMillan found the route better than he expected. He believed a packtrain could easily bring cargoes of leather to Tête Jaune's cache, where it could be picked up by canoes from New Caledonia. McMillan wrote a report for Tête Jaune to deliver to New Caledonia's Chief Factor Connolly at Ft. St. James, and thoughtfully added,

The Iroquois says that salmon does not agree with him. If kept at the Fort I beg that some consideration may be shewn him. If he had not undertaken [this journey] none else would, not even for 150 Beaver.²⁴

Connolly sent Tête Jaune to trap around Alexandria (now in charge of a more congenial clerk) with the understanding that he should return to Ft. St. James in the summer to guide a party to the cache to fetch Connolly's 1825-1826 leather requisition: 400 dressed moose and deer skins, 30 parchment skins,

2000 fathoms of pack cords, 30 lbs. sinews, and 70 lbs. babiche (used for making snowshoes). Unfortunately Tête Jaune became ill at Alexandria and failed to return to Ft. St. James. While Connolly fumed over "that old rogue the Iroquois Tête Jaune, who was depended upon to guide the people..."²⁵ his clerks scoured the area and eventually found another Iroquois who knew the cache's location.

Connolly saw no more of Tête Jaune until November 1826, when "that rogue Tete Jaune and his brother" appeared at Ft. St. James, driven there by a dread of Carrier Indians who had threatened to kill them. Though Connolly was a reluctant host he realized that "these people cannot in this part of the country live by hunting in the winter, and it being too late for them to cross the mountains they will be a charge upon us till Spring." He proposed that they winter at Fort Kilmaurs on Babine Lake, where salmon was less scarce than at other posts. In return they would have to do whatever work was required of them. This offer, however, "they decline accepting and they may now shift for themselves the best way they can." Three weeks later the hungry Iroquois accepted Connolly's proposal and, with their families, set off for Babine Lake.

Tête Jaune's rugged life and his advancing years were taking their toll. When the aging brothers returned to Ft. St. James the following spring it was apparent to Connolly that they had endured a miserable winter "for I never saw two more wretched beings in my life. Since the fall they have not killed one marten between them, nor had they even shift enough to hunt rabbits for their subsistence."²⁶ Only the charity of the Babine Indians had kept them alive and now they were at a loss what next to do or where next to turn. At Connolly's suggestion that they hunt around the headwaters of the Finlay River—a harsh mountainous country where game and beaver were said to be plentiful—they assembled their ragged families and trudged into the hinterlands of New Caledonia.

Connolly sometimes thought about them and inquired about their welfare but "all I can learn is that they crossed the mountain to Finlay's Branch and intended to proceed downwards to Peace River. I am glad that this district is rid of them,"²⁷ he wrote in September 1827.

In that same month Tête Jaune and Baptiste, their women and their children, were murdered by a party of Beaver Indians near the mouth of the Finlay.²⁸

Tête Jaune and his family met their fate more than 175 years ago but the old pathfinder is not entirely forgotten. His legend still survives in the high Rocky Mountain passes and his presence, stylized on Yellowhead Highway signs, still guides travellers through the long-conquered wilderness that was once New Caledonia. ~

Eight Times Mayor of Vancouver

"Single Tax" Taylor: Louis Denison Taylor 1857-1946

by Mary Rawson

Mary Rawson is a Fellow of the Canadian Institute of Planners and a member of the Vancouver Historical Society.

"Many Vancouver residents still remember the fiery mayor. Even if they have forgotten his major improvements, none can erase the image of his great rolled cigars, and his roguish sense of humour. Thus, for many years, both through his personality and positive civic programs, L.D. Taylor infused the city of Vancouver with vitality and character." David McFaul.¹

For Vancouver's centennial year, 1986, the Vancouver Historical Society held a series of evening talks about "Mayors of Vancouver." On Wednesday, 22 April 1986 Mary Rawson spoke about Louis D. Taylor. Penny Hagarty summarized the lecture as "an entertaining and convincing portrayal of this dynamic mayor." In this article Mary Rawson revisits this interesting personality.

FIRST elected as Mayor of the City of Vancouver in 1910, L.D. Taylor was tagged with the sobriquet "Single Tax" because of his commitment to the ideas of the American Henry George.

George was identified chiefly with a proposal to raise needed public revenue from urban and resource rents alone and to remove all other taxes. His principal book, *Progress and Poverty* (1879), had electrified the reform-minded public worldwide. It had also raised fear, anger, and scorn among the not-so-reform-minded, feelings well caught in the front-page cartoon of *Punch*, 26 January 1884; here one sees the sly big bad wolf, a copy of *Progress and Poverty* peeping from his overcoat pocket, while he importunes the innocent worker-voter Red Riding Hood.² Such views were very alive in Taylor's early days, and

persisted for decades to infect political and academic opinion.

Taylor had become acquainted with the ideas of Henry George while in Ann Arbor, Michigan, his birthplace, and even ran for election (on a Republican ticket) as a very young man.³ After living through two swings of the boom-and-bust cycle working at various jobs—librarian, bank clerk, accountant, railway auditor—he set out for Alaska and the gold fields. He paused en route in Vancouver in 1896, struck out for the Klondike, "struck out" very quickly, and settled down to spend the rest of his life in British Columbia.

Vancouver in 1896, as a take-off point for the Klondike, was a roistering, raw young city. Patricia Roy's description of the toleration of booze and "vice" around the 1890s provides ample proof both of the activity and the ambience into which L.D. arrived.⁴ Ethel Wilson's memories (she arrived about the same time, but as a young girl joining an elite family) reveal that, though the city had its seamy side, Vancouver was a safe place for respectable citizens.⁵ When she sat in church on a Sunday however, among her dignified relatives, and had heard the Minister's wrathful sermons, she had been quite bemused:

Whereas the ministers of the Gospel to whom she had listened Sunday by Sunday since infancy spoke gently of the love of God, the Rev. Elmer Pratt thundered about brothels. She supposed that brothels were places where broth was made and decided that the broth must be very bad or the Rev. Elmer Pratt would not be so angry. He also spoke frequently about 'foaming out your shame upon your city streets', in a way that made her feel personally responsible, and she could only conclude that he had [made] reference to the nasty habit of spitting that she had noticed and disliked among the men in the streets of this little western town.⁶

Right: Henry George's ideas of reform were not well received by all. This 1884 cartoon shows a big bad wolf, a copy of George's *Progress and Poverty* sticking from his pocket, importuning the innocent worker-voter Red Riding Hood.



Punch 26 January 1884

Opposite page: 1925. Mayor L.D. Taylor and the "Exhibition Queen."



Taylor himself was a church-going man, having been brought up a Congregationalist. He attended the Congregational church at Richards and Georgia, and later taught Sunday School there. Because Congregationalists generally were to the fore in attempts to apply Christian principles to matters of social and political importance, it is not surprising Taylor should link up later with H.H. Stevens who also had arrived in Vancouver at the turn of the Century. Stevens was a man twenty years younger than Taylor but of extraordinarily similar background and experience.⁷ Coming to British Columbia at a mature age, with an experience and philosophy that was coherent, gave L.D. Taylor a steadfastness of purpose that showed in the rest of his life which, from that time on, was a public life.

As a boy, Taylor got a taste for both newspapering and politics when chumming around with the son of the editor of the *Ann Arbor Courier*. And it was with a newspaper that he first made a decent income in Vancouver, as circulation manager for the *Province*, in 1898. He was employed by the *Province* on contract and built up the circulation mightily. After seven years, when his contract was not renewed, he joined with another former *Province* employee to buy a rival paper, the *World*, which he also built up and renewed both in machinery and circulation.

He appeared on Vancouver's political scene the first time as a member of the "Decorations Committee" for celebrations in 1901. This committee was one of several set up to welcome their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York. Royalty had not come to Vancouver

before. To judge by the papers of the day, the visit of the royal personages was the biggest event ever Vancouver had experienced. There was an Illumination Committee, a Harbour Illumination Committee, a Decorations Committee, a Finance Committee, a Parade Committee—fifteen committees in all, some of them with nine or ten members each.

The Decorations Committee's efforts were a great success. It may seem ridiculous today, but, according to accounts, the decorations were impressive. The raw city was a forest of poles leaning every which way—telephone poles this way, telegraph poles that way, electric, another.⁸ It was not a very pretty sight. L.D. and his committee got all sorts of garlands and greenery, as well as coloured paper and ribbons. They wound garlands up the poles and decorated them. They decorated the CPR station. They created arches over the streets in Japan town and elsewhere. They persuaded the Chinese to put an arch over their street. It made a great display. As Eric Nicol has written:

Everyone agreed that the bunting draped on the CPR Railway Station, a turreted castle redolent of fairy tales, was thoroughly regal without being gaudy. The American boy had made good as a loyal subject.⁹

Although no longer a "boy," it was L.D.'s first triumph—chair of the Decorations Committee on this famous occasion. He never looked back. He ran for Licence Commissioner in 1902 and was elected one of two Commissioners. When he ran again for Licence Commissioner the following year, with a plan for strict control of the liquor business, his plan was attacked in the editorials of the *Province*, his own employer, as being too extreme.¹⁰ The next year, 1904, he ran unsuccessfully for alderman, one of the numerous times he was defeated electorally. But he was again appointed by Council to serve on the Library Board, as well as on the Building Committee of the Carnegie Library.

Taylor's first successful try for Council occurred after his "full lunch pail" campaign in 1910. Among the proposals he put forward were the annexation of South Vancouver, exempting improvements from taxation, mechanizing the fire department, and establishing a juvenile court. He also urged Council to adopt the eight-hour day for municipal employees. Delegates from Vancouver and South Vancouver went to Victoria to support the first proposal, but the Provincial gov-

1. The best available biography of L.D. is the sketch "Louis D. Taylor" by D. McFaul in *Vancouver History*, Vol. 18, No. 4, August 1979, pp. 12-16, including portrait. Published by the Vancouver Historical Society.
2. *Punch* cartoon reproduced as *Land and Liberty* cover, September-October, 1987.
3. City of Vancouver Archives (CVA), Matthews News clippings, M9253-2, Taylor. Ronald Kenwyn, "L.D. Tells His Own Life Story", *Vancouver Daily Province*. The series of sixteen articles was published daily beginning Monday, 27 February 1939 and ending Thursday 16 March 1939. Kenwyn was an experienced newspaperman, sometime Marine editor, later Managing Editor, of the *Province*. Many details of L.D.'s early life can be found in the series, but as the reminiscences did not by any means appear in chronological order, they have been referenced only by the instalment in which they appeared. The reference to Taylor's running for election in Ann Arbor appears in Kenwyn, 4.
4. Patricia B. Roy, *Vancouver, An Illustrated History*, (James Lorimer & Company, National Museum of Man, Toronto, 1980), 43.
5. Mary McAlpine, *The Other Side of Silence, A Life of Ethel Wilson*, (Harbour Publishing, 1988) 29.
6. Ethel Wilson, *The Innocent Traveller*, (New Canada Library, 1990), 121. This book is a slightly fictionalized family history. See also McAlpine for reference to the sermons of wrath and denunciation, 25.

Continued on next page.

7. Richard Wilbur, *H.H. Stevens, 1878-1973*. (Canadian Biographical Studies, University of Toronto Press, 1977, 5-11. See also Robert A.J. McDonald, *Making Vancouver: Class Status, and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913*. (UBC Press, 1996). In chapter seven, about the "artisan" class, McDonald wraps his commentary around L.D. and H.H.: both are described as "populists", 174-180.

8. CVA, Kenvyn, 10.

9. Eric Nicol, *Vancouver* (Doubleday Canada Ltd., Toronto, 1970), 114.

10. CVA, Kenvyn, 4.

11. CVA, Kenvyn, 5.

12. CVA, Kenvyn, 6. H.H. Stevens was also part of this productive 1910 council.

13. CVA, Kenvyn, 8.

14. Hilda Symonds, "The Vancouver City Planning Commission. Some Historical Notes", 1975, mimeo. 12 pp.

15. Graeme Wynn, "The Rise of Vancouver" in *Vancouver and Its Region*, eds. Graeme Wynn and Timothy Oke, (Vancouver, UBC Press, 1992), 128.

Centre: Photo of L.D. Taylor in Man to Man in June 1910. He turned 53 in that year and the photo shows him younger.

Below: A billboard from the "Full Dinner Pail" election in 1910.

ernment under Bowser refused.¹¹ Taylor kept pushing year after year, in office and out, until his aim was finally achieved in what is known as the "amalgamation" in 1929.

Improvements were wholly exempted from taxation, as Taylor promised, in 1910. The fire department was the first to be mechanized in North America. Council voted to approve the eight-hour day for civic workers, and for civic contractors; a plebiscite approved the decision. A juvenile court was established, assisted by L.D. assigning part of his mayor's salary to help out. In sum, 1910 was a year of remarkable accomplishment.¹²

Taylor won the mayoralty the next year but was defeated in the two following contests. He won again in 1915. Probably due to both business and family pressures, Taylor did not enter civic politics between 1916 and 1922. He had been financially over-extended as a consequence of a costly revamping of the *World* and financing a new building for it. The venture had been started just before the outbreak of the First World War and a real estate collapse in Vancouver. L.D. had to give up the newspaper, and his wife and capable business helpmate, the former Alice Berry, had died in 1919.

L.D.'s next stretch in office began in 1925. This time his success at the polls continued over four consecutive years. It was a period of prosperity which, together with Taylor's continuity in office, no doubt contributed to a variety of solid achievements. The Greater Vancouver Water Board was put through and in good shape. The CN hotel—which had long been promised—got underway. He got the airport started.

