British Columbia Historical News

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

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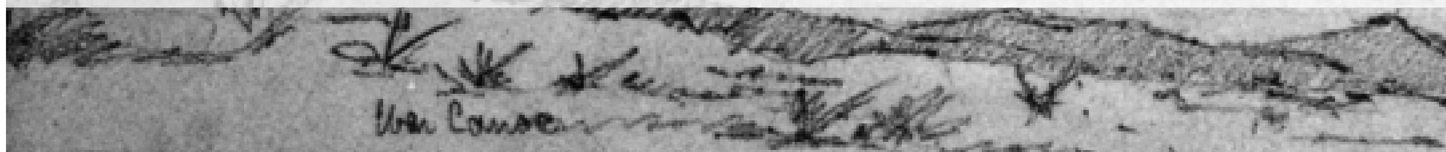
In this Issue: What's in a name | Looking for David Thompson | Early Scots History | Token History | Book Reviews | and more...



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Please submit manuscripts for publication to the Editor, *BC Historical News*,
John Atkin,
921 Princess Avenue,
Vancouver BC V6A 3E8
e-mail: johnatkin@shaw.ca

Book reviews for *BC Historical News*,
AnneYandle,
3450 West 20th Avenue,
Vancouver BC V6S 1E4,
604.733.6484
e-mail: yandle@interchange.ubc.ca

Subscription & subscription information:
Alice Marwood
#311 - 45520 Knight Road
Chilliwack, B. C. V2R 3Z2
phone 604-824-1570
email: amarwood@imag.net

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British Columbia Historical Federation

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PO Box 5254, Station B., Victoria BC V8R 6N4

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The Honourable Iona Campagnolo. PC, CM, OBC
Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia

Honourary President
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Officers

President
Jacqueline Gresko
5931 Sandpiper Court, Richmond, BC, V7E 3P8
Phone 604.274.4383 j_gresko@douglas.bc.ca

First Vice President
Patricia Roy
Department of History, University of Victoria, PO Box 3045, Victoria, BC, V8W 3P4
proy@uvic.ca

Second Vice President
Bob Mukai
4100 Lancelot Dr., Richmond, BC V7C 4S3
Phone 604-274-6449 robert_mukai@telus.net

Secretary
Ron Hyde
#20 12880 Railway Ave., Richmond, BC, V7E 6G2
Phone: 604.277.2627 Fax 604.277.2657 rbhyde@shaw.ca

Recording Secretary
Gordon Miller
1126 Morrell Circle, Nanaimo, BC, V9R 6K6 millerg@island.net

Treasurer
Ron Greene
PO Box 1351, Victoria, BC, V8W 2W7
Phone 250. 598.1835 Fax 250.598.5539 ragreene@telus.net

Past President
Wayne Desrochers
13346 57th Avenue, Surrey, BC, V3X 2W8
Phone 604. 599.4206 Fax. 604.507.4202 wderochers@mbs.imag.net

Member at Large
Alice Marwood
#311 45520 Knight Road, Chilliwack, BC, V2R 3Z2 amarwood@imag.net

Patrick Dunae
History Department, Malaspina University College
dunae@mala.bc.ca

Committees

Historical Trails and Markers
John Spittle
1241 Mount Crown Road, North Vancouver, BC, V7R 1R9
Phone 604.988.4565 jds@vcn.bc.ca

W. Kaye Lamb Essay Scholarships Committee
Robert Griffin
107 Regina Avenue, Victoria, BC, V8Z 1J4
Phone 250.475.0418 bgriffin@royalbcmuseum.bc.ca

Writing Competition - Lieutenant-Governor's Award
Bob Mukai
4100 Lancelot Dr., Richmond, BC V7C 4S3
Phone 604-274-6449 robert_mukai@telus.net

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Editor's Note

It is with sadness that we note the death of Yvonne Klan on October 4, 2004 (see page 38). I had the pleasure of corresponding with Yvonne over the publication of her article *The Lone Man* in my first issue of the *News*. What struck me then was her attention to detail and great research skills. She will be missed.

This issue of *British Columbia Historical News* marks another milestone; it is the last issue under the old name. Starting with Vol.38 No.1 the publication becomes *British Columbia History*. To mark the occasion I've asked Anne Yandle to write a short history of the magazine starting on page 2.

Except for the odd design tweak here and there, no major changes are planned.

In the corrections department: gremlins snuck into the print room and made Sylvia Stopforth's name disappear from the top of the Archives and Archivists column last issue along with that of the column's contributor, Ramona Rose.

As well, an eagle-eyed Gulf Island reader noticed that the vessel featured on the cover of the last issue was the CPR's *Princess Victoria* not the *Cardena*...got to watch out for old notes and double check everything.

Don't forget our web site at www.bchistory.ca

BCHF Prizes | Awards | Scholarships

W. KAYE LAMB Essay Scholarships
Deadline 15 May 2005
The British Columbia Historical Federation awards two scholarships annually for essays written by students at BC colleges or universities on a topic relating to British Columbia history. One scholarship ($500) is for an essay written by a student in a first-or second-year course: the other ($750) is for an essay written by a student in a third-or fourth-year course.

To apply tor the scholarship, candidates must submit (1) a letter of application: (2) an essay of 1,500-3, 000 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 2005 to: Robert Griffin, 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 2004 must be made to the British Columbia Historical Federation, Web Site Prize Committee, prior to **31 December 2004**. Web site creators and authors may nominate their own sites. Prize rules and the on-line nomination form can be found on The British Columbia History Web site: http://www.victoria.tc.ca/resources/bchistory/announcements.html*

Best Article Award
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 ot 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.

British Columbia Historical News

A short history

By Ann Yandle

Ann Yandle is the long time book review editor for BC Historical News

The BC Historical Federation is approaching another crossroads in its life. The *British Columbia Historical News* is shortly going to appear in a new guise. As I was involved with the early development of the *News*, the Editor has asked me to write a brief history of it.

At the annual general meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association in 1967 in Williams Lake, the President, Donald New, spoke pessimistically about the future of the Association without the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*. The most recent issue, dated 1957, had been published in 1962, and although the Editor, Willard Ireland, promised further issues, none had appeared. Meanwhile, the Association had published several short newsletters in an attempt to keep its members informed and committed; three issues appeared between 1965 and 1966, edited in turn by Donald New (Gulf Islands), Robin Brammall (Vancouver) and Bessie Choate (Burnaby)

At that 1967 meeting, there seemed little hope of further issues of the *Quarterly*; the fledgling newsletter also appeared to be moribund. The President, in the absence of nominations, pleaded for an editor. Philip Yandle, unknown to most BCHA members, eventually volunteered and in spring 1968 the first issue of *The British Columbia Historical News* came out. In it, the new editor promised that "to the best of my ability and with the help of the member societies I will in each issue publish their accomplishments and items of interest." His aim was to bring together the flagging member societies, and disclose fully the activities of the Association to its members. Volumes 1-10, accordingly, published minutes of all BCHA meetings, along with news of member societies, news of local historical interest, and a feature article in each issue. Robert Genn, well-known BC artist, generously provided drawings for the covers of Volumes 2-10. Book reviews first appeared in Volume 2. Frances Woodward provided a "British Columbia Books of Interest" column in Volumes 4 -14.

The first ten volumes of the *News* were typed on stencils on a portable Olivetti typewriter, later on an IBM Selectric, and run off on a second-hand Gestetner. Distribution of the *News* at that time was by mailing batches of copies to member societies; many such packages were delivered personally by John Spittle, whose business took him throughout the province.

After Phil Yandle stepped down in 1977 at the end of Volume 10, Volume 11:1-2 were produced by an editorial committee of the Vancouver Historical Society. Kent Haworth and Patricia Roy from Victoria took over and carried on, along with Terry Eastwood, until the end of Volume 12. Maureen Cassidy, Marie Elliott and Bob Tyrell in turn produced about two volumes each; Esther Birney edited Volume 19:3. Naomi Miller moved from the President's chair to that of Editor in 1988 (Volume 21), continuing until 1999, when Fred Braches succeeded her; he handed the job over to John Atkin in 2003.

Over the years the contents of the *News* have been reorganized by the various editors. Minutes are no longer published, more feature articles have been included, and new columns such as notes on archives and websites have been added..

The *News*, as the successor to the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, carried on the philosophy expressed by Robin Brammall in his 1972 presidential address, when he said that the *Quarterly* "was the life blood of the Association and there is some doubt as to whether our Association [has] any real vitality or raison d'être without [it]" (BCHN, Volume 9:1). Thanks to contributions from members and non-members from all over the province, the *News* provided a cohesive link for the BCHF's growing number of member societies. •

What is in a Name?