Taylor's part in the airport beginnings is typical of L.D.'s mode of action. He was invited to Seattle in 1927 to a banquet where Colonel Lindbergh was a guest. He asked Lindbergh to fly to Vancouver. Lindbergh replied that he could only fly over the city as there was no landing field, and told him to get busy building one or Vancouver would be left behind. On Taylor's return to Vancouver he at once spoke to Council about it. They agreed something should be done. They sent Dean, one of the aldermen, to certain locales in the United States to see airports. The council also took a lease on a site out on Lulu Island and started cleaning it up for an airport.¹³

L.D. Taylor was also the person who propelled city planning into Vancouver. He appointed the first City Planning Commission and strongly supported it, an effort that was important for fifty years after, and perhaps even today. Harland Bartholomew, the company L.D. brought in to do the technical planning, prepared certain proposals that were placed in a bound book for reference. Though Bartholomew's principles and proposals were never officially adopted by the city, they were "in the drawer", and were followed over the years by the City Planning Commission and by the civic bureaucracy.¹⁴ Road connections, parks, and many other elements of the city's physical structure were developed in accordance with suggestions made at that time; the Bartholomew Plan has had a greater influence than most Vancouverites realize on the shape and amenity of their city.¹⁵

Apart from its technical quality, and its mere existence, the Bartholomew Plan's success owes something to L.D.'s ability to co-operate with others and to persuade them to co-operate. He had been instrumental not only in getting the councils of Point Grey, South Vancouver, and Vancouver to talk together about amalgamation, but to work together on community planning before the actual amalgamation date.

As it turned out, Taylor was defeated in the campaign that would have made him the first mayor of the about-to-be amalgamated city. Candidate W.H. Malkin, a leading downtown businessman but a resident of the Point Grey area,



BCHF Conference and AGM, 3-5 May 2001, Richmond, B.C.

PROGRAM

Thursday, 3 May 2001

- 5:00-7:00 pm Registration
Richmond Cultural Centre
- 7:00-9:00 pm Welcome Reception (Wine and Cheese)
-Opening Remarks
-Welcome from Mayor Halsey-Brandt
Richmond Museum, Richmond Cultural Centre

Friday, 4 May 2001

- 9:00-10:30 am Plenary Session: "The Land You Pass Through"
-Panel Discussion (Panelists: TBA)
Lecture Hall, Richmond Cultural Centre
- 10:30-11:00 am Coffee Break
Lecture Hall, Richmond Cultural Centre
- 11:00-12:00 am Session: The History of Richmond
Presenter: Harold Steeves
Lecture Hall, Richmond Cultural Centre
- 12:00-12:30 pm Short Break and Board Buses
- 12:30-4:00 pm Tours (including Lunch) (choose one)
Tour A: Steveston
Lunch at Dave's (best fish and chips in town!) followed by a walking tour of Steveston and a tour of the Gulf of Georgia Cannery
- Tour B: The Dyke (this tour involves a fair bit of walking)
Lunch at Yokohama followed by a tour of Britannia Heritage Shipyard, a walk along the dyke, and a tour of London Farm (will include afternoon tea and therefore may go a bit longer than the 4:00 pm scheduled end)
- Tour C: YVR (Vancouver International Airport)
Lunch at The Flying Beaver Pub followed by a behind-the-scenes look at the operations of the airport.
- 6:30 pm – Chinese dinner and visit to Asian malls
This is an optional, pay-your-own-way event. For those not interested in this event, Friday dinner and evening is on your own.

Saturday, 5 May 2001

- 8:30-9:00 am Continental Breakfast
Richmond City Hall
- 9:00 am-12:30 pm BC Historical Federation AGM
Richmond City Hall
- 12:30-1:30 pm Lunch
Lecture Hall, Richmond Cultural Centre
- 1:30-2:00 pm Short Break and Board Buses
- 2:00-4:00 pm Tours (choose one) (two of Friday's choices have been repeated in order to accommodate the many people we think will be interested in the various sites in Steveston)
Tour A: Repeat of Steveston Tour
Tour B: Repeat of Dyke Tour
Tour C: "Uses of the Land"
Walking tour of Finn Slough followed by a bus tour of agricultural Richmond.
- 6:00-6:30 pm No Host Bar
Richmond Inn
- 6:30 pm Banquet and Awards Presentation
-Guest Speaker: Michael Kluckner, Past President and BC Governor, Heritage Canada
Richmond Inn

BCHF Conference and AGM, 3-5 May 2001, Richmond, B.C.

REGISTRATION FORM

Name 1

Name 2

Organization

Address

FEES – please indicate for what and for how many you are paying.

Payment in full must accompany registration. Make cheques payable to Richmond Museum Society.

.....	Full Conference (deadline for registration is 6 April 2001)	\$130
.....	Early Bird (before 2 March 2001)	\$120
.....	Day Rate (check which day ___ Friday ___ Saturday)	\$ 65
.....	Banquet Only	\$ 30

TOURS – please indicate your first choice for each day

**Space is limited on the C-YVR tour due to security considerations. Register early to ensure your spot.*

Friday:	A-Steveston ___	B-Dyke ___	C-YVR* ___
Saturday:	A-Steveston ___	B-Dyke ___	C-Uses of Land ___

MAILING ADDRESS: Conference Co-ordinator, c/o Richmond Museum, Minoru Park Plaza, 7700 Minoru Gate, Richmond, B.C. V6Y 1R9

INQUIRIES:

Eileen Mak	(604) 875-8023	emak@interchange.ubc.ca
Pat Gudlaugson	(604) 274-2808	dpj_gudlaugson@paralynx.com
Richmond Museum	(604) 231-6457	museum@city.richmond.bc.ca

ACCOMMODATIONS INFORMATION

The conference hotel is the RICHMOND INN (Best Western): the banquet will be held here and the Inn is a short five minute walk to the Richmond Cultural Centre and the new City Hall, where meetings will be held. A block of rooms has been reserved for conference participants.

Cost: \$95.00 single/double, \$105.00 triple, and \$115.00 quadruple. Tax not included.

Address: 7551 Westminster Highway, Richmond, B.C. V6X 1A3

Fax: (604)244-3775

Alternative hotel suggestions

ABERCORN INN (Best Western), 9260 Bridgeport Rd., Richmond, (604) 270-7576

Cost: \$99.00 plus tax for single/double. Includes breakfast. You must mention that you are attending the BCHF conference in order to get this rate. The Abercorn is a five to ten minute drive from the Richmond Inn.

SANDMAN HOTEL, 3833 St. Edward Dr., Richmond, (604) 303-8888

Cost: \$87.75 plus tax for single/double. This rate is not guaranteed but is unlikely to rise by too much, if at all. The Sandman is also a five to ten minute drive from the Richmond Inn.

All the hotels have complimentary shuttles to and from Vancouver International Airport.

General information: For other hotel suggestions, or for information on what to do in Richmond during your spare time please call Tourism Richmond at (604) 271-8280.

defeated him.

In the Vancouver-only election for the first two-year term, 1927–1928, L.D. had taken 11,000 of the 16,000 votes. In the expanded municipality vote for the 1929–1930 term, although L.D. took 17,000 votes, Malkin took 19,000. It is possible that rumours and innuendo widely spread during a police inquiry in 1928, affected Taylor's vote as much as bringing in the elite area of Point Grey did. However that may be, L.D.'s greatest triumph at the polls was to defeat W.H. Malkin 22,797 to 17,568 in the very next election. Taylor also won the 1933–1934 term following. That was his final term as Mayor. He had already passed his 77th birthday on his last day in office.

In the 1930s, Taylor's accomplishments were not as obvious as in the 1920s. It was a time of severe unemployment, and it was beyond the ability of the city to make more than slight amelioration of grave conditions. Taylor had always presented himself as a champion of the working man:

My aim in administering this office is to represent all the people. I treat the corporation as an individual. I fully appreciate its usefulness, but do all in my power to curb it if it shows grabbing tendencies. We want capital in British Columbia, but we don't want any money menace. We want opportunities for all—the poor man as well as the man in affluent circumstances. I am in thorough sympathy with the man who earns his living with his hands. He is the backbone of the country—the fundamental force and the first source of wealth.¹⁶

He had lived up to this creed as a businessman, when he condemned the union-busting tactics of the telephone company in 1905 and called for its public ownership. In 1910, in public office, he had pushed the eight-hour day for all civic workers. In the 1930s he granted Tag Days to help coastal loggers and the married unemployed. He called meetings to try to find ways of dealing with hardships, and he used his good offices to prevent strikes, as in the case of the B.C. Electric Railway in 1934.¹⁷ In all this, he was true to his Congregationalist upbringing and to his Georgist background, typical of the social reformers of his generation.

It is one of the little ironies of history that the philosophy of Henry George should be frozen in the narrowing caption "Single Tax". Social justice was George's core concern, but that "single" jingle has seemed to steer modern historians



Left: L.D. Taylor at age 75. Photo taken about 1932.

16. J. Herbert Welch, "The Prospector Who Became Vancouver's Mayor", *Opportunities*, December 1910, Vol.2, p12.
17. CVA, Kenvyn, 14. See also Alan Morley, *Vancouver from Milltown to Metropolis*, (Mitchell Press, Vancouver, 1961), 201. Morley describes Taylor as "the dominating figure of the 1925 - 35 decade."
18. Tom Cone, "Mayor Taylor", two scripts for CBC/Heritage Festival Production, produced by Don Mowat, February, 1977.
19. CVA, Matthews Correspondence, Ms 154 Vol. 14 B, File 196. Letter to LDT 18.10.34.

onto a false trail. Available references to L.D. Taylor are a case in point. They are scanty and uncoordinated.

In spite of Taylor's long and positive record, he is treated slightly, and sometimes meanly, in Vancouver's histories. For example, radio scripts produced about Mayor Taylor for the CBC in 1977 are confined to recounting amusing anecdotes.¹⁸ They make him out to be bright and determined, but something of a lightweight: "He was an 'everyday man's mayor' without a vision for the future"—this about the man who, aside from the accomplishments already noted, played a key role in establishing the Vancouver City Archives, surely a matter of importance to the future.

Without doubt Major Matthews was the spearhead, heart, and soul of the Archives campaign, but if there had been no champion on the Council, there would have been no City Archives. As Major Matthews himself wrote in one of his notes to L.D., "If the only thing you do, or that you help me do, is to get the Archives, you will have earned your place in history."¹⁹ Years later, Matthews wrote to Barney Williams, the former city solicitor, "Just where would I have been had it not been that Mayor Taylor and yourself cham-



Above: Section of a 1925 cartoon by Fitz in the — Vancouver Province

pioned my cause and installed me on the tenth floor of the Temporary City Hall?”²⁰ In his reply, Williams wrote, “If it hadn’t been for Alderman Twiss, and L.D. Taylor, you wouldn’t have any Archives.” In any political situation, as those who have been involved in commissions or committees realize, it matters much to have support of a persistent, ingenious, indomitable individual. L.D. was certainly that.

It is curious that most Vancouver histories downplay Taylor’s part in fostering the growth of a democratic progressive community. Others ignore his contributions altogether. Some merely trivialize. The CBC scripts, for example, emphasize episodes such as Taylor’s ride in Vancouver’s first ambulance with a Mrs. Bonnalee.²¹ There we learn that Taylor and Mrs. Bonnalee had driven into a man on the street and knocked him out. The script was unclear as to the severity of the man’s injuries—but this was a vignette of disaster. On another occasion, as reported in the script, L.D. went out to Lulu Island to welcome a plane coming in from Victoria. The propeller blade knocked him down. He was in the hospital for weeks. They thought he was going to die ... and so on. The scripts dwelt on incidents that made the mayor seem to be accident-prone. Then, as the script put it, “He went on to other awkward glories.”²² It was an odd thing to say about a man who had been elected mayor eight times over a period spanning 25 years.

In most histories there is also a hint of shadow of scandal over L.D. He was certainly disliked by Vancouver’s upper crust. It wasn’t clear whether there was some impropriety, or just political jealousy, or something more. One CBC script mentioned that the Board of Trade “had left Taylor out of a welcoming ceremony again,” a welcome for Teddy Roosevelt.²³ The script showed Taylor’s spunk as well as the Board’s haughty attitude. L.D. found out that he was not going to be invited, even though he was Mayor at the time, 1915. When he found out, he went out to Coquitlam in a car, got on the train there, and was with Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt when they arrived in town. He introduced the Roosevelts to the Welcoming Committee, whisked them into another waiting car, and took them for a drive through town. The Welcoming Committee were all mad as fleas about that.²⁴

But what was it about L.D. that he was so disliked by Board of Trade members? Was it some kind of social impropriety? Was it stealing? Was it

that he turned the tables on the Board too often? Was it just his democratic ways? The cloud still hangs over him.

Eric Nicol gently suggests it was Taylor’s “readiness to shake hands with anybody” that jeopardized his reputation. “He had become associated, in the public mind, with unsavoury characters attracted to Vancouver by its homespun greed.”²⁵ Nicol in this instance refers to rumours rife at the time of the 1928 police inquiry. G.G. McGeer’s biographer, David Williams, was less forgiving of Taylor, and less accurate, when he laid police corruption, proliferation of gambling joints, and other “vice” common in the 1920s all at Taylor’s door: “All arose”, Williams writes with finality, “from Taylor’s so-called open town policy.”²⁶ Given that the career of McGeer’s own appointee as Police Chief, Walter Mulligan, ended in disgrace, Williams might have more gracefully reflected on what a difficult problem mayors face in matters of policing.

“Single Tax” Taylor was liberal in his personal attitudes as well as in his political leanings, but that well-known fact hardly accounts for the intense feeling against him in certain circles. Whatever the truth of Taylor’s deeds and misdeeds in the administration of Vancouver’s affairs, and whatever the sources of the intense feeling, L.D. Taylor and other mayors deserve more objectivity from historians of their city.