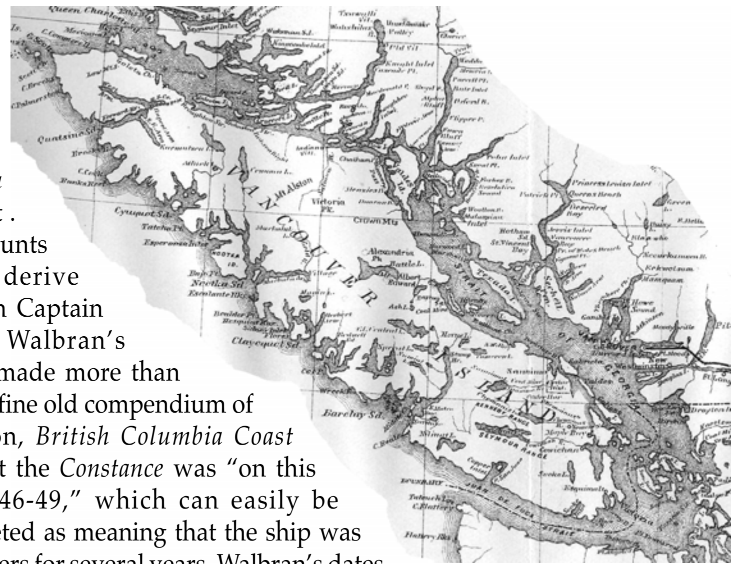
Captain Courtenay & Vancouver Island Exploration

By Allan Pritchard

Captain George Courtenay's visit to Vancouver Island in HMS *Constance* in 1848 has been prominently commemorated in the island's place names. His name has been given to a river and town, as well as to a street in Victoria, while a part of Esquimalt Harbour bears the name Constance Cove. Yet the circumstances and activities of his visit have not always been very well understood, and inaccurate accounts of them appear even in some usually reliable reference works and histories. The article on the town of Courtenay in the *Encyclopedia of British Columbia* states that it was named for Captain Courtenay "who surveyed the area during 1846-49 aboard *HMS Constance*." Elsewhere the distinguished historian Margaret Ormsby writes that in order to lay claim to coal deposits on northern Vancouver Island, Courtenay "had proceeded to Beaver Harbour, taken possession, and issued a proclamation in the Queen's name warning off intruders." Courtenay himself, however, never claimed to have made any such surveys or expeditions, and the naval records make it clear that he could not have done so.

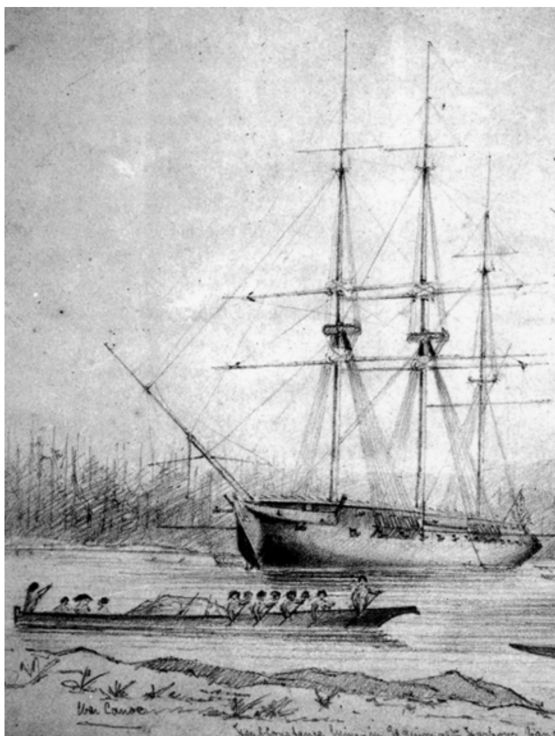
Since some mythology has grown up around his visit to Vancouver Island, it may be useful to consider here who Courtenay was and what he did and did not do on the island. George William Conway Courtenay (1795-1863) like many naval officers of the period belonged to a family well connected with the landed gentry and aristocracy. His father, Clement Courtenay of Beach Hall near Chester, was nephew of the third Earl of Bute, who had been prime minister, and his mother was the daughter of a baronet. The family had a strong tradition of naval and military service, and Courtenay's entry to the navy was sponsored by the naval hero, the Earl of St. Vincent. He entered at a very early age in 1805, the year of the Battle of Trafalgar, went to sea in the next year, and soon gained a medal in action against the French. After the end of the Napoleonic wars, he distinguished himself in actions in suppression of the African slave trade, and during an interval between naval appointments he served as consul in Haiti. He reached the rank of captain in 1828, and in later life, after the period of his visit to Vancouver Island, he was advanced to rear admiral in 1854 and vice admiral in 1861.

In Courtenay's long naval career the visit to Vancouver Island was a brief and relatively unimportant episode, much shorter than such accounts as the one in the *Encyclopedia of British Columbia* suggest. Those accounts probably derive partly from Captain John Walbran's statement made more than once in his fine old compendium of information, *British Columbia Coast Names*, that the *Constance* was "on this station 1846-49," which can easily be misinterpreted as meaning that the ship was in local waters for several years. Walbran's dates are correct, but "this station" means the Pacific Station, which during this period, long before the establishment of the Esquimalt base, had its headquarters far from Vancouver Island at Valparaiso in Chile. The *Constance*, a large new 50-gun frigate, arrived on the Pacific Station in the autumn of 1846, but Courtenay was not appointed to it until August 1847. He remained in command until it sailed back to England two years later, but during this period it generally stayed in Latin American waters, and made just one excursion as far north as Vancouver Island, prompted in 1848 by the request of James Douglas and Peter Ogden, the Hudson Bay Company's chief factors at Fort Vancouver, for protection of British interests in the Columbia region during the unsettled time following its transfer to American possession by the Oregon Treaty of 1846. The logbooks of the *Constance* show that the ship was at Vancouver Island for no more than six weeks, from July 25 to September 4, 1848, and for the whole of that period remained anchored in and adjacent to Esquimalt Harbour.



Vancouver Island from a map of British Columbia from History of the Pacific States of North America (Vol. XXVII), by Hubert Howe Bancroft, 1887

The real interest of Courtenay's visit to Vancouver Island lies not in the surveys and expeditions that have mistakenly been attributed to him but in what it reveals about the relations between the two representatives of British imperial power on the coast, the Royal Navy and the Hudson's Bay Company, during the period of retreat from the Columbia after the Oregon Treaty. Courtenay's correspondence and reports make it clear that he considered the concerns of Douglas about American depredations and threats to the company's property and interests on the Columbia to be exaggerated: he



HMS Constance in Esquimalt Harbour, 1848, with Natives paddling a war canoe and fishing. Drawing by Lieut. John T. Haverfield.
BC Archives PDP-01182.

thought that the company, "having for years lorded it over that Country," was simply failing to adjust to the new realities. Douglas was in Hawaii on company business during the whole time of Courtenay's visit, and Courtenay blamed him for not coming to Vancouver Island to meet him, though the navy had offered him passage, while Douglas blamed Courtenay for not going to the Columbia to make a first-hand investigation. Expressing strong disappointment to Courtenay following his visit, Douglas wrote vividly of the difficulties the company faced with American settlers at war with Natives on the Columbia, even though on humanitarian grounds it had provided Americans with refuge: "The ordeal we have endured for the last twelve months has given us a lesson of experience which can never be effaced from our minds." Nothing either in Courtenay's upper-class background or long naval career is likely to have given him special appreciation of the problems of the fur traders, and misunderstanding was increased by the lack of communication resulting from Douglas' absence. No doubt, however, Courtenay was carrying out higher official policy in recommending resignation and restraint, and avoiding any risk of diplomatic incidents with the American authorities.

While Courtenay's visit was on the whole disappointing from the viewpoint of the Hudson's Bay Company, on one occasion he did gratify the company. At the request of Factor Roderick Finlayson, who was in charge of Fort Victoria, he put on a demonstration with a large body of armed men from his ship to impress Natives in the vicinity of the fort on August 24. According to the log of *Constance*, the purpose was to avert a skirmish that seemed about to take place between two tribes. Finlayson considered that the show of power had a "good effect," although he recorded that one of the chiefs remained unimpressed with the white man's way of fighting in the open rather than using cover, and that Courtenay was not pleased with this reaction.

In later years Courtenay was specially remembered on Vancouver Island as commander of the first Royal Navy vessel to anchor in Esquimalt Harbour. This is not to say that he was the first naval officer to explore it. The harbour had already been well charted in 1846 by the officers and crew of the little survey ship *HMS Pandora*, under the supervision of Lieutenant James Wood of that vessel and Captain Henry Kellett of *HMS Herald*. The master (navigating officer) of the *Constance*, Henry Paul, recorded in his *Hydrographic Remarks Book* that he entered the harbour on July 25, 1848, "without the slightest difficulty, with the aid of Capt Kellets excellent chart." Although the harbour had been charted before his arrival, Courtenay can be credited with helping to draw attention to its value for naval purposes: in his report to his commander-in-chief, Rear Admiral Phipps Hornby, he described Esquimalt as "a good and secure harbour," noted that it provided an excellent source of fresh water and timber for spars, and added that he was able to obtain supplies of fresh beef daily from the Hudson's Bay Company's farms, as well as some potatoes both from the company and from Natives, while Paul in his *Remarks Book* complained about the lack of vegetables, but recorded that salmon were plentiful "and brought alongside in great numbers by the Natives."

During his short period on Vancouver Island, Courtenay made just one attempt at exploration beyond Esquimalt and Victoria. For three days between August 9 and 12, accompanied by his master Paul, he tried in his ship's launch to investigate the southern entry to the Strait of Georgia, the "Canal de Arro" or Haro Strait, but he was handicapped by heavy fog and did not penetrate very far. His subsequent report to Admiral Hornby and Paul's Remarks Book emphasized the hazards of navigation, which during this period deterred such large sailing vessels as the *Constance* from entering the Strait of Georgia. Paul recorded that the existing charts were "exceedingly incorrect," "not noting one half of the Islands and Rocks" with which the channels were studded. Courtenay concluded that because of the rapidity of the tides and currents the passage into the strait was "perfectly unfit for anything but steam vessels." These reports show how unrealistic the idea is that the *Constance*, which was not converted to steam power until many years after its return to England, might have sailed up the Strait of Georgia and conducted surveys of the Comox area in 1840s.

The hazards of navigation in the Strait of Georgia would not necessarily have deterred

Courtenay from making the second major expedition attributed to him, the visit to Beaver Harbour near Port Hardy to lay claim to the coal deposits there, since that area could be, and commonly was, approached from the open sea to the north. He was certainly interested in the coal. The steamship magnate Samuel Cunard had written to the Admiralty advising that the coal be reserved for British use, and Admiral Hornby had instructed Courtenay to look into the matter. But Margaret Ormsby, although an admirably accurate historian, was misled into mistakenly supposing that Courtenay actually went to Beaver Harbour by some references in Hudson's Bay Company records to his attempt to reserve the coal. The naval records show that the only Vancouver Island coal Courtenay ever saw was some obtained by *HMS Cormorant* at Beaver Harbour in 1846 with the help of Natives of the area, which had been left at Fort Victoria. He drafted a proclamation, which he reproduced in his ship's log on August 17, claiming the coal beds for the crown, but rather than going to the north of the island himself, he simply asked the Hudson's Bay Company to post it at Beaver Harbour. This was viewed, however, as unnecessary and an interference with its rights by the company, which was already making its own plans to exploit the coal, and in the next year founded Fort Rupert in order to begin mining operations.

While Courtenay is not to be credited with the Vancouver Island surveys and expeditions sometimes attributed to him, in another way his visit sheds light on the knowledge then possessed of the island by Europeans. He endeavoured to gain information by directing a series of questions about the island to Roderick Finlayson, and then recorded the replies. Finlayson's responses reveal that at this date, five years after the foundation of Fort Victoria, Europeans knew relatively little of the island beyond the area around Victoria, and scarcely anything of the central part of the east coast. When Courtenay enquired about the harbours of the island, Finlayson stated that the only ones on the east coast were "Shuchartee, Beaver Harbr, McNeil's Harbour, and Beaver Cove." When he asked about rivers, Finlayson replied that the only one known at present on the island "in any way navigable" was the "Nunkis", i.e., Nimpkish. When he enquired about tribes of Natives, Finlayson again jumped over the central part of the east coast from the "Kawitchen" to the "Uchulta" (the Lekwiltok commonly termed Eucletas or Yacultas in this period), which he located on Johnstone Strait. He made no reference to any Native group or geographical feature between Cowichan and Cape Mudge.

It is possible of course that Finlayson may not have been telling all he knew. Courtenay complained to Admiral Hornby: "there appears to be the greatest reluctance or fear on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company's Servants to afford information." But Finlayson's replies to Courtenay's questions are not inconsistent with other records of the state of the company's knowledge at the time. Such historians as Margaret Ormsby and Richard Mackie have pointed out that when the company, foreseeing the loss of the Columbia region to the Americans, founded Fort Victoria as a prospective headquarters and depot for the fur trade in 1843, it was not at first much interested in exploration or exploitation of the island. It was slow to investigate the east coast even as far as Cowichan. Douglas did not receive reports of good agricultural land at Cowichan until 1849, and the first exploration of that area for the company was not made until 1851 by J.W. McKay. Although the Nanaimo area had been visited by Spanish explorers in 1791-92, the company's serious investigation of that place did not begin until it learned of the coal there in 1850.

Roderick Finlayson
BC Archives photo A-01270

The legend of Courtenay's survey of the Comox district would be of some historical interest if accurate because that area seems to have remained unknown to Europeans until explorations by the Hudson's Bay Company in the early 1850s, and its coastline remained uncharted until a survey by the Royal Navy at the end of that decade. The conspicuous white cliffs at the end of the Comox peninsula had been sighted by José Maria Narvaez of the Eliza expedition in July 1791, who placed them on his chart as Punta de Laso de la Vega, later known as Cape Lazo, but he did not make a close approach to the area; nor did Captain Vancouver, since he was engaged in exploring the opposite side of the strait in search of the northwest passage. Exploration by Europeans of Comox does not appear to have extended any further for the next sixty years. As late as the 1850s ships navigating the Strait of Georgia still tended to follow Vancouver's course and charts, which kept them away from the east coast of the island south of Seymour Narrows. In 1854 James Douglas reported to the Royal Geographical Society that because of the "extreme incorrectness" of the maps of the east coast and adjacent islands ships even between Victoria and the Hudson's Bay Company's new post at Nanaimo followed the long round-about route of Captain Vancouver.

It may seem surprising today that the Comox district remained unknown to Europeans until a later time than places now considered much more remote, but the reasons why it was bypassed both by the

Captain George Henry Richards, HMS Plumper
BC Archives A-03352

Hudson's Bay Company and the Royal Navy until some years after the survey mistakenly supposed to have been conducted by Captain Courtenay are not difficult to discover. The Hudson's Bay Company records show that for many years the company neglected the east coast of Vancouver Island and other parts of the Strait of Georgia because it considered them unprofitable for the fur trade. As the Spanish explorers had already noted in the 1790s, the specially prized sea otter was not found in the strait, and the company concluded at an early date that beaver were not plentiful there. In 1825 John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver instructed Captain Hanwell of the trading brig *William and Ann* to avoid the inside of Vancouver Island, and even the founding of Fort Langley on the Fraser in 1827 did not at first much change the company's policy, as the journals of the fort show. In fact the killing of a sailor and wounding of another from the company's trading schooner *Cadboro* when they were getting water for the ship somewhere on the Vancouver Island coast between Comox and Cape Mudge in 1827, though probably the result of an attack by a roving group of Natives from further north, added to the sense that the area was best avoided. From 1836 the company's steamship the Beaver passed from time to time through the strait, but so far as can be determined from the surviving logs, it kept well away from the east coast of the island south of Cape Mudge. Not only were the mariners still influenced by Vancouver's precedent, even though they did not always remain so close as he did to the mainland, but Captain W.H. McNeill of the Beaver regarded this part of the east coast as barren and rocky, and, as Sir George Simpson noted in 1841, he favoured a course that took his vessel by way of Texada Island, as providing the best and most accessible supplies of wood for steamship fuel.

The Hudson's Bay Company's interest in the east coast of the island developed only with the discovery of the coal fields there. After the first attempts at mining at Fort Rupert proved disappointing, the company in 1852 shifted its mining operations primarily to the better coal seams recently discovered at Nanaimo. On September 30, 1852, J.W. McKay, in charge of the Nanaimo post, wrote to Douglas that he had learned of the discovery of a seam of coal at Comox: "in the country of the Siklaults, a branch of the Comocs tribe who live on a river in the vicinity of point Holmes." On October 10 he went there by canoe to investigate, and reported to Douglas the existence of the bay and river and large prairies of fertile land. On August 24-25, 1853, Douglas, accompanied by McKay and the surveyor Joseph Pemberton, went to make his own exploration of the area in the *Otter*, the company's second steamship, which had recently arrived on the coast, and he left a description in his diary emphasizing the agricultural potential of the area. These accounts by McKay and Douglas both make it clear that the Comox district had previously been unknown to them. The company's unfamiliarity with this part of the coast is shown also by the fact that on this occasion the *Otter*, as its log shows, employed "an Indian Chief" as pilot.

Contrary to the legend of Courtenay's survey at Comox, the Royal Navy was even later in approaching that area than the Hudson's Bay Company. Other naval officers agreed with Courtenay that entry to the Strait of Georgia was too hazardous for large sailing vessels. When in January 1853 a force of sailors and marines from the frigate *HMS Thetis* was dispatched to Cowichan and Nanaimo in search of two Natives wanted for murder, it was transported by the Hudson's Bay Company's *Beaver* because, as one of the officers, John Moresby, reported, the navigation was "quite unsuitable and impossible for a sailing frigate." From the 1840s the navy had some steam powered ships on the Pacific Station, and they occasionally passed through the Strait of Georgia, but the logs of these ships before 1859 record no closer approaches to Comox than views from some distance of the prominent landmark spotted by Narvaez in 1791, Cape Lazo, sometimes given the alternative name Point Holmes. On September 22, 1846, *HMS Cormorant*, en route to investigate the coal deposits on northern Vancouver Island, passed "Point Home." On March 26, 1850, *HMS Driver*, on its way to investigate troubles at the new Fort Rupert, passed "Pt Lazo." *HMS Virago* passed through the strait three times en route to and from the north in May, June, and July, 1853; and on July 23 the log recorded that the ship was "Abreast Point Holmes." On June 10 its master, George Inskip, noted in his journal: "the White Cliff at Pt Lazo (Holmes) was very conspicuous." In following a course that kept them away from the Vancouver Island shore, the navigators were influenced by the precedent of the Hudson's Bay Company as well as by that of Captain Vancouver: the Cormorant and the Virago were both guided by experienced Hudson's Bay Company pilots, James Sangster and Charles Stuart; and Commander James Prevost of the *Virago* reported to Admiral Fairfax Moresby that, as the company had long held, "Favada" (Texada) was the best place to procure wood for steamships. There is nothing in the logs and reports of these three paddle sloops, as they were termed, to suggest any knowledge of Comox Bay or

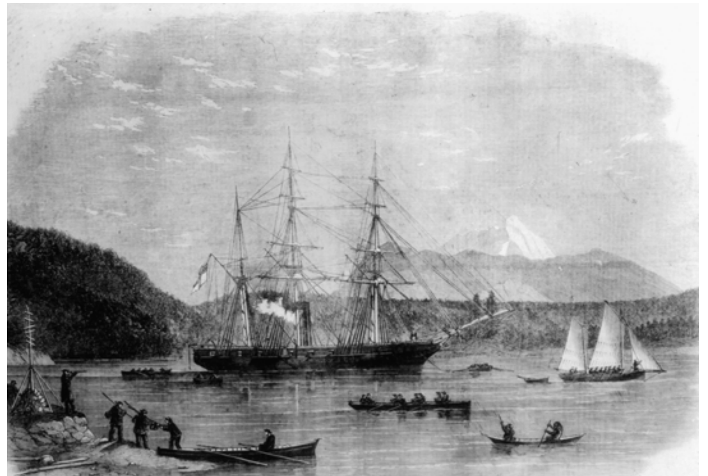
the valley at its head with the river later named for Courtenay.