To begin with, Taylor could be freed of the bogeyman satirized in the *Punch* cartoon. The 100 percent exemption of buildings from property tax, L.D.’s 1910 policy and his most obvious connection to the Single Tax, was gradually abandoned by Council, but not by L.D. In 1918, the exemption was diluted to 50 percent where it remained for fifty years, before a further dilution in 1968. These later Councils may have been unwise. Hans Blumenfeld, Canada’s senior philosopher of cities, wrote in the year of Habitat that shifting the property tax from buildings to land (L.D.’s old policy) “would do more for the quality of life in human settlements...than all the busy housing and development programmes now being operated by huge and proliferating Federal and Provincial bureaucracies.”²⁷

A revisiting of L.D.’s legacy is in order. ~

20. CVA, Matthews Correspondence, File 216, Letter to Barney Williams 27.8.41. and his reply.

21. Cone, “Mayor Taylor”, Part One, 1-4.

22. Cone, “Mayor Taylor”, Part Two, 1-4.

23. Cone, *ibid.* Also CVA, Kenvyn, 8.

24. Alan Morley, “How the Mayor of Vancouver Kidnapped a Roosevelt”, *Vancouver Sun*, 16 September 1964, 4. Morley says Taylor was “a kind, gentle, quiet friendly little hunk of political and journalistic dynamite” who had a habit of “exploding in the faces of respectable citizens when they gave him a condescending pat on the head.”

25. Nicol, *Vancouver*, 165.

26. David R. Williams, *Mayor Gerry*, (Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., Vancouver, 1986), 80-81.

27. Hans Blumenfeld, *Canadian Planning Issues*, A report of the Canadian Institute of Planners, Ottawa, 1976, 18.

Childhood Memories of Vancouver's Cedar Cottage and Trout Lake District

by A.C. (Fred) Rogers

I HAVE many memories of old Cedar Cottage and Trout Lake district of Vancouver. I was born in Vancouver in 1919, and the first home my parents rented was on Nanaimo Street (#20). I have no recollection of that, and we soon moved into a smaller house two years later (#18 B). I was too young to remember that home but I could recall the stories my father told me. He made his own beer then and I was his little helper. Mother filled the bottles and dad capped them. It seems I was inspecting each bottle, and if a little too full, I took a sip to make it right. By the time this was over, I was staggering around and put to bed to sleep it off.

My dad was not inclined to stay in one place too long, and moved into home (18). I was now age four and do have memories while there. As the sketch shows, this rented house was built over a small stream that flowed into Trout Lake and the creek provided many adventures for me. Salmon came up China Creek in the fall from False Creek to spawn, and I tried to catch them. It was only natural I would slip and fall in the creek and ruin my shoes; so I got a spanking. After that I went in bare-footed. There were also some nice trout in the summer, and most of them I found hiding in the old wooden culvert under Nanaimo Street.

This small home had no indoor plumbing and toilet so dad built a bench over the creek under the house. Mother sure didn't like that dark place with spiders and salmon splashing around.

There were two events close by that scared me. A little house nearby (#19) caught fire one morning, and the smoke and hot cinders drifted over our house. Dad got a ladder and hose and watered the roof to wet it down. The old chap that lived there alone calmly sat on the front porch waiting for the fire truck. It was only when the flames came roaring out the front door that he moved. His house was reduced to ashes due to the problem the heavy fire engine had breaking through the old plank Nanaimo Street which was rather marshy in places.

There was another fire on Nanaimo Street. This was a grocery store (#15). We all ran to see the excitement. The fire truck came from a different route before the building burned down. A short time later the owners had a fire sale there and my parents bought several boxes of canned goods for a bargain. We didn't know what was in

the tins as the labels were missing either from the fire or water damage. So we had some strange meals until it was used.

There was another event we had while in this house. Evening visitors with nothing to do became a nuisance, looking for Dad's beer. So he did something about that. He made up a vile batch for freeloaders and a batch for himself. That put an end to the problem.

There was another episode worth recalling. A neighbor behind our house had his elderly mother visit him from England. Old man Higgins came over in the afternoon and asked dad if he could spare a few beers for his mother who was exhausted from the long trip. So Dad gave Higgins some of the vile beer and said nothing. Dad thought no more about this until the morning and asked Higgins how his mother was feeling. "Oh she's just fine," he said, "she's still in bed asleep." Well this got him worried fearing something could happen to cause trouble. He went under the house and poured the beer into the creek. The foaming brew went into Higgins duck pond, and he was puzzled what happened to the little stream. Later that evening Higgins came to see Dad, and he was hoping



Fred Rogers, seen above with a bottle of his father's beer, has since moved to Qualicum Beach.

The numbers in the text refer to the map on page 29.

nothing had happened. "And how is your mother," dad asked apprehensively. "Oh she just got up for supper," he said, "and she's feeling fine, and wondering if you had more beer." Well Dad was so relieved, he told Higgins he was worried about her and dumped the beer into the creek. "So that's where all the bubbles and foam came from," he said.

My Dad decided to build a house we moved into. It was just around the corner from Nanaimo Street on Lakewood Street (#13). This house had a bathroom and toilet so mother was much happier. He purchased an old model T Ford truck, and with a partner named Harry Collins, they went on junk collecting expeditions up the Fraser Valley. So the backyard was soon filled with old engines and greasy machinery. I used to play around with this and got into a real mess. He also collected cascara bark in the bushland of Burnaby. When the bark was dry, he crushed it by having myself and my sister jump on it. The bark was sold to extract the juice for a laxative.

I soon acquired a few friends on Lakewood Street, such as Bill Gracie among others. He was two years older than I and we often went exploring the two little streams that flowed into Trout Lake. One stream ran alongside a home owned by a family who had a daughter named Hilda the same age as myself. One summer we played in the creek and I made a dam. Well, we both got wet and took our clothes off to dry. Her mother happened to see us and came running over all excited and grabbed Hilda and her clothes and then scolded me. So I dressed and ran home.

There was plenty of wild bushland around there and one day Bill and I went on a long hike up the stream. It passed under the railway trestle as shown. The stream had some good trout then but I was too young to go fishing. We explored the old log culvert and beyond 22nd Avenue. It was a long trek and mother was worried I was lost. I was quite a mess when I got home all scratched and wet.

My father told me never to wander down to Trout Lake. It was a marshy wilderness then, and I remember that during the summer older boys had campfires burning at night. It was a secret place of nude swimming.

I started school at age six and it was a long walk to Cedar Cottage and the school. My father guided me through the bushland to school until I became familiar with the trail which went to Gladstone, Victoria, and Commercial Drive and schools (#1). I soon had other kids to walk with and wasn't alone. Hilda also went to school with me and another boy. Well, I didn't like school. The first teacher I had was Miss Robb. She was short and somewhat sarcastic, and we didn't get along. I often got the strap and I was transferred to another teacher, Miss Flemming, a tall blonde woman. We got along fine.

Some boys often played around the interurban railway trestle, and one day they started a bush fire which roared through the dry grass and ferns. Bill and I watched this a few minutes then got scared, and ran away. A few minutes later the fire-

men came and saved the trestle. There was a pipe foundry (#11) on Nanaimo Street, and one day I went to see the men working. I often thought the building was on fire with all the smoke coming out. The men were making cast iron pipes and pouring the molten metal into the castings from the big furnace. I was standing in a doorway watching when suddenly one mould exploded (too much steam pressure) and the molten metal showered like a fountain. No one was hurt but it scared me. I stayed away after that.

We made another move to Cedar Cottage when I was age seven, so my two sisters would be closer to school when they came of age. Father rented a store on Commercial Drive and we lived in the back. His new adventure was running a grocery and produce store in competition with a Chinese merchant who was furious with him. They had a few harsh words one morning. Well, father sold the business to a man named Nichols who had a son named Mike about my age. He often stole candy bars from the store and treated us kids until his father gave him a sound beating.

My father got another idea and rented another store across the street where he started a laundry. He had no experience but that didn't stop him. He built a boiler room in the back alley, and after school I delivered the laundry in my little wagon. Well, he soon ran into trouble and ruined some clothes. So he decided to sell out and found a buyer.

Cedar Cottage had a different lifestyle for me and I missed the little streams I knew so well. I got to know the stores but that bored me. I often walked down to visit my chum Bill. But there was one building that interested me. It was a little theatre (#22) with silent movies, and although I had trouble reading the written dialogue, it was still impressive. One film scared me. It showed a building on fire and a little girl running and screaming. The firemen saved her but that image stayed with me for a long time. I had no desire for more movies until I got older.

The old theatre had another attraction I discovered. I was watching people going to a Saturday matinee and often some coins fell onto the boardwalk and down the open cracks between the boards. This got me thinking. There was a bush growing beside the boardwalk and I looked to see if I could get under there. I did and soon found lots of money. In a few minutes I had a handful of treasure. I was smart enough to keep this a secret. Whenever I needed money I returned to my treasure trove. But sadly this came to an end. The theatre closed and the building sold to Bader Bros. who started a bakery. Workmen tore up the boards and when I tried to get in they chased me away.

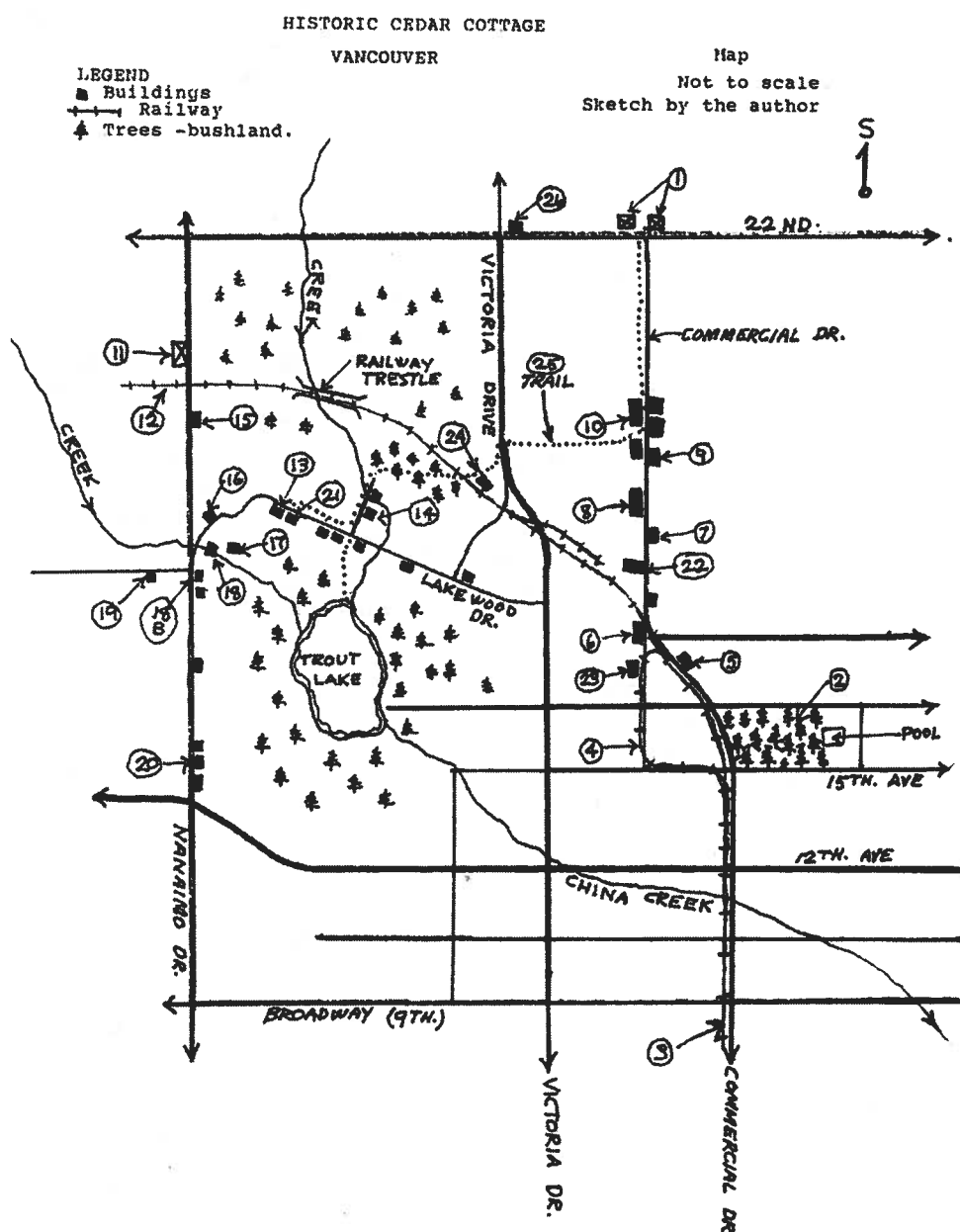
While living in Cedar Cottage we often played in Buffalo Park. Sometimes I fished for catfish in Trout Lake. It was loaded, and my mother cooked the fish for me. The lake was popular for ice skating when winter was cold enough, but some careless kids got into trouble by being too anxious to get on before the ice was solid and broke through. At a much later time,

a pet shop owner on Commercial Drive near Broadway had a team of dogs and a sled all decorated with jingle bells. It was a real attraction for young kids to go riding but it ended in disaster. A crowd gathered around and the extra weight caused the ice to break open. The sled and dogs went down and drowned and some kids were in the water, who luckily were rescued. The man tried to save his dogs and dived down but quickly gave up. His sled was later salvaged by him with a grappling hook and ladder.

On the map I drew a railway siding between Victoria Drive and Commercial. Trainloads of fuel wood were placed there for wood dealers. My father later used this source of firewood for his business.

We eventually left Cedar Cottage and moved to Collingwood district on Kingsway. Most of my teenage years I lived in the Grandview area of Commercial Drive. I was old enough to go trout fishing in Still Creek which was the favourite area for me and new friends. But that's another story I could tell.~

Below: This map was drawn by Fred Rogers. The numbers in the text refer to the places marked on the map.