The navy does not seem to have made a close approach to the Comox district until March 1859, when the frigate *HMS Tribune*, which had steam power as well as sails, under the command of Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby (son of the Admiral Hornby who had been Courtenay's commander-in-chief), anchored for a short time off Hornby Island, while engaged in escorting to the north Haidas who had been ordered away from the vicinity of Victoria. In reminiscences written many years later one of the ship's officers, Francis Norman, stated that they had not known at the time that this was an island, but the log of the *Tribune* shows that they did in fact realize it, and entered their location as "Outer Llerena Island," a version of the name Lerena that appears on the Narvaez charts. They remained anchored there just one complete day, Sunday, March 27, when they held divine service. Their mission did not allow time for further exploration, but a few months later the Comox area was included in the extensive coastal survey carried out by Captain George H. Richards in the steam sloop *HMS Plumper*.

The Comox survey is quite well documented. It took place primarily in three phases in September 7-9 and October 12-28, 1859, and April 13-20, 1860. During these periods the *Plumper* remained anchored, mainly in Baynes Sound and Henry Bay (at the north end of the island entered in the ship's log in 1859 as Komax Island and in 1860 as Denman), and sent out men in small boats day after day to survey the coastline and take numerous soundings. While maps of this part of the coast had previously been very vague and wildly inaccurate, the 1859-60 survey resulted in a very detailed and accurate chart of Comox Bay and the adjacent coastline. The naval surveyors placed on the map not only the name Port Augusta for Comox Bay, which has not remained in use, but also Courtenay for the river, which has endured.

Much of the local exploration was carried out by Lieutenant Richard C. Mayne, who records the name Courtenay as given to the river in the autumn of 1859. He writes in his journal that on October 21 he "worked up to Courtenay River," and mentions that Richards had already been into the river. In April 16-17, 1860, Mayne himself went up the river with four Natives in a canoe, and he left several interesting accounts of his exploration of the district, including some indications of the views taken by the Natives of the incursions on the land they had long inhabited. He records that the Native name for the river was Tzooom or TzM-O-Mme and that a main branch was called the Pknt-lkch (the name by which McKay in 1852 and Douglas in 1853 had known the river as a whole). Versions of these names as Tsolum and Puntledge were subsequently adopted for the two branches which flow together to form the river renamed by the naval surveyors the Courtenay.

Courtenay seems to have been one of the first new place names assigned in the area by these surveyors, since it appears in Mayne's journal in 1859, at a date when Denman Island is still entered in the *Plumper's* log as Komax Island, and Hornby apparently as Kaka Island; and it is already found on an early version of the new chart which has few other local place names. There is nothing to suggest that Richards and Mayne supposed Captain (now Admiral) Courtenay to have any connection with the Comox area. They probably intended to commemorate him for what he was best remembered for by naval officers on Vancouver Island during the period, as captain of the first Royal Navy ship to anchor at Esquimalt, and they may have viewed him in 1859 as a venerable survivor of Nelson's navy. Three years later the officers of *HMS Grappler*, the gunboat that brought the first group of European settlers, attracted to the Comox Valley by the good naturally clear agricultural land, recorded their arrival in the ship's log on October 2, 1862 (misspelling Courtenay's name as many others have done): "Anchored at Mouth of Courtney River" and "Disembarked Settlers." The town gradually established by these settlers and their successors on the banks of the river took its name from the river, and so the name Courtenay gained wider currency. •



HMS Plumper, *showing naval surveyors at work in Johnstone Strait, 1860, just after the Comox Survey. Engraving after sketch by Edward P. Bedwell, second master.* ***BC Archives PDP-00257.***

The Swede Who Beat Death Rapids

By Bill Laux

Before the dams were built in the 1960s and 1970s the Columbia River between today's Revelstoke and Boat Encampment presented a series of eight rapids, feared by both the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) boatmen and the later miners of 1866 Big Bend Gold Rush. Ascending the Columbia in their York boats built at the Colvile HBC Post, men would first encounter the Big Eddy, just above present Revelstoke. Here the river running swiftly swung into a closed pocket formed by a rocky bluff directly across the course of the river. The current swirled in a large counter-clockwise motion until, turning back on itself, it escaped with an abrupt swing to the right. If caught in this powerful and often violent eddy, a boat might circle for hours before escaping. Directly above Big Eddy boatmen encountered First Rapids, a long rocky stretch of tumbling water. These were later named Steamboat Rapids to commemorate their holing of the sternwheeler, *Forty Nine* in 1869.

Columbia River at the head of Dalles Des Morts
BC Archives I-33424

Ascending this rapids in a York boat, two men would remain in the boat to fend off rocks with poles while the others would scramble ashore to haul her through with a line made fast to the bow. The flat bottom and raked square bow and stern of the York boats favoured lining though, since the craft was designed to be dragged over rocks and ledges.

Once past these rapids the Columbia emerged from a deep box canyon and rapids called Little Dalles. (There was also an American "Little Dalles" between Fort Colvile and present Northport, Washington. "Dalles" was the French term for a steep-sided rocky defile, what later Westerners would call a "Box Canyon.")

Here, under the precipitous cliffs, this water, running even more swiftly than First Rapids, had to be carefully lined through. Two more short rapids would be encountered in the next two miles, one below and one above the mouth of Coursier Creek. Once passed, the boats could be rowed again to Eighteen Mile Rapids where lining through would be required again.

Above Downie Creek the most difficult water on the Columbia would be encountered. The first was Priest Rapids, then, shortly above it, the rock walls closed in to form a box canyon and here the boatmen found themselves in the Upper Dalles, or Grand (Death) Rapids where the Columbia River poured through a narrow cleft in the rocks at the upper end and rushed violently down a rock-strewn passage. To pass Grand Rapids the boats would have to be beached and unloaded. Their cargoes would have to be carried on men's shoulders up to the top of the canyon walls and a difficult portage made around the Dalles to a landing place above them. When this was done, the empty boats would be lined through with two men aboard fending off the rocks with long poles and another two on the shore pulling the line. Above Grand Rapids was a short section of calm water and then Twelve Mile Rapids, again requiring loaded boats to be lined through.

Coming downstream, the Grand Rapids could be run by skilful boatmen during the high water season, May through July, when the dangerous rocks would be submerged. During low water the cargo was portaged and the emptied York boats were carefully let down though on ropes with men ashore keeping the boat off the rocks with poles.

All but Steamboat Rapids are today drowned by the Revelstoke Dam Reservoir but in the days of the York boats the Upper Dalles with its Grand Rapids was the most feared of all the water passages on the Columbia.

Northwester Alexander Ross, then with the HBC, describes an ascent of Grand Rapids in 1825.

"They are about two miles in length, and at the head, an abrupt bend, the most dangerous part. Here the channel, scarcely 40 yards broad, presents a succession of white breakers, and a portage of 150 yards must be made where everything but the boats has to be carried. At the bend or narrowest part of this intricate passage the river appears to have forced a passage though the solid rock but the huge sides of the yawning chasm seem to threaten to resume their position by closing up the gap.

The land portage is no less difficult and but little less dangerous... and after three hours labour we landed our boats safely at the upper end."

Ross Cox, another HBC trader, describes how Grand Rapids got the name of "Death Rapids" in 1817. He had ascended the Columbia and the rapids in that year but on reaching Boat Encampment seven of the party were found to be so weak from illness that there was no question of them being able to make the crossing of the Rockies. They were therefore given a canoe and ordered back to Fort Colvile. Cox describes what happened to them as it was told to him three years later by the men at the fort.

"They drove rapidly down current to the Upper Dalles

where they disembarked . A cod-line was tied to the canoe's stern and two men preceded it ashore with poles to fend it from the rocks. About half-way down the canoe caught a current, was swirled around and the line snapped. The canoe was engulfed in a second and upon reappearing was smashed instantly. They had not the prudence to take out the blankets or provisions, and thus they were left without life's necessaries."

The men, in poor physical condition, attempted to continue downstream afoot but without any trail and without food, they quickly weakened, only able to travel two or three miles a day. On the third day, according to the account given by the single survivor, La Pierre, one died and his remains were eaten by the others. One by one, La Pierre reported, the others dropped and were consumed by those remaining. Finally, he said, only he and Dubois were left and somewhere near present Arrowhead Dubois sprang on him with a knife. However, as La Pierre told it after being rescued by Sinixt Natives, he got possession of the knife and in self defence, killed Dubois .

The Sinixt Natives did not believe this story and after locating the bodies of the others nearby, they concluded from visible wounds that all had been murdered. La Pierre was sent back east with a Native witness to be tried for murder. The court, however, acquitted him for lack of evidence, Native statements, apparently not being regarded as trustworthy by the Easterners.

The remains of the men were buried at Arrowhead and crosses erected which were visible from the river for many years after. From this tragedy the Upper Dalles or Grand Rapids were from that time on known as Death Rapids or "Dalles des Morts."

The next tragedy occurred in 1838. Father Norbert Blanchet left Montreal on May 3 1838 bound for the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver accompanying a brigade of HBC traders. At St. Boniface he was joined by Father Modeste Demers. They continued with the brigade to Norway House. Leaving that place in eleven boats loaded with merchandise the party comprised a considerable number of men, women and children, perhaps fifty, all bound for Fort Vancouver. Included were two British botanists, Peter Banks and Robert Wallace who had his wife with him. They reached Edmonton and transferred to horses for the next stretch to Fort Assiniboine where they took boats for Jasper House.

By October 9 they were at Athabaska Pass at the summit of the Rockies. On October 14 they reached Boat Encampment. Here they found only two boats when such a large party would require four. It was decided that one third of the party would remain at Boat Encampment while the two boats would go down the river and unload at House of the Lakes (probably present Pingston where there was a short-lived mission.) Then the boats were to return for the remainder.