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1. The first school I [Fred Rogers] attended.
2. The park with wading pool was known as "Buffalo Park".
3. The interurban railway to New Westminster & route of No.4 streetcar line to Cedar Cottage.
4. The loop of the No.4 streetcar.
5. Apartment building.
6. Drugstore and butcher shop.
7. Shoe store.
8. McKee's clothing & dry goods store.
9. A store my father rented and used for a laundry business.
10. Three stores. My father rented one for groceries and produce.
11. Tate's Pipe foundry.
12. The interurban line.
13. A house my father built on Lakewood Drive.
14. The Hargreave's home. Their daughter and I played in the creek when only four years of age.
15. A grocery store on the hill. It caught fire about 1923.
16. A Japanese family lived here. One of their boys died at an early age.
17. The English Higgins family. See text for story.
18. A house my father rented. See text for full story.
19. A small home (a shack). It caught fire. See text for story.
20. The first home my father & mother rented in 1919.
21. The Gracie home. Their son Bill was an early chum of mine.
22. A small theatre. About 1925, Bader Bros. converted it into a bakery.
23. The No.4 streetcar station terminal.
24. Gladstone interurban tram station.
25. The dotted line was the trail and route I walked to school.
26. Grocery store.

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

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British Columbia's Premiers in Profile.

William Rayner. Surrey BC: Heritage House, 2000. 286 pp. Paperback \$28.95.

REVIEWED BY ADAM C. WALDIE.

This timely book is a short, crisp account of the lives and times of the thirty-one premiers in this province, up to and including Ujjal Dosanjh who was inducted on 24 February this year. Written by a senior journalist and editor, it is remarkably complete in its names, dates and election standings, and could well become a useful handbook for anyone writing about this province.

The first chapter of nine pages, entitled "The Corner Office," is a capsule history of activities emanating from the premier's suite in the legislative buildings when it functioned as the "font from which all political power in this province springs." But the author is quick to point out that "much of the influence of the premier's office has been deliberately shifted away from its headquarters in the west wing of the legislative buildings," and that "Premier Glen Clark conducted much of the province's business out of the Cabinet offices in downtown Vancouver." The rest of the chapter skips lightly over some of the politics and crises from the entry of British Columbia into Confederation in 1871 to the present time. In all it is a readable summary of the turbulent governance of this province since its inception.

There is a short chapter on each of the premiers, usually six or eight pages, giving concise details of the date and place of birth and the names of the parents, and often indicating political alliances with other legislators of the era. It is a rare politician that does not engender some sort of scandal, but the author does not wallow in the details. There are some novel listings at the end of the book, such as a table assigning a performance score for each of the premiers. Predictably W.A.C. Bennett tops the list with a rating of 79, John Hart is second with one of 76, Duff Pattullo follows with 73, William Smithe with 69, and John Oliver, Bill Bennett and Richard McBride tying at 67. Van der Zalm and Glen Clark take up the rear with 36 and 30 re-

spectively. Of course it is an arbitrary rating but it is part of the author's scheme of listing premiers in three groups: the Good, the Bad, and the Transient—those "whose imprint in office is too faint to register." Unfortunately some of the author's own political prejudices are all too evident.

Virtually all of the premiers in the 130 years of our provincial history had to deal with staggering provincial deficits but they were due, for the most part, to railway construction costs, and not to those of fast ferries as now. The burden of welfare costs in our day was probably matched by those of relief camps during the Great Depression. And the "illegal immigrant" problems of present times had their counterpart in bygone years in the "Oriental problem" which was of major concern to our politicians after railway construction virtually ceased at the end of the nineteenth century.

The chapter on each premier is attractively laid out with a portrait photo in a suffused oval background in the upper left corner, together with his name and the dates of his term in office. The photographs used are excellent, including one of the Bennett Dam, 1967, and one of that forgotten institution, Tranquille Sanatorium, which was almost like Devil's Island in its day. There is an interesting aside that President Franklin D. Roosevelt, as a personal friend of Duff Pattullo, made one quick visit to the province when, on a tour of the Pacific Northwest, "he nipped across to Victoria aboard a destroyer." Within two weeks Pattullo was "sipping tea at the Roosevelt family estate near Hyde Park, New York."

I found but one "typo" though: I am puzzled why the title of the book is not embossed on the spine. How will one pick it out in a bookshelf?

It is a pleasure to recommend such a concise, readable, and even entertaining book that casts a bright light on the long history of near anarchical politics in this province. ~ Reviewer Adam Waldie, a medical practitioner in many parts of BC for many years, died in May of this year.

The Mulligan Affair: Top Cop on the Take. Ian Macdonald and Betty O'Keefe. Surrey, BC: Heritage House Publishing, 1997. 160 pp. Illus. \$16.95 paperback.
REVIEWED BY GEORGE NEWELL.

In his foreword for *The Mulligan Affair*, Jack Webster writes that Walter Mulligan, the chief of the Vancouver Police Department, was "tough, confident, ambitious, and backed by friends in high places," then adds "Mulligan was, unfortunately, also a crook." Rumours that all was not above board in Mulligan's force were set aside, and "on at least two occasions" then provincial Attorney General Gordon Wismer "refused requests from the [Vancouver] Police Commission to order an inquiry into the activities of [the] department." It was only when stories in the tabloid *Flash* forced the issue, in June 1955, that a formal public inquiry was established.

"From mid-1955 through to spring 1956," Macdonald and O'Keefe write, "most of Canada and parts of the United States were caught up in the drama of Vancouver's Tupper Inquiry into the activities of Mulligan and the Vancouver Police Department. Fist fights broke out as hundreds pushed and shoved to get a seat in the courthouse in order to see the saga unfold. Media coverage was massive. The inquiry had everything reporters wanted: graft, corruption, death, bootleggers, bookies, vice-lords, politicians with a sudden loss of memory, gambling squad cops who could barely remember their names, hookers, and Mulligan's own black-veiled "mystery lady."

The "drama" which surrounded the inquiry, with its revelations of the state of the police department and the city's underworld, are well captured in *The Mulligan Affair*. The authors draw extensively on the newspaper reports of the day, and have reproduced many of the headlines and their accompanying photographs. These give an immediacy to the book which is rewarding for the reader. A listing of the "Leading players" is helpful, and the latter-day comments of four of the major participants give a fine overall perspective. "In the end," Webster notes, "the inquiry was a white-wash, and "an exercise in damage control." Mulligan lost his job, went to California, and then returned to live out his life in Victoria. The report of a separate investigation by an RCMP officer into criminal aspects of the case "either contained nothing of value or revealed too much...it was never released to the public and no recom-

mendations based on its findings were ever made."

Altogether *The Mulligan Affair* is an interesting and lucid account of this important event in the recent history of the city of Vancouver. It is well worth reading. ~

Reviewer George Newell is a historian, resident in Victoria.

Keeping the Lakes' Way: Reburial and Recreation of a Moral World Among an Invisible People.

Paula Pryce. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999. 203 pp. Illus., map. \$45 hardcover; \$17.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY BARB MCPHERSON

Most of us in the Arrow Lakes Valley, whether we were born here or moved in from another place, don't know much about the native people who inhabited the area before the advent of Europeans. They were few in number, we have been told; they spent little actual time in the valley; they were a mish-mash of marriages between the Okanagan, the Kutenai, and the Colville.

Now, at last, we have a definitive book that helps to clear up all the confusion. *Keeping the Lakes' Way* brings out into the light of day the fascinating, but overlooked, people who call themselves the Sinixt and who were the original inhabitants of this valley. Also called the Lakes Indians, the Sinixt traversed the lake systems in the Columbia basin area for thousands of years and lived in villages along the shores.

Researchers now have identified over 80 different village sites they inhabited, of which at least 35 were in the West Kootenays. In the Arrow Lakes Valley, there were at least 15 temporary and permanent dwelling sites. The Sinixt had their own way of living, their own distinct culture and language, and lived relatively peacefully on their own terms. But once the struggle for land began, their peacefulness may have been their undoing.

When European settlement encroached on the Sinixt territory in Washington, those who lived there fled to the remote reaches of the West Kootenays, where they joined the rest of the tribe and lived quietly in the seclusion of the densely forested valleys. But then precious minerals were discovered here in the 1880s and 1890s and, once again, they were driven from their homes. Some went back to the Washington area; some went west to the Okanagan. A few established themselves at the Oatscott reserve on Upper Ar-

row Lake. All the while, however, they remained Sinixt, with their own identity and culture.

But that fact, unfortunately, escaped nearly everyone, including the Canadian government. When the last person died on the Oatscott reserve, the government declared the "Arrow Lakes Indians" extinct. And despite all the evidence to the contrary, this position has not changed.

Keeping the Lakes' Way should help to shed some light on the ambiguous situation of the Sinixt. This scholarly book, written by anthropologist Paula Pryce, who grew up in the Castlegar area, shows us that they were not only a real and distinct native people, but that they still exist and want to be recognized as Sinixt.

Pryce gives us a thorough, in-depth study of the Sinixt, their history, culture, spiritual beliefs, and their place in society today. The author also explains the importance to the Sinixt of repatriation and reburial of their dead, who have been scattered far and wide. We also learn to appreciate what "the Lakes' Way" is and get to know what these admirable people are all about, perhaps for the first time. ~

Reviewer Barb McPherson, an Arrow Lakes resident, first published this review in Arrow Lakes News.

Sparks in the Parks: the experiences of a Canadian radio officer while serving in the wartime built deep-sea freighters of Canada's fourth service, the Canadian Merchant Navy. W. Hutcherson. Richmond, BC: Old Hutch Publications, 2000. 258 pp. Illus. \$25 paperback. Available from Richmond Book Services, Box 46, 8415 Granville St., Vancouver, BC V6P 4Z9.

REVIEWED BY PHILIP TEECE.

This is a memoir that recalls a neglected part of our country's Second World War effort, Canada's 'fourth service', in which British Columbia shipyards and seamen played a central role.

The Parks ships were our fleet of cargo carrying supply vessels (most of them named after Canadian parks). Built largely in Vancouver shipyards, these vessels and their crews faced some of the most hazardous service in the 1939-1945 conflict.

As a young school graduate, the author, after a wireless course at Vancouver's King Edward High School, joined the wartime Merchant Marine as a radio officer. His ac-

count offers a first-hand view of the perils that awaited these vulnerable ships in U-boat-plagued waters.

The book is a record of often-tedious weeks of routine and sporadic shore fun interspersed with moments of horror. Vivid instances of the latter include a ship-and-aircraft collision that cost many lives, a destructive Atlantic hurricane, and an encounter with a launch-full of corpses.

Even after the war the Merchant Service continued to offer a life of hardship. Ironically, one of the author's last voyages to the northern British Columbia ports of Ocean Falls and Prince Rupert involved sea passages as cold and stormy as some Atlantic crossings.

The book closes with a sad message about Canada's treatment of the crews of these specialized wartime ships. The merchant seamen who served in the Second World War were long denied war veterans' benefits. Nearly sixty years later, small recognition and compensation have been extended to the Service's few elderly survivors. The author still lives, writes, and publishes in Richmond, BC. *Reviewer Philip Teece lives on a boat near Sonora Island, BC.*

Salmon Canning on the Fraser River in the 1890s.

Mitsuo Yesaki and Sakuya Nishimura. Illustrated by Duke Yesaki. Vancouver, 2000. 35 pp. Illus. \$12.00 paperback.

Available from Mitsuo Yesaki, #1105 - 1740 Comox St., Vancouver, BC V6G 2Z1

REVIEWED BY ARNOLD RANNERIS.

This short book describes the salmon canning process in word and colour. The layout of illustrations on the left page and text on the right is very pleasing and easy to follow. Often small diagrams provide further details, such as what a "soldering iron" is, or how the lid is attached. The author, Mitsuo Yesaki, was the co-author of *Steveston: Cannery Row*.

The book would be an excellent addition to a school library. It could be read to children or children could read it by themselves and get a sense of what the salmon canning industry was about. The text is a little advanced for young children, but later elementary grades could handle it well. One suggestion to the authors is to be sure, in future publications, to include as part of the verso of the title page where the book can be ordered. *~*

Steveston: Cannery Row, an Illustrated History.

Mitsuo Yesaki and Harold and Kathy Steves. Richmond, 1998. 128 pp. Illus., maps. \$25.00 paperback. Available from Mitsuo Yesaki, #1105 - 1740 Comox St., Vancouver, BC V6G 2Z1

REVIEWED BY ARNOLD RANNERIS.

This is much more than a history of the community of Steveston, now part of the City of Richmond. It is also a lens through which we can see the history of the fishing industry in British Columbia and its related industries, such as fish canneries and boatbuilding. It also provides an insight into the Japanese, who did so much to develop it.

The authors are well qualified to write this fascinating account. Harold Steves is the great-grandson of Manoh and Ida Steves, who were pioneer settlers in the area in 1877. Kathy Steves, married to Harold, has lived in the area for many years and keeps historical records for the Steveston Historical Society. Mitsuo Yesaki was born in the Steveston Japanese Hospital and is a descendent of three generations of Japanese fishermen. The resulting book is the fruit of lifelong identification with Steveston.

The book is very well organized. The decade-by-decade organization suits the subject, and subsections within each chapter have maps and tables. Excellent black-and-white photographs illustrate the text throughout. An extensive bibliography provides a sense of the authors' research and lists places to follow up on aspects that may interest the reader. It is difficult to summarize the content, but this reviewer found it accurate and even-handed, including its handling of difficult episodes such as the removal of the Japanese from Steveston during the Second World War. The last chapter, covering 1975-1997, entitled "Years of Decline" bridges the gap between the early and recent history, which has seen the demise of the fishing industry, and the "new Steveston," which is arising as a tourist and upscale residential area.

In summary, this book offers an excellent documentary history of a unique British Columbia town. It is a good book to read before coming to the British Columbia Historical Federation Conference to be held in Richmond in May, 2001. *~*

Reviewer Arnold Ranneris, Secretary of the British Columbia Historical Federation, is a Victoria librarian, who grew up in Richmond.

The Great Years: Gold Mining in the Bridge River Valley.

Lewis Green. Vancouver: Tricouni Press, 2000. 262 pp. Illus. maps. \$22.95 paperback. Available from Tricouni Press, 3649 West 18th Ave., Vancouver BC V6S 1B3

REVIEWED BY ROBERT CATHRO.

The history of mining in Western Canada has become a forgotten topic, mainly kept alive in books such as the pictorial history of the Bluebell Mine by The Riondel Historical Society (1997). In the United States, a score of university historians are carrying out historical research on western mining. In Canada, however, where the industry played an equally important pioneering and economic role, university historians aren't strongly involved.

Dr. Lewis Green, a geologist who spent most of his career with the Geological Survey of Canada, has stepped in to help fill the gap with this definitive work on the history of the Bridge River gold camp, home of the Bralorne and Pioneer mines. It is situated 60 kilometres west of Lillooet in southern BC. The author of previous histories of gold dredging in the Klondike and of the BC-Alaska boundary survey, Green has collaborated with a former colleague, Glenn Woodsworth, who has formed a new publishing company with his wife Joy.

Although small amounts of placer gold were recognized on the Bridge River in 1886, the first lode claims were not staked until 10 years later. The "great years" were between 1924 and 1941, and its jobs and equipment purchases were especially important during the Great Depression. The Bridge River camp was notable for its richness (an average grade of 0.53 ounces per ton), its difficult road access, the high temperatures encountered in the deep mines, and its strong stock market promotion. When mining ceased in 1971, production totalled 4.18 million ounces of gold and 0.94 million ounces of silver. While this amount is not important on a global scale, the Bridge River camp remains the largest gold producer in the history of BC.

This is mining history, as it should be written. Exhaustively researched from local newspapers, government records, company files, the mining press, and interviews and correspondence with over 50 pioneers, this will likely stand as the final word on the subject. It is superbly illustrated with a large collection of photographs and clear location maps and supported by footnotes, a good index and (for the layman) a mining glossary. The

reproduction of the photographs is so clear that the reader will wonder if the originals were any better. For the layman, there are clear descriptions of the methods and equipment used to extract the gold. For mining buffs, there is abundant detail about exploration and personalities. Social historians will appreciate the descriptions of the living conditions and recreation facilities in the many local communities, the transportation difficulties, the labour relations (including the landmark Pioneer strike of 1939-40), the local merchants and government services, and the economic conditions in B.C. at the time. ~

Reviewer Bob Cathro is a retired geological engineer and a director of the Bowen Island Historical Society.

Eyewitness.

Margaret Thompson. Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2000. 190 pp. \$8.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY MARGARET OWEN.

"...I ran to the woodshed and plunged inside. Instantly the gloom blinded me. Before my eyes could adjust, something clutched the front of my jacket and a grip like iron tightened about my throat.... The man called Tzoelhnolle stared at me, compelling me to stare back, like a weasel with a rabbit. Slowly he drew a finger across his own throat and smiled wolfishly."

Thus did eight-year-old Peter encounter two men who had just committed the murders of two Hudson's Bay post company men. Being well aware of the murder-retribution custom of the area, young Peter thereafter lived in fear that his life was in mortal danger because he could now identify the murderers. He had been the sole eyewitness.

This delightfully told story of an event of recorded history at Fort St. James in Central British Columbia has been catalogued as Juvenile Fiction, but I strongly disagree. Margaret Thompson writes with such a lovely and educated style that I'd classify this as Adult and Teen Fiction. A child could follow the story and enjoy it, but so much of the brilliant writing might well be overlooked. Being a fellow author and a senior citizen as well, I've read the book twice in as many days, wishing I possessed Mrs. Thompson's ability for putting words together in such an engaging manner.

The book describes life around the remote fur-trading post in the 1820s. The only white people were the orphaned Peter and

about ten others who worked for the Company. The reader meets real historical characters including James Douglas, George Simpson, and James McDougall, in this area of Carrier Indians, led by the great Chief Kwah, and living and roaming the Stuart Lake area, selling their furs at the post.

Peter longed for a friend his own age in this desolate place, and before long was saved from a bear attack by a brown-skinned young fellow who "talked" the bear away. Instantly the two boys became fast friends.

Fleshing out the plot of the story are descriptions of the eager sled dogs who provided the land transportation, the building of a birchbark canoe from the cutting of the first tree to the applying of a mixture of spruce gum and bear grease to the seams and exterior. Peter's learning to identify the various pelts which crossed the counter, and his training in the business of the Post, the near starvation when the life-sustaining salmon were late—all this makes the reading of this book a truly joyous experience.

While the plot may seem juvenile, the words of Margaret Thompson are so brilliantly woven that I fear adults will pass over this book and miss out on a beautiful one day's reading experience. ~

Margaret Owen, a resident of Fort St. James, is the author of So We Bought the Town and Diary of Fort St. James.

Cougar Annie's Garden

Margaret Horsfield. Nanaimo: 1999. 260 pp. \$40 softcover. Foreword by Peter C. Newman. Winner of the Roderick Haig-Brown Regional Prize for the best book about British Columbia. Winner of Second Prize in the BCHF Writing Competition. Available from Salal Books, PO Box 1021, Station A, Nanaimo, BC V9R 5Z2. Phone 1(888) 858-5455 or FAX 1(250)753-9468. Add GST and \$5.00 for postage and handling.

REVIEWED BY JIM RAINER

The West Coast of Vancouver Island is rocky, densely forested and isolated. Constantly battered by wind and rain from the full force of Pacific storms, it is beautiful yet forbidding terrain. Here on an April day in 1915 the steamer *Princess Maquinna* anchored in Hesquiat Harbour, some 160 miles north of her home base in Victoria. Lowered into a dugout canoe were the Rae-Arthur family, their household goods, tools and a cow, legs tied together, placed on its back in the bottom of the canoe. The family was made up

of three young children under the age of seven; their father William Francis John Rae-Arthur, a charming Scot who believed a gentleman should never do manual work; and their mother Ada Annie Rae-Arthur, a small, strong, wily, courageous woman of English stock whose "fierce energy was to carry them all, come what may, into a new life."

Across seven miles of choppy, steep-sided swells lay their home, a deserted trapper's cabin hidden in the dark forest well back from the beach. At this remote spot, accessible only by boat or airplane, the woman called Cougar Annie lived for almost 80 years, rarely went "outside," and became a legend. Largely by herself she cleared five acres of rainforest by hand, creating a garden that fed her family and later provided cash from the sale of plants mailed all over Canada. In 1936 she convinced Canadian postal authorities to approve a post office, a tiny room in her home, which placed Boat Basin on the maps of British Columbia to this day even though in 1983 the post office was closed. She operated a general store in her home and sold eggs and vegetables to local natives, fishermen, and loggers. She killed countless cougars that threatened her children and livestock. Including Willie, who drowned in 1936, she outlived four husbands—one of whom she is rumoured to have killed. None of the husbands were of much help with the hard work, and her daughter Rose says dismissively "those husbands of hers were basically hired hands." She bore eight more children at Boat Basin, three of whom died in infancy, and another, her son, Lawrence, drowned in Hesquiat Harbour in 1947. She was a tough, brave, obstinate, feisty, tenacious woman. She was a survivor in a very difficult land.

Her garden was the focus of her life. It was her work, her joy, her burden, and her passion, as illustrated by this quotation: "Being in charge of this working garden meant labouring every day, dawn till dusk, making her own chances, following her own rules and thinking first and foremost of herself and her garden." She experimented continually with different species, seeing what would grow best and what she could profitably sell. Over the years she sold everything from roses and fruit trees to shrubs and bulbs, to mosses and ferns. She brought in plants from growers in British Columbia and Ontario as well as faraway places like Japan, New Zealand, Chile, England, Holland, and Belgium. Today "the garden still boasts over a hundred different species of trees and shrubs alone,

representing decades of planting and experimenting." Among them are a linden tree, a black locust, an English chestnut, an ekianthus, a huge liriodendron, many varieties of ornamental cherry, crabapple and plum, and dozens of fruit trees. Dahlias were a large part of Cougar Annie's sales. She grew nearly two hundred different varieties in the heyday of the garden.

Cougar Annie remained at Boat Basin until the autumn of 1983 when failing health forced her departure to a hospital in Port Alberni where she died on 28 April 1985, a few weeks short of her ninety-seventh birthday. In her latter years the garden was reverting to wilderness and its fate appeared to be sealed unless someone intervened. That person was Peter Buckland. He had owned the property since 1981 but he lived and worked in Vancouver and could only visit monthly. He knew the garden needed full-time attention. So in 1987 he came to live permanently and once settled in a new house he built near the beach, he tackled the garden. Armed with a chainsaw, lopper, and machete Peter and friends have removed the tangle of growth strangling the trees, shrubs, and plants and revived the garden. The task has taken twelve years. Nothing new has been introduced. Two kilometres of interconnecting pathways loop and wander throughout the garden. Mosses grow freely underfoot. Native lily of the valley, twinflower, bunchberry thrive amid skunk cabbages, sedge, and ladyfern while perennials and bulbs bloom in seasonal profusion.

To ensure the legacy of Cougar Annie continues, Peter Buckland has established the Boat Basin Foundation and he is donating the property to the foundation. The aim of the foundation is to preserve and to maintain the garden for future generations, and to encourage botanical and environmental studies. The property is the only pioneer homestead that has endured in the Clayoquot Sound region, an area now designated as a World Heritage region.

Cougar Annie's Garden is captivating and appeals in so many ways: it is a biography of an extraordinary woman; the family history is engrossing—Ada Annie, born in 1888 in Sacramento, had a restless childhood as her parents wandered from England to California to South Africa to Alberta to Winnipeg and finally to Vancouver around 1909 where her father settled as a veterinarian; Willie, born in 1873 in Glasgow, was the black sheep of the prominent Rae-Arthur family, a

drinker, a ne'er-do-well who did not like hard work and was sent away to Canada where on 4 September 1909 he married Ada Annie (and continued to receive remittances from a wealthy sister until the beginning of the thirties).

The history of the Hesquiat Harbour area and the role of the Fathers Brabant and Moser is fascinating; pre-emption of land was a lure offered to settlers in the 1900s, and the difficulty of gaining ownership by Willie Rae-Arthur is told with insight and humour; William Gibson, father of the four Gibson brothers of timber fame, is rumoured to have had an influence in bringing the Rae-Arthurs to Hesquiat and according to Gordon Gibson's autobiography *Bull of the Woods* sold a cabin to them.

Margaret Horsfield has written a worthy winner of a BC Book Prize. Author of three previous books, she has written for *The Guardian* and *The Independent* among others, did extensive feature reporting for BBC Radio in England and contributed to CBC Radio's Ideas. The book is based largely on primary sources: interviews, letters, unpublished memoirs, archival documents and private papers. *Cougar Annie's Garden* was self-published, independently financed and marketed privately, an extraordinary achievement. The book is well designed, printed on coated paper with French flap covers. The approximately 150 photographs are superb, two-thirds in colour. The pictures of old envelopes, letters, journal entries, and government records provide much to interest lovers of good handwriting. This is a book of many pleasures. ~

Reviewer Jim Rainer is an avid gardener and chairman of *The Alcuin Society*.

The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-80; The Pursuit of Identity and Power.

Wing Chung Ng, 1999. Vancouver: University of B.C. Press. 213 pp. \$75 hard cover; \$29.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY PAUL YEE.

When I began studying Chinese-Canadian history in the mid-1970s, I remember complaining that available historical works on the histories of Chinese in Canada often masked white racism. As well, it seemed, given the overwhelming number of studies on these highly visible elements, as if the Chinese had emigrated to the New World with the express purpose of setting up clan, district, and political organizations. Happily, Wing Chung

Ng's *The Chinese in Vancouver 1945-1980* directly addresses these and other issues.

The book's key achievements are firstly, its focus on a period often overlooked in studies of histories of the Chinese in Canada. Usually, the immediate post-Second-World-War period is lightly skipped over, depicted as the joyous turning point for the Chinese in Canada as racist barriers against them are lifted. This, of course, reflects how racism dominated the telling of Chinese Canadian history: once the racism eased, the story ceased being interesting. In his revealing account, Ng examines the key players of this period, the old-timers, immigrant youth, and Canadian-born youth, to see how they interacted with one another. Divisions cut through the community by generation (old-time fathers versus newly-arrived sons) and by place of birth (immigrant youth versus Canadian-born youth).

Secondly, Ng revises scholarly thinking on the traditional clan and district associations during the 1950s and 1960s. Past studies suggested they declined during this period given the changing demographics within the community (i.e. rise to leadership of a new younger generation) and the removal of racist barriers in mainstream society. Ng proposes that the ongoing public ritual activities of these associations at that time played a key role in maintaining cultural identity and community for the old-timers during a time of great change. These activities included annual cycles of banquets, cemetery visits, leadership elections, and a successful mechanism for investment. Ng's analysis allows for a poignant human dimension to frame the inevitable passing of the old-timers' generation, and also explains why these organizations continue to exist.

Thirdly, Ng shifts the framework of study away from race relations because in such studies, the majority society always victimizes the Chinese and the authors of such studies tend to deprive the Chinese of initiative or conscious motivation. Ng constructs a framework of analysis around the question of individual and collective identity and places the Chinese front and centre to restore their many voices by asking how they, rather than the host society, defined being a Chinese ethnic minority. Over the period of study, Ng examines how different segments of the community articulated their identity as they contended over social and political issues and foresaw their future in Canada. He notes that identity construction was a complex process,

given that the community had long contained competing sub-interest groups.