On loading the boats for the second trip there proved to be scant room for the passengers . Twenty-six people crammed into the second boat, substantially overloading it. On entering Death Rapids the boat filled with water from the standing waves thrown up by the rocks underneath. The boatmen were able to beach their craft, empty the water and re-launch it. But on entering the rapids again the boat at once began shipping water. The passengers were terrified. The botanist, Wallace, in panic, took his wife in his arms and jumped. This, according to Father Blanchet's account, upset the boat, capsizing it and all were thrown into the water. Some managed to cling to the overturned boat which had caught on a rock. Fourteen were eventually pulled ashore but twelve drowned including botanist Wallace and his wife and all the children in the party.

Only the three children's bodies were ever found and given burial. The survivors continued on in their patched-up boat and with the others reached Fort Vancouver on November 24.

On April 29, 1846 Captain Henry Warre, a British Officer on a secret mission to investigate the relative military strengths of Americans and British in the Oregon Territory in case the boundary dispute came to war, ascended Death Rapids. While his men lined the emptied boat though, Captain Warre made a watercolour sketch of the process. This he later published along with a number of other watercolours in *Sketches of North America and the Oregon Territory*.

Father de Smet ascended Death Rapids on May 19, three weeks after Captain Warre and left us his description.

"The waters are compressed between a range of perpendicular rocks presenting innumerable crags, fissures and cliffs through which the Columbia leaps with irresistible impetuosity, foaming as it dashes along, frightful whirlpools where every passing object is swallowed up and disappears."

In 1861 gold was reported from the streams entering the Columbia below Big Bend. By 1863 the news was out and groups of miners from the Wild Horse diggings and from Colville (Colville is the American town; Colvile was the HBC fort.) Washington, rushed to the Columbia and bought or

Hauling up a rapid (les Dalles Des Morts) on the Columbia River
BC Archives PDP-00057

rented every boat they could find. All began rowing and paddling up the Columbia in a mad scramble to get to the placer grounds first. Small settlements grew up around Downie Creek and above Death Rapids at French Creek. These men, carrying their supplies with them, undoubtedly found it necessary to portage the Little Dalles and the other rapids , lining their boats through. Many had bought idle York boats at HBC Fort Colvile , unused since the route over the Rockies had been discontinued. The former HBC boatmen, some of whom were then farming around Colville, were probably interrogated by the parties of miners about the river they would have to ascend and were surely warned about Death Rapids.

While the miners from Colville were contending with the Columbia's rapids , British Columbia's Governor Seymour in 1865 sent out Walter Moberly to cut a trail from Shuswap Lake to those Big Bend placer diggings and to explore for other routes to the Kootenays. After cutting the trail, Moberly took a boat down the Columbia to replenish his supplies at HBC Fort Shepherd. He describes the trip down stream from Downie Creek.

"We were swept along at a great rate and at last found the river getting narrow, with high rocky banks and overhanging cliffs. I was in the middle of the canoe taking bearings, estimating distances etc., the Indian boy in the bow and Perry steering. The boy suddenly exclaimed. "Bad water. All will be killed." He drew in his paddle and lay down in the bottom of the canoe. I crawled across him and getting hold of the paddle and I managed to keep the canoe out of the whirls, etc. that threatened to suck us down. At one moment we were on the edge of one of these dangerous places and the next swept a hundred yards away by a tremendous "boil." Sometimes one end of the canoe became the bow, at other times the opposite end but at length we reached a little sandy cove and landed in still water. We had run the Little Dalles without knowing it."

In 1865 the hurriedly constructed American sternwheeler *Forty Nine* began carrying men and supplies up to the Big Bend Camps. Its fearless Captain, Leonard White, was able to line through Little Dalles with the steam powered capstan on the foredeck. Crewmen were put ashore with a long rope; which they made fast to a tree. Then with men on board fending off rocks with poles, the steam capstan was turned and the vessel was winched up the steep pitches of water. At Death Rapids, however, Captain White, after inspecting the passage ahead, declined to attempt it. Even by lining with steam power, he judged, no boat could manage to pull herself through the twisting cleft in the rock through which the full force of the Columbia dashed. Death Rapids was established as the head of navigation on the Canadian Lower Columbia and from then on all supplies were off-loaded at a flat below Priest Rapids called La Porte. From there they were forwarded by pack train to the mines.

In 1866 another tragedy was enacted at Death Rapids. On May 19 a group of miners left McCulloch Creek heading downriver in an old Hudson's Bay Company's York boat. The boat, with twenty-five men aboard, was severely overloaded . When they entered Death Rapids the four men rowing became paralysed with fright as their craft began shipping water from the standing waves just as with the 1838 party. With no one rowing the boat lost steerage and drifted into a whirling boil of water. There it capsized. Sixteen men of the party were drowned. Four clung to the bottom of their overturned boat until some Natives helped them ashore. Five more had made it to shore and walked out of the canyon at the lower end.. After that disaster any miners heading downstream took care to portage Death Rapids.

The Big Bend was over by 1867 with all but a very few miners returning downriver to their Colville area ranches to await the next big strike.

For the next 18 years the Big Bend was virtually empty with only a few Chinese miners chartering the *Forty Nine* each spring to take them to the diggings abandoned by the white miners and hiring it again in the fall to bring them back.

It was the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway that once more brought substantial numbers

of men to the Canadian Columbia. When the contractors arrived at Golden on the Upper Columbia in 1884 they were supplied from Spokane Falls via pack train with no attempt made to navigate the sinister Death Rapids.

Among the contractors were the Abrahamson brothers, Andrew, Charles and John, who were stone cutters and bridge builders. They had immigrated from their home in Dorslund, Sweden to the US in 1880. Two years later they came to Winnipeg where railroad construction offered work for bridge builders. They followed CPR construction west, taking bridge construction contracts and operating a profitable tent hotel to house and feed the workers. In 1884 they and their tent hotel were at Donald. From there, the next large bridge was to be built at what the CPR called Second Crossing, the town site of Farwell (later to become Revelstoke.) The Abrahamson brothers folded up their tent hotel and had it packed across the Rogers Pass on the unfinished railway grade to Second Crossing. However the packers would not take their heavy billiard table, the chief attraction and money maker of their hotel. This was probably the only billiard table between Calgary and Kamloops and they did not intend to part with it. Andrew volunteered to take it by boat around the Big Bend of the Columbia.

Somewhere he secured a boat, probably a scow with oars. He loaded the billiard table and taking his dog, Watch, and his cat, Mollie, he set off down a river wholly unknown to him to rejoin his brothers at Second Crossing. As the Hudson's Bay Company men and the miners of 1864 had departed long before there was no one at Beavermouth to tell him of the rapids that lay ahead.

It was the First of May 1885 when he set off, a time of year when the Columbia had not yet risen with the spring runoff and Death Rapids, at low water, would be full of rocks and whirlpools.

When Andrew rowing his scow into that twisting cleft that led to Death Rapids felt it suddenly lurch down the steep pitch of water, like Moberly, sixteen years before , he could do nothing but try to fend off the worst of the rocks and paddle his way out of the whirlpools. Somehow he made it through. He never told anyone how and like Moberly at Little Dalles, he would say he had run Death Rapids without knowing it.

On May 8, Abrahamson reached Second Crossing with his dog and his cat and the billiard table. The day before a great fire had wiped out half the camp. Hotels were badly needed and the Abrahamson Brothers set up their canvas shelter forty feet square on Front Street in what everyone but the CPR called Farwell. They called it the Central Hotel and by winter had built up a wood framework around it faced with split cedar shakes.

The town of Farwell on the Columbia River
BC Archives I-30817

The Abrahamnson brothers settled permanently in Farwell/Revelstoke and prospered with their hotel. When, five years later, it was proposed to prospect the unexplored Lardeau country to the south to search for ores with which to supply the languishing Revelstoke smelter, it was the laconic Andrew who again took up the challenge. Dropping off the sternwheel steamer *Lytton* at Arrowhead with his dog and his cat he set off on foot into the still unexplored wilderness of the Lardeau to find a spot to build a hotel where he could put up the prospectors who he was sure would arrive.

At Trout Lake he built his hotel and with his brothers, pre-empted a town site they called Trout Lake City. The prospectors arrived the next year. The Abrahamnson brothers and Trout Lake City prospered as the Lardeau mining boom began. The hotel, one can be sure, included a billiard table. •

Feast & Famine:
Salmon and the fur trade in New Caledonia

by Rod N. Palmer

Rod Palmer is a retired Fisheries and Oceans Canada biologist and fishery manager with an interest in the historyof fisheries research and management in BC

In that portion of north central British Columbia which was known as New Caledonia1 during the fur trade era, salmon were essential to the survival of both the fur traders and the Native people. At Fort St. James, Fort Fraser, Fort Alexandria, Fort Babine and other Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) establishments in New Caledonia, the officers of the company went to great effort and expense to bring enough salmon into their storerooms but frequently found them in short supply. Although the HBC people occasionally caught their own fish, most were purchased from their aboriginal trading partners.

The Native people of New Caledonia made good use of weirs (fences) to capture their salmon supply. At the outlets of Stuart Lake, Fraser Lake and Babine Lake, weirs were built across the rivers to divert salmon into traps where they were easily caught. Smaller weirs were employed on some of the tributaries. The mainstem Fraser River at Fort Alexandria is too big to cross the river with a weir but various diversion fences and traps were installed along the river bank.[2]

There is a commonly held belief that salmon were always abundant in earlier times before the development of commercial fisheries to supply the canneries. The HBC journals and reports from the fur trade era, however, tell a different story. More often than not, salmon were scarce in the Fraser River tributaries of New Caledonia. Periods of short rations and starvation were not uncommon for both the HBC employees and the Native people.

In the Report of New Caledonia 1826, Chief Factor William Connolly at Stuart Lake (Fort St. James) described the essential need for salmon but, at the same time, expressed a poor opinion of dried salmon as a staple diet.