Fourthly, Ng situates his study of Vancouver's Chinese into a global perspective, comparing the Vancouver experience with that of other overseas Chinese in the United States and South East Asia. China, for example, has long influenced discussions of identity in terms of cultural retention and homeland loyalty. Importantly, the author factors in Hong Kong as a surrogate native place (other than China) for Chinese immigrants due to its role as a major production centre of modern Chinese culture. Interestingly, he notes a similarity between recent and earlier immigration: both "astronauts" and "bachelors" faced separation from families as part of their immigration experience.

This book is a welcome addition to studies of the Chinese in Vancouver, as this community continues to thrive on Canada's west coast. The book should find a home on public library shelves, even though its first chapter, the introduction, greatly intimidated me with post-modern terms such as "essentialist," "historical agency," "structuralist paradigm," and "discursive parameters." ~

Reviewer Paul Yee is the author of Saltwater City, Tales from Gold Mountain, and many juvenile titles.

On the Street Where You Live: Pioneer Pathways of Early Victoria.

Danda Humphreys. Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 1999. 189 pp. Illus., maps. \$34.95 hardcover

REVIEWED BY GEORGE NEWELL

On the Street Where You Live is a collection of 40 articles that Humphreys wrote for the *Victoria Times-Colonist* over the past few years. The starting point for each article is the street's name, and from that the author tells something of the history of the person or family after whom the street was named, or of the principal family which made its home there. The sub-title, *Pioneer Pathways of Early Victoria*, is not quite accurate; the contents embrace people and families located in the Sooke area to the west and into the Saanich peninsula to the north, well beyond the limits of the city proper.

This is a convenient and very effective way to approach the history of the city and its environs. In her introduction, which is a very capable synopsis of the city's physical development, Humphreys claims that the book "affords a snapshot glimpse of just a few of

the people who lived here during Victoria's first quarter century." This is a modest claim; many of the pieces go well beyond the first 25 years, and the "snapshot glimpse" is by most standards much more than that.

Altogether the book is very easy-to-take local history. The stories are full of snippets of the trials and tribulations, and of the triumphs, of lives lived at the edges of civilization. Humphreys points out that "Each street name tells a story, some of them intensely personal, all of them fascinating", and it is to her credit that she is largely able to capture the fascination. She has an eye for the telling detail, a feeling for the terrain, a sense for the passage of time and its effect on people and the places they inhabit.

In the book good use is made of early photographs. They are an integral part and are well presented with clear reproduction and helpful captions and legends. There is a very adequate index, quite well detailed, and a bibliography listing 32 items and some general sources for the articles. ~

Reviewer George Newell lives in Victoria.

You're on the Air.

Sallie Phillips. Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 2000. 213 pp. \$21.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY JACQUELINE GRESKO

If you want to learn about the lives of British Columbians in the mid-twentieth century, read Sallie Phillips' book. *You're on the Air* is a compilation of the radio scripts she read on Vancouver stations in the 1940s and 1950s. Radio buffs will appreciate this was before broadcasts were taped.

Modern academic historians overlook the significance of radio in British Columbia, unless the programs concerned political or businessmen in the "Big Smoke." In contrast, Phillips speaks of leaving Vancouver, "going up the country" and "opening day." As a suburban wife and mother she joined in fishing and hunting expeditions. Her photographs of the loaded car and trailer, the camp supplies, and the campsite enhance her description of "how one family [went] camping." She thus gives us special insight into the experiences of families in this province in the 1950s.

Sallie Phillips' book has particular value as a source on British Columbia women's lives. Although she voices the historical stereotype that mid-twentieth-century women were just housewives, her radio scripts tell stories of the movement of married women

Errata

APOLOGY

The text of the article "The Hammond Brothers and Port Hammond" by Barry Cotton (Volume 33/4) was altered without the author's knowledge and consent. The editor apologizes for this and sincerely regrets the upset it has caused the author.

ONE-ARMED TOMO

Vol 33/4: "On the Trail of the One-Armed Man." The spelling Quamtany used throughout the article is a rare variant of Tomo's last name. Usually it is written Ouamtany and that is why Tomo called himself Anthony or Antoine in later years.

SONIA CORNWALL

Vol 33/4, page 37. The subject of the painting is of course: "...House at Onward Ranch..." not Outward Ranch.

outside the home. The "West Coast Wives" she visited considered themselves part of marital and occupational teams. They chose lives on isolated stations. They took on the jobs as camp cooks on top of housework, childcare, and teaching correspondence courses. Fifty per cent of the housewives the radio reporter met on her travels throughout the province held jobs outside the home. Sallie Phillips' own life as a working and travelling wife/mother/radio correspondent contradicted the domestic feminine image too.

The overall portrayal of everyday life of the 1950s in British Columbia in *You're on the Air* will benefit students of its history. I recommend it to them, and to anyone who aspires, as I did last year, to sort out sixty years of her mother's stuff and understand what it all meant: the canning as well as hunting gear, her lunch bucket, her work overalls, and all her radios. ~

Reviewer Jacqueline Gresko teaches history at Douglas College, New Westminster, BC

ALSO NOTED:

A Place for Gold.

Walter Guppy. Tofino: Grassroots Publication. 2000. 146 pp. Map. Paperback. Available from Walter Guppy, PO Box 94, Tofino BC, V0R 2Z0

Reports

Powell Rivers' Patricia Theatre Struggling for a New Life

by Dean Unger

JUST AS SMELLS can conjure up remembrances of other places or times, so can visual landmarks have the effect of dredging up memories that had been seemingly lost to the flow of time. It had been a long while since I had been back to my hometown of Powell River, and as I drove past the Patricia I instantly recalled my first movie theatre experience there at four years of age. We had come to watch Walt Disney's *Dumbo*. I remember being amazed, even at that young age, at the way the place was built. Foremost in my recollections were the murals that had adorned the huge wall panels.

I decided to contact the owner and see if I couldn't relive the amazement of my younger years. I discovered that since that time the theatre had been let go almost to the point of annihilation, and that the present owner, Michael Scott, was doing his best to save it. I am a writer and journalist by trade and could not help but see the potential for a story.

From early on in its development, fuelled by the youthful confidence of a prospering settlement, Powell River had set for itself a high standard of entertainment. Movies were just the thing to meet some of this demand.

The first theatre in Powell River was a small tent movie show pitched on the corner of Ash and Walnut and run by a Vancouver Island operation. It was only a short time, however, before a seasonal coastal gale blew through town and took the tent movie show with it. Cosgrave and McDonald built the first Patricia Theatre—named after Princess Patricia, daughter of the Duke of Connaught—on 2nd street at Walnut and ensured that this one was a more permanent structure. It was in 1928 that the Patricia Theatre found its permanent home at the corner of 2nd and Oceanview. That year saw both the height of the vaudeville era and the breakthrough of sound motion pictures. By 1929 the sound movies had become so popular that it created problems for theatre proprietors not ready for the technological change. McLeod-Scanlon Amusements Limited, a Vancouver based company, seeing the advancement as an opportunity that would keep them at the leading edge of the industry, installed sound equipment in the Patricia Theatre and other theatres they owned.

The Patricia Theatre—attracting big-name features in its time—was constructed in the tradition of Spanish Renaissance ar-

Courtesy Powell River Historical Museum



DOLORES DEL RIO

chitecture complete with wall panels depicting gardens, gilt panels on the row-ends, silk curtains, a balcony for valued visitors, and an orchestra pit. Door frames, window panels, and mouldings were all fashioned from knotless fir, still as straight and true today as the day it was cut.

The Patricia, in spite of its splendour, would doubtless have been demolished, but for the efforts of Michael Scott, who came to Powell River during the mid 1980s. Scott, previously an agent for many top musical acts and with connections in Hollywood, was drawn in by the tales of old fishermen and seasoned loggers who had lived in rum-running days of the prohibition. He learned about Al Capone's influence reaching far up the coastline. In particular he liked the story of the gunfire that erupted in the early morning hours of 14 March 1932 when Charles Bagley and Edward Fawcett, two notorious criminals wanted across the United States and Canada, robbed the massive iron safe of the Patricia Theatre.

Fascinated by the unique history of the place Scott decided to look for evidence of the story. But when he stood before the Patricia he looked at a building that, although it was still operational, had been badly neglected. It was barely recognizable from the early photos he had seen. Life once sparkled here with the buzz of chorus girls and vaudeville troupes. Now the windows were darkened, many broken, boarded up and nailed shut. Inside, fifteen-foot cobwebs hung from



Courtesy Powell River Historical Museum

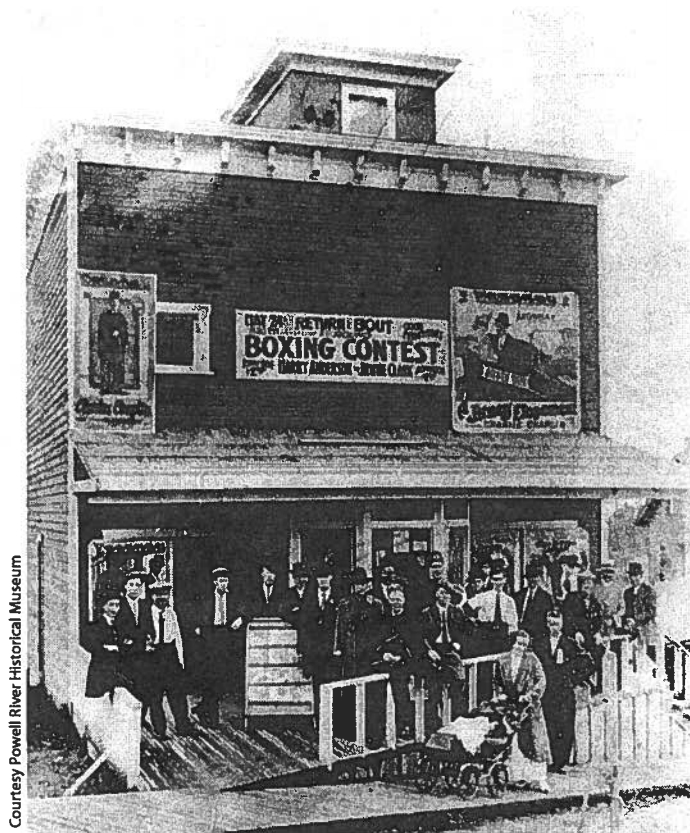
Above: It was in 1928 that the Patricia Theatre found its permanent home.

the ceilings. Rats had taken up permanent residence and could be seen running along the Plateresque cornice. The ornate murals had been painted over, and the light sconces had been covered, hiding much of the original interior.

In spite of obvious difficulties, Michael Scott saw that the theatre could be revived. Any apprehension vanished as he explored the dark building and the project became a journey of discovery. Long-forgotten rooms were found sealed behind walls during earlier remodelling. Treasures were hidden in closets and tucked away in dark corners: original light fixtures, film canisters, and tobacco paraphernalia. Vintage movie posters turned up behind later-constructed showcases, and even an autographed picture of Al Jolson, who once played there in the days of the Dockstader Minstrels. The most important find, however, were the original McLeod-Scanlon contracts, blueprints, and drawings, and a list of the original colours, complete with mixing instructions.

Drawing on his own finances, Scott has the Patricia Theatre slowly beginning to show glimpses of its old integrity. At present it is a venue for "A" circuit movies and one of the oldest operating theatres in North America. But the restoration process has been a difficult one, and the theatre has once again been put up for sale. As Michael Scott confided to me the main difficulty was, aside from the support of the Powell River Museum and a few of the locals, a mostly apathetic community struggling to come to terms with its history.

Today, standing in the, silent, empty theatre it is not difficult to imagine the sounds of an eight-piece band playing its smooth numbers, and the dancing girls' flat leather shoes clapping on the stage; or imagine the grace of Garbo or Dietrich on the silver screen. The Patricia stands again as a monument to coastal BC's pioneer days and to the early days of the film industry. ~



Above: Powell River's first Patricia Theatre replaced a small tent movie show that was blown away by the wind. Posters show "Boxing Contest," "Charlie Chaplin," and "Jitney Elopement."

Thinking about Museums

by Val Patenaude, Maple Ridge Museum

THE BC MUSEUMS ASSOCIATION held its annual conference in Victoria this October in conjunction with the Western Museums Association of the United States. This brought together nearly 750 museum professionals representing an enormous range of facilities from small community museums to art galleries to science centres to the mammoth institutions of states like California.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the conference was that we all suffer the same problems and that money is not the only concern, nor even the biggest issue. Both Canada and the United States are complex multi-cultural societies where curators feel very strongly the need to represent all those cultures in ways that are respectful and interesting, thoughtful and honest. We readily admit that past efforts have focussed on isolated aspects of culture like art or technology and that rarely is the attempt made to explain the culture from the inside and in its own voice.

Another issue facing museums is how far are we to go in the direction of "infotainment"? All institutions want to increase their visitor base and to attract people who don't normally go to museums. That sounds great, but how far can we go in the direction of current pop culture before we become yet another multi-media entertainment experience that is big on flash and sizzle and low on content? Do we need to go the full Disney route to attract young people to museums or will that process destroy us?

Another big issue facing museums and archives is the handling of controversy. Should we avoid it or do we have an obligation to present the information we hold that might help clarify an issue or put it in historic context, even if it draws fire from special interest groups? How do we represent and reflect that historic context if we are bound by modern notions of "political correctness"?

The last primary theme was about engaging our community in history related projects and celebrations. This is a development that has occurred quite naturally as museum curators have found themselves short of resources and space and have looked to libraries, malls and other public venues. Perhaps the most prominent discovery from this process is that while people are always interested in "ancient" history and the roots of their community, they are more engaged with displays that reflect their own past and particularly their youth. This more recent history provides a bridge between generations and serves to remind us how quickly we forget.