"For subsistence however the greatest dependence is upon salmon, these fish ascend the rivers from the ocean in greater or less abundance every summer, and without them neither the whites or natives could exist, as no other kind of food can be procured in quantities any way suited to the necessary expenditure. In years of scarcity much distress is felt. These fish in the manner they are cured are neither wholesome nor palatable they are merely split and often after being in a putrified state and hung up in the sun to dry. They are procured in greatest quantities in the Babine and Fraser Lakes. Stuart's Lake frequently fails, and at Alexandria from the difficulty the Indians have in catching it, very seldom more are procured than are required for the consumption of the place."[3]

Two species of salmon are present in the Fraser River tributaries of New Caledonia, chinook, the largest of the Pacific salmon, and the smaller but much more abundant sockeye. Sockeye salmon were the major food source for both the aboriginal people and the fur traders in New Caledonia. The principal sockeye salmon stocks of the Fraser River above Fort Alexandria spawn in the Quesnel River system, the Stuart River system and in tributaries to Fraser Lake and Francois Lake on the Nechako River system.

The life history of Fraser River sockeye salmon provides us with the reasons for the great year- to-year fluctuations in abundance. Since most Fraser River sockeye salmon return to their natal rivers to spawn and die in four- year cycles, there are essentially four separate populations which reproduce independently. For example, the progeny of the fish that spawned and died in a Fraser River tributary in the autumn of 2003 will return to the same stream to spawn in 2007. When the commercial net fishery was started in the 1870's, the fishermen and canners were faced with large annual fluctuations in the supply of sockeye salmon. A pattern emerged of one year of great abundance followed by a year of moderate return and two years of low returns. This pattern of one very large cycle is known to fisheries scientists as cyclic dominance. The average run on the dominant cycle in the five generations from 1897 to 1913 has been estimated at 26 million fish.[4] During the same period, returns in the other three cycles were in the order of five to seven million fish. Fisheries scientist, W.E. Ricker, has provided evidence that returns on the dominant cycle may have been much larger than previously estimated. He concluded that the sockeye population in the big cycle years may have averaged in the order of 100 million fish.[5]

This cyclic pattern was disrupted in 1913 when the Fraser Canyon was blocked with rock dumped into the river during construction of the Canadian Northern Pacific Railway (later Canadian National Railway). The big run of 1913 was blocked in the canyon and few made it to the spawning grounds above. After 1913, all four cycles remained at a low level for many years but a program of rehabilitation, starting with the construction of fishways to ease the passage of salmon through the canyon, has resulted in substantial restoration of the sockeye runs. As the various populations have increased in abundance, cyclic dominance has reappeared but, on some stocks, has shifted to other cycles.

Native Fish Weir on Fraser Lake
BC Archives F-0065

In the 1950's, biologists of the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission examined references to salmon in the journals and reports of the HBC and concluded that this pattern of cyclic dominance existed in the Stuart and Fraser-Francois Lake systems at least as early as the 1820's.[6] They noted that sockeye salmon were abundant in the Stuart River system in the dominant cycle years , i.e., 1825, 1829, etc., and that two years out of four were almost a complete failure. They also noted that the Fraser-Francois runs often failed in the year before the big year but had abundant returns on the dominant cycle and moderate returns on the other two cycles. Entries in the Fort Alexandria journals illustrate that sockeye were abundant in the dominant cycle years, sometimes fairly abundant in the year following the dominant year and were generally scarce on the other two cycles.[7] The Native fisheries in the vicinity of Fort Alexandria had access to sockeye runs to the Quesnel River system as well as the Stuart River and Fraser- Francois runs. In general, the available records for New Caledonia during the seventy-year period 1820 to 1869 illustrate that sockeye salmon were consistently abundant in the dominant cycle years, of variable abundance in the year immediately following the big year and were scarce in the other two cycles.

It is not known how cyclic dominance may have developed but a number of factors may be involved in maintaining this consistent pattern of big and small sockeye runs. Biological factors such as fluctuations in the food supply in the lakes and predation may prevent the low years from increasing. For example, predators such as trout would likely kill a larger portion of the young salmon from a small run than from a large run. Also, it is very likely that harvest by humans is a major reason why the low years have remained low. Since in earlier times the Native people of the Fraser River depended on salmon for survival they would have attempted to harvest what they needed for food and trade regardless of the run size. The Native fishery would probably have caught a greater portion of the sockeye run in years of scarcity than they would have taken in years of abundance.[8]

Estimates presented by anthropologist James Mooney in 1928 indicate that the Native population of the Fraser River system was about 25,000 in the late eighteenth-century.[9] More recent studies suggest that the population may have been even larger than estimated by Mooney.[10] Also, an estimated 5,000 Native people from Vancouver Island and other coastal areas visited the Fraser River each summer to harvest salmon.[11] Annual salmon consumption by the Native people in that era has been estimated at 500 to 1,000 pounds per capita.[12] Based on fresh fish weight the estimated consumption would equate to about one hundred to two hundred sockeye per person per year. If consumption by Native people was similar to the rations allocated at HBC establishments, these estimates may be low. Reported HBC rations have varied from one salmon per day for a child to four for a man.[13]

While sockeye salmon were the most important food source in New Caledonia, substantial numbers of other salmon species were utilized by the people of the lower Fraser River. However, Native fisheries which extended from the Fraser River estuary to the tributaries of New Caledonia could have harvested a substantial portion of the sockeye salmon population in years of low abundance and, thereby, prevented the low cycle years from increasing in abundance. In particular, the salmon destined for Stuart and Fraser Lakes would have been heavily exploited by this gauntlet of fishermen. By the time the commercial salmon fishery developed in the 1870's the Native population had declined as a result of introduced European diseases and fewer salmon would have

References and Notes

1. New Caledonia has been defined as the area of north central British Columbia lying between the 52nd and 57th degrees of latitude. See G.P.V. & Helen B. Akrigg. 1973. *1001 British Columbia Place Names*. 3rd. Edition. Discovery Press. Vancouver. Hudson's Bay company establishments in New Caledonia included Fort Alexandria, Fort St. James, Fort Fraser, Fort George, McLeod Lake, Fort Babine and Fort Connolly.

2. For descriptions of fishing methods see A.C. Anderson. c.1860. British Columbia. Unpublished Manuscript. PABC Add Mss 559 Vol 2.

3. Extracts from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives documents on Search Files Folder 2 Salmon Fishery - Fraser River. Report of New Caledonia 1826. Note: HBC Search Files Folders 1 and 2 contain extracts of references to salmon in HBC journals, reports and correspondence relevant to the Fraser River system.

4. Report of the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission for the Year 1978.

5. W.E. Ricker, Effects of the Fishery and of Obstacles to Migration on the Abundance of Fraser River Sockeye Salmon (Oncorhynchus nerka). Canadian Technical Report of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences No. 1522: 75p. 1987.

6. International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission Annual Reports 1952 and 1954.

7. Search File Folder 1 Salmon Fishery - Fraser River. Fort Alexandria Journals 1824 - 1864.

8. For a more detailed discussion of factors affecting sockeye salmon cycles see Robert L. Burgner. Life History of Sockeye Salmon (Oncorhynchus nerka) in *Pacific Salmon Life Histories*. C. Groot and L. Margolis Editors. UBC Press. 1991.

9. James Mooney. *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico*. Smithsonian Institution.

Miscellaneous Collections 80, Publication 2955. 1928. p. 26-30.

10. Robert T. Boyd. Demographic History, 1774-1874. In Suttles ed. Northwest Coast. p. 135.

11. *Fort Langley Journal*, June 27, 1827 - July 30, 1830. Transcribed by Winnifreda MacIntosh. Archives of British Columbia. Also see Wilson Duff. *The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser River of B.C. Anthropology in British Columbia Memoir No. 1.* British Columbia Provincial Museum. 1952.

12. Gordon W. Hewes. *Indian Fisheries Productivity in Pre-contact Times in the Pacific Salmon Area. Northwest Anthropological Research Notes Volume 7.* University of Colorado. 1973. P. 133-150

13. In the *Fort St. James Report for 1822-23*, James Stuart stated that the allowance for a man was four salmon per day with four more required for his dogs. HBC Archives B188/e/1. In November 1840, the daily ration at Fort St. James was 54 salmon for 14 men, four women and 11 children, down from a full allowance of 74 salmon (an average of 2.5 salmon per person). *Journal of Stuarts Lake* (Fort St. James). Peter Skene Ogden in charge. HBC Archives B188/a/19. As recorded in Search File Folder 2 Salmon Fishery- Fraser River. In the Thompson Rivet District in 1827, the daily ration was three for a man two for a woman and one for a child. *Thompson River District Report to the Governor and Council Northern Development Rupert's Land*, 1827. As quoted by Cicely Lyons. *Salmon Our Heritage: the Story of a Province and an Industry.* Mitchell Press. Vancouver. 1969. p.47.

14. New Caledonia District Accounts - Outfit 1836-37. B188/d/15. Search Files Folder 2. Salmon Fishery - Fraser River.

15. In 1806 Stuart Lake Post was established by Simon Fraser of the North West Company and became a Hudson's Bay Company post in the amalgamation of the two companies in1821. It was renamed Fort St. James in 1822. See G.P.V. & Helen B. Akrigg.

been harvested. The commercial fishery soon filled the gap, harvesting a large portion of the low year sockeye runs.

Compared to the total consumption of salmon by the Native population, the requirements of the HBC establishments were relatively low. For most years, it is not possible obtain an accurate estimate of salmon consumption in New Caledonia but annual consumption probably did not exceed 100,000 fish. The *New Caledonia District Accounts* for 1836-37 provide a count of dried salmon in 1836 when a reported 67,318 were consumed.[14]

The frequent shortages of salmon in the Fraser River tributaries forced the officers of the HBC to look elsewhere for their salmon. The posts of New Caledonia soon became dependent on salmon purchased at Babine Lake to supplement their annual food supply. The Native people of Babine Lake made effective use of weirs at the lake outlet to harvest their annual supply of salmon and in most years had a surplus to trade.

The Babine River system is the main sockeye producing tributary of the Skeena River and hundreds of thousands of fish migrate to Babine Lake each year. Although there were natural fluctuations in annual abundance during the fur trade era, the sockeye runs to Babine Lake were found to be more consistent than those of the upper Fraser River. Unlike the upper Fraser River sockeye which return mostly at age four, the Babine sockeye runs are made up of a mix of four and five year old fish and, therefore, each annual return includes fish from two spawning populations. This provides opportunities for a year of poor salmon survival to be offset by a subsequent year of good survival.

Babine Lake was first visited by fur traders in January 1812 when Daniel Harmon and James McDougall, officers of the North West Company, led an expedition over the ice from Stuart Lake Post (Fort St. James).[15] They were likely the first non-Native people to explore the Skeena River system.[16] After this visit there were annual trading expeditions to Babine Lake and, in 1822, a fort was established on the lake.[17] The original fort was built under the leadership of Chief Trader William Brown on the north shore of Babine Lake at the point where the lake is split into two arms, one leading to the outlet and the other leading up to Morrison Creek. In the early years the fort was known as Fort Kilmaurs but in later years was generally known as Fort Babine or Babine Post. In 1871, the fort was relocated to a site closer to the

Cleaning salmon at Stuart Lake
BC Archives I-33184

Babine Lake outlet and the fishery.[18]

When William Brown arrived at Babine Lake in 1822 to establish the new post, the Babine people were reluctant to supply the salmon he needed to provision the establishment. Only when he threatened to leave the country and never return to trade did they begin to bring sufficient salmon to sustain them.[19] By 1825, however, the trade for salmon was well established and, in that year, Brown had procured 44,000 salmon by early November.[20] By1829, horses and sleigh were used to transport salmon over the nine mile long portage between the south end of Babine Lake and Stuart Lake.[21] Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Factor who was placed in charge of New Caledonia in 1835, wrote about the salmon trade at Babine Lake in the early 1840's. He reported that salmon were bartered at the rate of ninety fish for the value of one "made beaver"[22] but had previously been valued at sixty salmon for one beaver pelt. He

attributed the reduced cost of salmon to the introduction of horse and cart transportation over the Babine Portage and boats on both lakes which made access to the fish supply easier and they were, therefore, less dependent on the Natives of the Fraser River tributaries. He stated that a minimum of 30,000 were needed annually with 20,000 of those coming from Babine Post. Two men with horses and carts were employed to transport the salmon over the portage and they were then moved to Fort St. James by boat in two shipments. Ogden noted that the salmon failed at Babine occasionally but it was a more reliable source than the upper Fraser River tributaries.[23]

The Hudson's Bay Company requirement for salmon from Babine continued throughout the nineteenth-century and into the early twentieth-century. For example, comments on evidence provided to a Senate Committee in Ottawa in 1888 stated that:

"The Hudson's Bay Company now annually trade from ten to fifteen and rarely as many as twenty thousand dried salmon at Babine. I believe they largely exceeded those quantities in former years when they obtained their annual Outfits from Fort Vancouver and had to maintain a large staff of Servants in New Caledonia District; but they never even approached fifty thousand, let alone '4 or 5 millions' in any one year..."[24]

The writer, thought to be Roderick McFarlane, was apparently responding to testimony suggesting that the HBC was purchasing large numbers of salmon. As a further example of the continued trade in salmon, in May 1900, A.C. McNab, Fort St. James wrote to C.H. French at Babine Post:

"If you can furnish me with some more salmon this autumn, I should be glad to have them..."[25]

By the 1880's, when improved transportation systems enabled easier supply of the HBC posts in New Caledonia, the requirement for salmon to feed the people of the establishments declined and there was greater emphasis on trading salmon to the Native people of the upper Fraser areas in years of poor salmon returns. For example, in 1895, A.C. Murray at Fort St. James wrote to J. McDonald at Babine Post.

"...I fear the Indians of this place will be in need of salmon. So I hope you will be able to get for me at least 4,000, and would not object if there are even another 1,000..."[26]

In January,1897, Murray sent a letter to William Sinclair at Fraser Lake by way of a group of Stuart Lake Natives who were travelling to Fraser Lake to buy salmon:

"...I think I never saw these Indians so badly off for food as they are this winter, and I hope they will be able to buy some salmon over there. I am sold out of salmon here already altho' I got about 3,000 from Babine last summer...".[27]

By the 1890's salmon were a cash commodity and were valued at three cents per fish at Babine Post.[28] Although the fisheries of British Columbia came under Canadian law in 1876 when the Fisheries Act was extended to the province, the Native fisheries were left unregulated until new regulations were promulgated in 1888. These regulations prohibited salmon fishing by means of nets or other apparatus except under license:

"Provided always that Indians shall, at all times, have liberty to fish for the purpose of providing food for themselves, but not for sale, barter or traffic, by any means other than with drift nets, or spearing."[29]

Smoking Salmon Heads at Stuart Lake ***BC Archives G-0374***

This regulation prohibited trade in salmon between the HBC and the Babine people but there is no indication of any enforcement effort at Babine until 1904 when Inspector of Fisheries J.T. Williams sent Fishery Officer Hans Helgesen to Babine to enforce the regulations and require the Natives to remove their weirs.[30] In his report to Inspector Williams, Helgesen provided the following observations.

1001 British Columbia Place Names. 3rd Edition. 1973.

16. *Sixteen Years in the Indian Country. The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon*. Edited with an Introduction by W. Kaye Lamb. The MacMillan Company of Canada Ltd. Toronto. 1957. p. 149-150.

17. *Journal of Transactions and Occurrences in the Babine Country New Caledonia* by William Brown. Hudson's Bay Company B11/a/1. Also see A.G. Morice. 1906. *The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*. Galleon Press 1971. A reprint of the 1906 edition. p.92 &125.

18. Ibid. Morice wrote that Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden ordered that the fort be relocated in 1836 but William Bean, the officer in charge of the post never built the new post and the fort was not relocated until some 50 years later. Douglas Harris reported that the fort was relocated in 1871. Douglas C. Harris. 2001. *Fish, Law and Colonialism: The Legal Capture of Salmon in British Columbia*. University of Toronto Press.

19. *Babine Post Journal* 1822-23. HBC Archives B11/a/1.

20. *Babine Post Journal* 1825. HBC Archives B11/a/3.

21. *Fort St. James Journal* 1829-30. HBC Archives B188/a/14.

22. The beaver skin was the standard of value in the fur trade.

23. Peter Skene Ogden. c.1842. *Notes on Western Caledonia*. Presented by W.N. Sage in The *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*. Volume 1. 1937.

24. Extract from remarks on parts of the evidence, written and oral, given by several of the witnesses examined by the Senatorial Committee, regarding the resources of the Great MacKenzie Basin in April 1888. Dated Fort St. James, Stuarts Lake, B.C., January 7, 1889. These remarks are in Roderick McFarlane's writing. H.B.C. Archives B.188/z/1. Search Files,

Folder 2 - Salmon Fishery - Fraser River.

25. A.C McNab to C.H. French, Babine, May 21, 1900. Extracts from Fort St. James Correspondence Book, 1899-1900. Search Files, Folder 2 - Salmon Fishery - Fraser River.

26. A.C. Murray to J. McDonald, July 30, 1895. Extracts from New Caledonia Letter Book. Search Files, Folder 2 - Salmon Fishery - Fraser River.

27. A.C. Murray to William Sinclair, Fraser Lake, January 18, 1897. Extracts from New Caledonia Letter Book. Search Files, Folder 2 - Salmon Fishery - Fraser River.

28. A.C. Murray to J. McDonald, Babine Post, July 4, 1895. Extracts from New Caledonia Letter Book. Search Files, folder 2 - Salmon Fishery - Fraser River.

29. B.C. Fishery Regulations dated November 26, 1888.

30. *Report of the 1904 Inspection of Babine Lake and Tributaries and the Headwaters of the Skeena River* by Fishery Officer Hans Helgesen. Sessional Papers 1906. Appendix 10 British Columbia.

31. See Douglas C. Harris. *Fish, Law and Colonialism. The Legal Capture of Salmon in British Columbia*. University of Toronto Press. 2001.

32. Letter R.N. Venning, Assistant Commissioner of Fisheries to J.T. Williams, Inspector of Fisheries, February 19, 1907. Department of Fisheries and Oceans dormant files, Prince Rupert, B.C.

33. Dominion-British Columbia Fisheries Commission, 1905-1907. Report and Recommendations. Government Printing Bureau. Ottawa. 1908.

34. Department of Marine and Fisheries. RG23, vol.164, file 583 part 1. National Archives of Canada.

35. B.C. Special Fishery Regulation Amendment, September 11, 1917. (Section 8(2)c).

"The Indians do not only catch and cure salmon for their own use, but herd it up every year for sale and barter, it is a sort of legal tender amongst them, 10 salmon for a dollar and so many for a blanket; they sell dried salmon to packers and miners, to all those who haul with dog sleighs, in every part of the upper country during winter, and to merchants, every store keeper that I asked told me that they handled more or less every year. The Babine Post had an order from Stuarts Lake for 9,000 dried salmon."