For next year's conference, the two associations will go their own way again, though we might find some BCMA members attending the Western Museums Association conference in pursuit of greater international cooperation and not entirely because it's in Palm Springs. ~

News and Notes

Please send information to be published in News and Notes to the editor in Whonnock before 15 August, 15 November, 15 February and 15 May.

FROM THE MEMBERS

BURNABY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Extract from report submitted at BCHF council meeting by Margaret Matovich. Monthly meetings have resumed after the summer break. A quarterly newsletter is produced. Burnaby Historical Society continues to maintain the records of the Burnaby Community Archives and participates in special community events with brochures, displays, and video presentations.

HEDLEY HERITAGE MUSEUM SOCIETY

In the spring of this year the society offered a one-hundred-dollar award for the return of their Hedley heritage sign, missing for two years. Believe it or not, Al Johnson, the owner of the Mother Lode store in Hedley, told the society that a buddy of his had spotted the sign on someone's shed in Surrey. Through family connections in Surrey the RCMP became involved and volunteers in Surrey arranged the recovery of the 400-pound sign and its return to Hedley. No charges were laid. — *Source: Hedley Heritage Museum Society Newsletter and Naomi Miller.*

LONDON HERITAGE FARM

Extract from report submitted at BCHF council meeting by Ron Hyde. The London Heritage Farm reports an unprecedented increase in interest and visits compared with previous years. With the help of several hired students it was possible keep the farm open seven days a week during July and August. Annual plant sale, collectibles fair, and Christmas craft fair are special events attracting many. The cataloguing of all artifacts, furnishings, and equipment is planned and the Farm has applied for two students through Youth Community Action.

NANAIMO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Last spring the Nanaimo Historical Society hosted Victoria's Old Cemetery Society. Members of Nanaimo Historical Society accompanied the visitors on their tour of Nanaimo's cemeteries. In the morning the guests visited the Pioneer Cemetery, one of British Columbia's oldest still extant, and the main cemetery, where many prominent citizens lie buried. In the afternoon the Chinese Cemetery and the Memorial Garden

to Chinese Pioneers, the former cemetery, were visited, where Chuck Wong and Dick Mah explained Chinese burial customs.

— *Source: Nanaimo Historical Society: News for Members, September 2000.*

NORTH SHORE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In the November issue of the newsletter of the society, president and newsletter editor Roy Pallant reports the passing away of Harold Cook Fromme. Harold lived in Lynn Valley all the ninety-five years of his life. In 1899 Harold's father, Julius Martin Fromme, built the first house in what was then called Shake Town (now Lynn Valley) and subdivided his land in 1903 selling sixty blocks to early settlers.

Harold Fromme owned and operated a garage on Fromme Road from 1936 till his early and very active retirement years, starting in 1966. Harold added many maps, photographs, and drawings to the collection of the North Vancouver Museum and Archives. He took a vigorous and essential part in tracing and mapping the remnants of historic logging including the mapping of the 11-mile route of the flumes which carried shingle bolts to the *saltchuck*. The map, drawn in sections, shows in detail the route of the flume over what are now the lawns and gardens of Lynn Valley from Rice Lake and the Lynn Creek down to Burrard Inlet. The almost 12-foot long map he created is on display in the museum in North Vancouver. Roy Pallant refers to Harold as "everyone's friend," and as could be expected, the church where the memorial service was held was filled with family and friends, including Mayor Don Bell of the District of North Vancouver and his predecessor, Murray Dykeman. — *Source: The North Shore Historical Society, November 2000*

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The society recently published its 65th annual report. As the cover of this issue reminds us, the Okanagan Historical Society celebrated its 75th anniversary this year. The OHS was founded in 1925, only a few years after the British Columbia Historical Federation was organized in 1922 under its first name British Columbia Historical Association. The 76th annual general meeting of the Okanagan Historical Society will be held on Sunday 6 May, 2001. As usual the date coin-

cides with the BCHF annual gathering held in Richmond this year. President Peter Tassie expressed the hope for a "better liaison" with the BCHF and perhaps some joint meetings.

PRINCETON AND DISTRICT

Extract from report submitted at BCHF council meeting by Margaret Stoneberg. A busy year with an addition to the museum to house a fossil exhibit. The *Princeton Family History* book has just been published. A well-known pioneer family—the Allisons—held a family reunion attended by over 300 in Princeton.

VICTORIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Extract from report submitted at BCHF council meeting by Arnold Ranneris. The Society has monthly meetings with an excellent lineup of speakers. Several group outings have taken place throughout the year. The Society has revised a membership brochure. Over 30 historical groups are active in the Victoria area.

OTHER NEWS

GABRIOLA HISTORICAL AND MUSEUM SOCIETY

Volume 1, No. 1 of *Shale*, the journal of the society is out and we must congratulate editor and contributor Nick Doe and his fellow-contributors Dr. Loraine Littlefield, Lynda Poulton, Barrie Humphrey, and Phyllis Reeve for a most informative and elegant inaugural issue. *Shale* subscriptions cost \$15 for four issues and single issues are for sale for \$5. Interested? Write to *Shale* subscriptions, Gabriola Historical and Museum Society, PO Box 213, Gabriola, BC, V0R 1X0.

BC HERITAGE TRUST: SCHOLARSHIPS AND STUDENT PRIZES

Applications for British Columbia Heritage Trust scholarship and student prizes for 2001 must be received by 16 February and 28 February respectively. Information and applications can be found posted on their Web page www.heritage.gov.bc.ca/trust/scholar.htm — *Source: BC Heritage Trust*

SCANNING HISTORY

Thanks to funding provided by the Canadian Heritage grant program Young Canada Works in Heritage Institutions, college and

university students were hired to scan more than 15,000 historic photographs of the collection of City of Vancouver Archives and Vancouver Public Library. By the end of the current grant they hope to have done at least another 2,000 photographs. The CVA photographs are available at the Web site www.city.vancouver.bc.ca/cityclerk/archives. Those of the Vancouver Public Library will be accessible on the library's Web site later this year. — *Source: Vancouver Historical Society Newsletter, October 2000*

AABC CONFERENCE 2001

Archives Association of British Columbia 2001 conference will be held in Victoria at St. Ann's Academy on 27 and 28 April. The theme will be: "The place of archives in heritage."

COLLABORATION

In the fall 2000 edition of *AABC Newsletter*, Jane Turner, president of the Archives Association of British Columbia, acknowledges the submission of letters of support to the government for Archives Week by the British Columbia Historical Federation and other organizations.

She also writes: "The British Columbia Historical Federation's journal, *British Columbia Historical News*, has recently developed a regular column under the direction of Fran Gundry entitled, 'Archives and Archivists.' The column has brought archival issues before its readers, and draws connections between the value of archives and their vital role in understanding our past. Gary Mitchell, Provincial Archivist, and Bill Purver, our AABC Network Coordinator, have both contributed thoughtful pieces to the column. In future Fran anticipates that the column will also explore archival holdings and access issues, which will be of interest to BCHN readers. We applaud the initiative of the BCHF to promote archives in this way. If you have not done so, be sure to take time to read this informative journal."

BC ARCHIVES ACTION GROUP

The formation of the "Friends of the BC Archives" has not ended the activities of the BC Archives Action Group. The BCAAG decided to continue as a lobby group for archives users with the archives and with government and is prepared to be more political and, if necessary, confrontational, than a "Friends" group can be. This year the BCAAG has been active on a number of issues as shown on their Web site: [web.uvic.ca/](http://web.uvic.ca/~jlutz/arch-index.htm)

~jlutz/arch-index.htm. This new Web site contains contacts and other information as well.

FRIENDS OF THE BC ARCHIVES

The "Friends of the British Columbia Archives," is an organization concerned with the documentary heritage of British Columbia.

At their inaugural meeting, held in Victoria in October, members elected the following board of directors: President Evert Moes; Vice President Marie Elliott; Secretary/Treasurer Ronald Greene; and Directors at Large Sandra Gill, Dr. John Lutz and Branwen Patenaude.

In his greetings, published in the first newsletter of the "Friends," Provincial Archivist Gary Mitchell welcomes the "Friends" as an organization "to support and assist in making community archives generally and the BC Archives specifically better understood within our society." He continues writing that: "'Friends'...are the voice of a community, responding to the needs and desires of the user and non-user. They are the educators, out in the schools, community centres and cultural events, speaking and teaching about archives generally and the BC Archives specifically. They are the sponsors, hosting speaking engagements, seminars, and lecture series about how to preserve family photos and records, etc. They are the friends who are the sounding board for innovations within the BC Archives. They are the volunteers, who assist the trained, professional BC Archives staff in rescuing, preserving, and making accessible more of our documentary heritage than we ever thought possible. That is what 'Friends' are. Valued. Vital. Supportive."

The "Friends" encourages everyone to become a member and they are also looking for volunteers willing to work on various projects. Membership fees cover the year from September to August. The fees are \$15 for students and seniors, \$20 for individuals, \$30 for families, and \$50 for corporations and institutions. For information write to: Friends of the British Columbia Archives, c/o BC Archives, PO Box 9419, Stn Prov Govt, Victoria BC, V8W 9V1, or contact a member of the board.

"GUNPOWDER GERTIE"

A historical heroine was "revealed" to West Kootenay residents in an April 1st publication in 1995. The tale of "Gunpowder Gertie," a lady pirate was first told when Carolyn

McTaggart was assisting a teacher in rural Redfish School. McTaggart's extensive work in provincial archives assured the accuracy of her findings.

Gertrude Imogene Stubbs came to Sandon with her parents in 1895. Young Gertrude worked as a stoker for her father on the Kaslo & Slocan Railway. After her parents died she—disguised as a boy—went to work in the engine room of sternwheelers plying Kootenay Lake. Eventually her identity was revealed. Gertrude was promptly dismissed. To gain revenge she commandeered a powerful new launch and with the assistance of a small crew, became a pirate on Kootenay Lake.

Bob Johnstone told the story on CBC Radio's "This Day in History" in February 1999 and Carolyn's McTaggart phone started ringing: "Your fictitious heroine was on CBC this morning." She phoned CBC, explained her part of the story, and was connected to Mr. Johnstone. He gulped, then roared with laughter.

Since then, Carolyn McTaggart and her husband have prepared a 25-minute video taking viewers in and beyond the Kootenays through the turbulent times of Gertie. The video was made on location at Sandon and on the SS *Moyie* in Kaslo.—*Naomi Miller*

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

On 3 November 2000, Harbour Publishing Co. officially launched their brand-new book at the Main Branch of Vancouver Public Library. The encyclopedia contains more than 4,000 articles, 1,500 photos, and hundreds of maps and diagrams. It was noted that items on the Kootenays were vetted or written by two former presidents of the BC Historical Federation, Ron Welwood and Naomi Miller. Nakusp historian Rosemarie Parent, Kaslo's Martin Lynch, and former Nelsonite Ted Affleck have also contributed to this extensive work. The editor is Daniel Francis of North Vancouver.—*Naomi Miller*

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S AWARD

Three Kootenay teachers and two teachers from Delta were named among Canada's top history teachers. They were the BC finalists for the 2000 Governor General's Award for Excellence in Teaching Canadian History, nominated for their dynamic and innovative approach to teaching Canadian history. Gloria Beecham, Linda Hoffmann, and Donald Messer from Crescent Valley (Nelson) developed a learning resource kit "History Connection," which focuses on local

history and has been used in schools in the area since 1997. Susan Anderson and Susan Earles from Beach Grove Elementary, Delta, created a localized, child-centered curriculum in Canadian history, focussing on Delta, Tsawwassen, and Ladner pioneers.

The five finalists from British Columbia and 14 other finalists were honoured at a ceremony at Ottawa's Rideau Hall on 18 November. Mario Mimeault, from Rivière-au-Renard, Quebec, received this year's award. —Naomi Miller and Ron Wélwood.

JAPANESE CANADIANS NATIONAL MUSEUM & ARCHIVES SOCIETY

We congratulate the Japanese Canadian National Museum & Archives Society at the opening of the inaugural exhibition at Nikkei Place in Burnaby. The JCNMAS wants to rediscover the Japanese-Canadian heritage and the importance of the Japanese Canadian history. They ask to contribute to the museum and archive's collection and to share family histories to add to the collective national history. The Society seeks volunteers from across the country to contribute their talents. Tax-deductible donations are welcome. For further information please contact the Japanese Canadian National Museum, #120-6688 Southoaks Crescent, Burnaby BC, V5E 4M7, Phone: (604) 777-8000, Fax (604) 777-7001. E-mail jcnmas@telus.net. Web site www.jcnm.ca —Naomi Miller

WOMEN'S HISTORY NETWORK

Women's History Month, October, came early to Douglas College this year. We hosted the Women's History Network of BC Conference on Friday 29 and Saturday 30 September on the theme "Women and Health." We had a great gathering thanks to College staff and our presenters. Mavis Henry spoke about the traditions of First Nations' healing. Norah Lewis spoke on home remedies of Western settlers communities. Catherine Marcellus, Betty Dandy, and Betty Robertson shared stories on Mission's community hospital. A panel discussion on the writing of history and the writing of women's history completed the conference. For membership or newsletter information on the Women's History Network of BC write to Cathy Kess, #20-1030 Hulford Street, Victoria, BC, V8X 3B6. —Jaqueline Gresko

SPIRITED WOMEN

While the historical documentation of women's experiences is beginning to find its way

into contemporary literature the history of specific groups of women, such as that of Catholic women religious, is still neglected. Yet these women often played crucial roles in the development of Canadian society. The recent book *Spirited Women, A history of Catholic Sisters in British Columbia* will assist in filling the gap in documenting and understanding the importance of Catholic women religious in the historical evolution of British Columbia.

The book, a soft cover with approximately three hundred pages and over a hundred pictures, was produced by Harbour Publishing Co. Ltd. retails at \$27.95. Books can be ordered from the Sisters Association Archdiocese of Vancouver, #215 7700 Francis Road, Richmond BC, V6Y 1A. Phone: (604) 272-4779. E-mail: hudec@telus.net

SPACES AND LANDSCAPES

The 54th Pacific Northwest Conference is scheduled from 19 to 21 April 2001 in Portland, Oregon. The theme of the conference is the region in a new millennium. The program committee gives special notice and placement to sessions that address teaching history in secondary and post-secondary schools. The conference is sponsored by the Washington State Historical Society. Co-sponsors are Oregon Historical Society and Portland State University. For conference information contact Jean Peterson at the WHS Heritage Resource Center (360) 586-0219 or jpeterson@wsns.wa.gov

PADDLEWHEELERS

Edward L. "Ted" Afflecks's recently published compilation of information on inland steamboats, *A Century of Paddlewheelers in the Pacific Northwest, the Yukon and Alaska*, seems to be selling faster than expected. If you are still interested in this reference book you should write to Alexander Nicolls Press, #208, 2250 SE Marine Drive, Vancouver BC, V5P 2S2, before the stock is sold out.

BBC AND CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
Melissa Blackburn of the British Broadcasting Corporation writes us:

"The history department here at BBC television is considering making a documentary film about the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It would be part of our well-known *Timewatch* series and be seen all over the world, and would be directed by one of our senior producers, Jonathan Gili.

"Obviously the story of the CPR is a great one (well-known in Canada but not, I sus-

pect, outside it) and our film would cover the fascinating history of the construction of the railway from 1881 to 1885. We would use eye-witness accounts of the time, and the wealth of contemporary photographs to paint a picture of this enormous human endeavour. I'm particularly interested in interviewing the remaining relatives of the protagonists of this story—this ranges from the great figures such as Donald Smith and William Van Horne, to the navvies who worked on the track, and the people who were affected by the advent of the CPR.

"I've already contacted quite a few people, and am hoping to find others. At the moment, it's the working people's ancestors—the people who got their hands dirty, from Canadian navvies to the Chinese workers—that I'm particularly interested in finding. It is for this reason that I'm writing to you. Do you know anyone who is related either to someone who worked on the original building of the CPR line, or who was affected by the line (i.e. moved to the West around 1880-1885, or was already there)—anyone who has a story to tell? We strongly believe that the best way of telling these old stories is through the stories and characters handed down over generations. As you imagine, it's quite an undertaking! We're hoping to come to Canada in December for a preliminary visit, and then to film in January. Perhaps your members have some ideas, or know the right people to talk to? Obviously I'm working with the CPR on this, but any help you could give me would be wonderful."

If you think you can help please write to Melissa Blackburn, *Timewatch*, Room 5433, BBC White City, 201 Wood Lane, London W12 7TS. Phone: 0208 752 6220. E-mail: melissa.blackburn@bbc.co.uk.

CHARLOTTE DIAMOND'S WORLD

One song on the latest CD of award-winning children's entertainer Charlotte Diamond caught the attention of Wayne Desrochers. In this song, called *Skookumchuck*, are not less than forty-seven place names and terms of First Nation's origin. With the recording comes a list with the meaning of the names and terms and an acknowledgement of the use of Phillip and Helen Akrigg's *British Columbia Place Names*. The fourth verse of the song asks the listener: "What is the name of your town, do you know it's story?" And that takes us right to local history. Will it trigger the curiosity of younger listeners? It seems worth a try.

Letters to the Editor

SIR:

I think we should honour ADAM WALDIE B.A., M.D. who died in May.

Adam was a close friend of mine and my sister Shirley. Adam was a classmate at UofA medical school with my sister Shirley. I have known Adam for over 50 years as a friend, historian and colleague.

Adam practiced medicine in Castlegar, then, in 1952 moved to Vancouver, and became the first head of the Dept. of Family Practice at UBC. He practised in Vancouver for 35 years. In retirement he did many *locum tenens* throughout the province. As a medical student Adam worked in church mission hospitals along the coast in isolated locations, and in retirement continued helping people in remote areas.

Adam was kind, concerned, affable and funny. He wrote historical articles, book reviews for the [BC] *Historical News* and the *BC Medical Journal*. They were humorous, timely and well researched.

Adam made history in BC, he wrote of the history of BC, and he reviewed books written about the people of BC. Let us honour him.

Sterling Haynes, MD, Vancouver, BC

We mentioned Dr. Waldie's passing in the summer edition (33/3). This winter issue includes the last book review written by the late Dr. Adam Waldie, for BC Historical News. Ed.

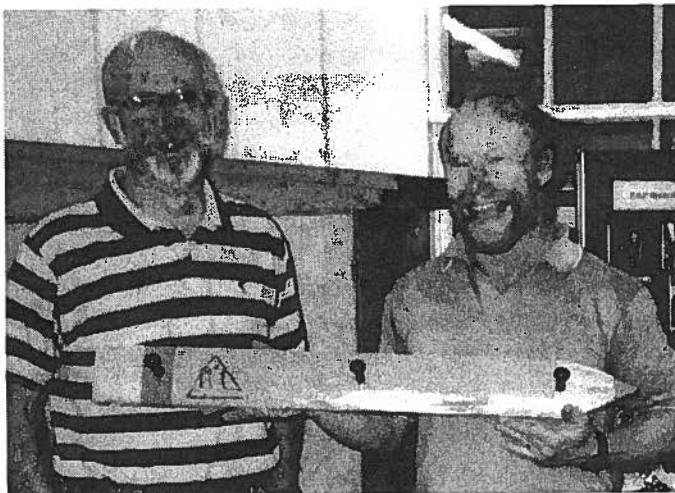
SIR:

Gordon Miller's review of Tom Henry's *Westcoasters: Boats that Built British Columbia* in (BCHN Vol. 33 No.3) prompts this letter of support. Miller identified our lack of a comprehensive book on the history of Coastal Shipping in British Columbia in the age of steam. Many column inches have been committed to press on the subject of the sidewheeler *Beaver*, first of Hudson's Bay steamers to work on the coast, and a number of books have been written on the coastal services provided by individual companies such as the Canadian Pacific, Grand Trunk/Canadian National, and Union Steamships. What seems to be missing is a book dealing not only with the rough-and-tumble market for shipping between San Francisco, Victoria, and New Westminster in the gold-rush days of the 1850s and 1860s and the somewhat similar open market that existed for coastal shipping during the time of the Klondike gold rush, but also with the whole spectrum of shipping up the BC coast from Colonial days up to the demise of the steam-propelled vessel. It would be great to learn something about the services provided by the various players in the field and how they sorted themselves out in a highly competitive field. If Tom Henry doesn't hunger to take on this challenging task, I earnestly hope that some other marine-minded writer will see fit to do so.

Ted Affleck, Vancouver, BC

All work and no play...

Right: In September, at the BCHF council meeting in Surrey, President Wayne Desrochers presented Past President Ron Welwood (left) with a three-pegged coat rack for his three-year presidency. Wayne created the coat rack from a piece of discarded wood he picked up at Alberni's historic McLean Mill in May. He painted it in true pencil-yellow, eraser-pink, and, of course, graphite-black. Ron now has a place to hang his boots.



BCHF ENDOWMENT FUND WOULD YOU LIKE TO HELP HISTORY?

Knowledge of history has many benefits, not the least is to know who we are and why we are here. And who was it that said, that if we don't know our history we shall be doomed to repeat it? Unfortunately the study of history is not a matter that raises great interest in the political arena. It seems a lot less important than a whole host of other current topics. Our history is ignored and treated as something to be done away with. But you, as a reader of this journal, know this. Hopefully you will want to help reverse this trend, and thus we are appealing to you.

The British Columbia Historical Federation has started an Endowment Fund to help promote a wider interest in the history of this province. There are many ways by which you could help, small annual donations, occasional gifts, or bequests. There are other ways, such as purchase of an insurance policy with the British Columbia Historical Federation named as beneficiary. The Federation can provide receipts for Income Tax purposes.

Some of the many uses to which the income from an endowment could be put are (1) scholarships for university students; (2) grants in aid for current teachers of history to enable them to take a specific course to upgrade their teaching skills; (3) support for pre-conference and stand-alone writing and research workshops; (4) research grants for writing and cataloguing—we would treat these as loans that would be forgiven if the work is published or the catalogue is made available to the public; (5) enlarge the publication fund and include reprints of rare books, transcriptions of oral histories, tapes, and compact discs as eligible for loans; (6) competitions in schools on historical themes; (7) matching grants to libraries to develop and enlarge their British Columbia History sections. Or you may have ideas of your own you would like to suggest.

Interested? Please write or talk to BCHF treasurer Ronald Greene (see inside front cover for address and phone number).

Federation News

BCHF COUNCIL MEETING, SURREY BC, 16 SEPTEMBER 2000
HOST: SURREY MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES

*Highlights from the minutes prepared by
Recording Secretary Betty Brown.*

Work continues on the tracing and collection of the minutes of BCHF meetings of previous years to be deposited in the BC Archives.

Three new members were nominated and accepted. Council welcomed the Archives Association of British Columbia (affiliated group), Maple Ridge Historical Society (member), and Union Bay Historical Society (member).

Council thanked Leonard McCann who stepped down as honorary president after years of exemplary service to the Federation, and welcomed Alice Glanville of Grand Forks as his successor for the coming year.

The people of the Alberni District Society not only presented an excellent conference in 2000, they also enjoyed a small profit that they shared with the Federation. After Richmond (2001) conferences are scheduled for Revelstoke (2002) and Prince George (2003). Who on Vancouver Island will host the 2004 conference? In 2005 the conference will be held at Kelowna in conjunction with the Okanagan Historical Society.

The Federation applied for and received a BC Heritage Trust grant of \$4,000 towards the publication of *BC Historical*

News. A renewed call was made to council and all members to continue promoting *BC Historical News*.

Nine entries were received for the scholarship contest. The winner, Julie Stevens, has received a cheque for \$500. In future the Federation will offer two \$500 scholarships, one for first- and second-year college and university students and another for third- and fourth-year university students.

The Federation sent a letter to the government endorsing the proclamation of Archives Week in November.

Funding was approved to register the BCHF domain name and to upgrade the present BCHF Web site.

In 1961 Dr. Donald Paterson donated a reproduction of the well-known Captain Vancouver painting to what was then called the British Columbia Historical Association. Since 1968 the portrait is in custody of the BC Maritime Museum. A plaque with inscription, originally attached to the painting was lost when the painting was still in Vancouver and it was never replaced. Steps will now be taken to replace the plaque.

For Member Society Reports: see "News and Notes," Members.

Next Meeting: Saturday, 24 February 2001 in Victoria. ~

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL FEDERATION 2000-2001 SCHOLARSHIP Deadline 15 May 2001

The British Columbia Historical Federation awards two \$500 scholarships annually for essays written by students at BC colleges or universities on a topic relating to British Columbia history. One scholarship is for an essay written by a student in a first- or second-year course; the other is for an essay written by a student in a third- or fourth-year course.

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; (3) a letter of recommendation from the professor for whom the essay was written.

Applications should be submitted before 15 May 2001 to: Frances Gundry, Chair BC Historical Federation Scholarship Committee, PO Box 5254, Station B, Victoria, BC V8R 6N4.

The winning essay submitted by a third- or fourth-year student will be published in *BC Historical News*. Other submissions may be published at the editor's discretion.

BC History Web Site Prize

The British Columbia Historical Federation and David Mattison are jointly sponsoring a yearly cash award of \$250 to recognize Web sites that contribute to the understanding and appreciation of British Columbia's past. The award honours individual initiative in writing and presentation.

Nominations for the BC History Web Site Prize for 2000 must be made to the British Columbia Historical Federation, Web Site Prize Committee, prior to 31 December 2000. Web site creators and authors may nominate their own sites.

Prize rules and the online nomination form can be found on The British Columbia History Web site: <http://www.victoria.tc.ca/resources/bchistory-announcements.html>.

Richmond 2001

The RICHMOND MUSEUM SOCIETY is hard at work preparing a most promising conference with an exciting program. We expect an as good, if not a still better attendance as in Port Alberni. The 2001 Conference will start on Thursday 3 May and will end with the traditional Gala Award Banquet on Saturday evening, 5 May.

Readers will find a registration form inserted in this issue—well in time for early registration. The reverse of the form shows the program of Conference 2001 and hotel information. Please do register as soon as possible.

We suggest that you take a photocopy or two of the form with you to your next society meeting for your friends and fellow-members who don't read *BC Historical News* and may therefore miss early registration. ~

A CERTIFICATE OF MERIT and fifty dollars will be awarded annually to the author of the article, published in *BC Historical News*, that best enhances knowledge of British Columbia's history and provides reading enjoyment. Judging will be based on subject development, writing skill, freshness of material, and appeal to a general readership interested in all aspects of BC history.

MANUSCRIPTS SUBMITTED FOR PUBLICATION should be sent to the Editor, *BC Historical News*, PO Box 130, Whonnock BC V2W 1V9. Submission by e-mail of text and illustrations is welcome. Otherwise please send a hard copy and if possible a disk copy of the manuscript by ordinary mail. Illustrations should be accompanied by captions and source information. Submissions should not be more than 3,500 words. Authors publishing for the first time in the *British Columbia Historical News* will receive a one-year complimentary subscription to the journal.

Melva J. Dwyer, Librarian Emerita, compiled this yearly index for the 2000 volume of *British Columbia Historical News*. Thanks to her efforts we are now up to date. Other indexes published in Volume 33 (2000) are the index for 1998 (Volume 31) in volume 33:1, and index 1999 (Volume 32) in volume 33:3. For earlier years see five-year indexes ending with 1997 (Volume 30).

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