Much has been written about the conflict which ensued at Babine Lake over the next two years and a detailed account is beyond the scope of this paper.[31] In1906, however, an agreement was reached between the Babine people and the federal government in which it was agreed that the Babine people would give up their weirs and the government would supply nets and authorize their use. The government also agreed to set aside additional land for the Babine people. The terms of the agreement as laid out in instructions to Inspector Williams outlined the position of L.P. Brodeur, Minister of Marine and Fisheries in respect to Native trade in salmon at Babine.[32]

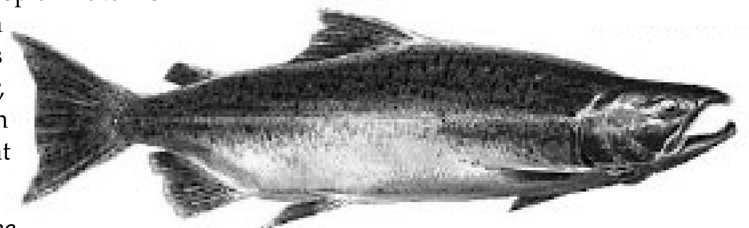
"Since it appears to be a fact that the Indians have hitherto to some extent trafficked in the food fish they have taken, he would not be disposed at the moment to interfere with the extent to which this traffic has prevailed; but this concession so far as it may bind a future policy of the Department, must be distinctly understood as conditional upon whatever action it is deemed advisable for the Government to take upon the recommendations which will shortly be submitted by the British Columbia Fishery Commission, which is at present considering the whole question of fishery regulations applicable to the sea coast and inland waters of the Province and he pointed out that the question at present under discussion forms one of the specific points for the consideration of the Commission, and any tentative agreement which may be reached must be capable of adjustment when the final policy is decided upon."

As was expected by the government, the Commission report released in 1908 recommended that the sale of salmon taken in Native fisheries be prohibited:

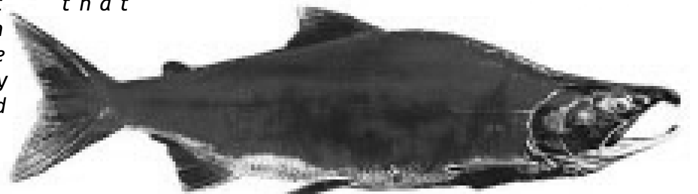
"We are convinced that if the proviso regarding the securing of fish for food be carried out and all fishing for sale stopped, excepting under a proper license, one main cause of the depletion of salmon, as well as trout, will be removed."[33]

In 1911, the Native people of Stuart Lake and Fraser Lake also agreed to give up their weirs in exchange for nets and other forms of government support.[34] Subsequent fishery regulations continued to prohibit sale or trade in salmon caught in Native fisheries and the regulations of 1917 further stated that any person buying fish caught in Native fisheries was guilty of an offence.[35]

Although the Native people continued to harvest salmon to meet their own needs, enforcement of government regulations brought the legal trade in salmon to an end. It is not clear from the records when the HBC stopped buying Native caught salmon but it was probably early in the twentith-century, thus ending a nearly one hundred year connection between salmon and the fur trade. •



Chinook Salmon



Sockeye Salmon
Illustrations from www-comm.pac.dfo-mpo.gc.ca

Scots on the Coast Before Alexander Mackenzie

By Bruce Watson

Adapted from a paper presented at Exploring Scots Heritage in British Columbia and the West, a three-day conference,September 14, 2002, sponsored by the Centre for Scottish Studies at Simon Fraser University.

It was not too long ago in our impressionable youth, when the world map was red with British Empire, that we all innocently and fervently believed that Alexander Mackenzie was the first person on the coast. Our ancestral buttons popped with pride. Not long after, we realized that large numbers of the natives had been on the coast for considerably longer. In fact, Mackenzie had used well-trodden native routes to get to the coast. Now, with a bit more research and getting closer to our dotage, we realize that individuals from many backgrounds were on the coast before Mackenzie, and not by the overland route. These people were: African, American, Chinese, East Indian, Lascars, English Filipino, French, German, Irish, Irish/Spanish, Italian Mexican Criollo, Polynesian, Portuguese, Russian, Scottish, Spanish, Swiss

This rather muddies our comfortable and clear view of the past. However, once we have recovered, we must ask ourselves how all these people got here? Well, on sixty-nine ships which were here before July 22, 1793 when Mackenzie, who took the far more difficult route across land, arrived on the coast in Elcho Harbour in Dean Channel and wrote his message on a rock in red vermillion.

It is not known how many people in total these vessels carried, but at least two thousand would be a safe guess. Out of this multitude, then, how many of them were Scots? Who knows? I was able to identify about sixty so there could easily be double that.

How do we define a Scot? Most emanate from inside the borders of Scotland that collective mixture of Irish Scoti, Picts, Norse and Teutonic invading settlers. By 1793, the diaspora resulting from the Highland Clearances was underway and so Scots were leaving their homeland in increasing numbers. Also included are those of Scottish heritage born outside the borders of Scotland. Sooner or later they were bound to show up on the coast.

What was their route to get to the coast? Generally we can put them into three categories: first, they came from the British Isles on long exploratory expeditions or second, from the British Isles to trade directly on the coast or, third, from the pool of international seamen in Bengal or Macao who shipped on and sailed to the coast for trade.

What about the Cook expedition where the dozen or so Scots or suspected Scots were squeezed on four hundred ton *Resolution* and smaller three hundred ton *Discovery*? They spent at month at Nootka in spring 1778. They likely supplemented their salt beef, salt port, salt fat, ship's biscuit and dried peas and beans, essence of malt and saurkraut with locally supplied fish. No oatmeal here.

Sixty-nine ships on the Coast before the arrival of Alexander Mackenzie

Activa	*Fenis and St. Joseph*	*Nootka*
Adventure	*Florinda*	*North West America*
Amelia	*Grace*	*Phoenix*
Aranzazu	*Gustavus III*	*Polly (a)*
Argonaut	*Halcyon*	*Prince Lee Boo*
Astrolabe	*Hancock (a)*	*Prince of Wales*
Atrevida	*Hope*	*Princesa*
Broussole	*Imperial Eagle*	*Princess Royal*
Butterworth	*Ino*	*Prince William Henry*
Captain Cook	*Iphigenia Nubiana*	*Queen Charlotte*
Chatham	*Jackal*	*Resolution*
Chernui Oral	*Jane*	*San Carlos*
Columbia Rediviva	*Jefferson*	*Santa Saturnina*
Concepcion	*Jenny (a)*	*Santiago*
Daedalus	*King George*	*Sea Otter/Harmon [1]*
Descubierta	*Lady Washington*	*Sea Otter [2]*
Discovery I	*La Flavie*	*Sea Otter [3]*
Discovery II	*Lark*	*Slava Rossie*
Eleanora	*La Solide*	*Solide*
Experiment	*Margaret*	*Sutil*
Fair American	*Mercury (a)*	*Three Brothers*
Fairy	*Mexicana*	*Tri Svyatitelya*
Felice Adventurer	*Mikhail*	*Venus* [3]

Perhaps the easiest are the crew of the Cook and Vancouver expeditions to the coast.

George Stewart
Alexander McIntosh
John McIntosh
Robert Mackay
John Ramsay
John McAlpin

How did they fare? None really distinguished themselves at Nootka. The records are silent on able seaman George Stewart, who was actually born in Charleston, South Carolina and who sailed on the Resolution. Like the others, he came to the coast via the South Pacific and the Hawaiian Islands and then sailed north along the coast and into the Bering Sea before returning to winter in the Sandwich Islands. After Cook was killed at Kealakekua Bay [Karakakooa], Island of Hawaii on February 14, 1779, his vessel sailed north to the Kamchatka Peninsula, into the Bering Sea again, south to China and eventually to England where they arrived in the Fall of 1780.

Not much is known of Stirling born midshipman Robert Mackay who joined Cook's expedition from the Nonsuch in 1776. We do know

that Mackay lost his rank on October 3, 1777 at Huahine [Society Islands], for letting a native prisoner escape. However, like much of the crew, he arrived uneventfully back in England in 1780.

The Perth born McIntoshs weren't so lucky. John, a captain's servant on the *Discovery* made it as far as the Bering Sea when, on October 28, 1778, the vessel encountered a storm in which the fore and main tacks gave way. John was thrown down the forehatchway and killed instantly. He was likely committed to the deep that day or the following day. Alexander didn't make it back to Scotland either. Throughout the entire voyage, this carpenter's mate was never really heathy. After Cook's death in Hawaii in February 1779 McIntosh sailed north to the Kamchatka Peninsula and Petropavlovsk where, on May 16, 1779 he died of dysentery. His body was carried to the mouth of the harbour where it was committed to the deep.

And then there was John Ramsay of Perthshire. How did he do? He was brave enough to be on all three of Cook's voyages, the first time as an able seaman, the second time as a cook and the third time, possibly because of a reflection of his cooking, as a gunner's mate.

On the later Vancouver voyage, able seaman John McAlpin almost didn't make it back to the British Isles. On June 15, 1793, McAlpin, along with Robert Barrie, John Carter and John Thomas ate some mussels, obviously affected with red tide, on the beach. All took sick and Barrie urged that they row as hard as they could to force a heavy perspiration. They rowed back to the rest of the crew on another shore and only when Carter died did the crew take their officer's advice and drink boiling salted water. McAlpin survived and Carter was buried at what is now known as Carter Bay on Finlayson Channel. He eventually made it back to the British Isles in the Fall of 1795.

Another representative group of Scots were a ship's officer, a seaman and a surgeon, all of whom sailed from England with the fur trading and exploration vessels, *King George* and *Queen Charlotte*.

William M'Leod
John M'Coy
William Lauder

William M'Leod (fl. 1785-87) was a busy, popular, but not particularly healthy, ship's first mate on the *King George* on the Northwest Coast. In 1785 M'Leod joined the *King George* under Nathaniel Portlock as first mate and on its way out ran messages to the accompanying *Queen Charlotte* and other ships as well as led groups trying to procure food, etc. On July 20, 1786 near Cape Bede, Alaska, he contacted a settlement of Russians who kept themselves uncharacteristically sober to avoid any surprise by drunken American sailors. By early 1787, however, after wintering in Hawaii, the health of M'Leod, who had had a chronic complaint of a stricture of the uretha (a possible stone or gout) began to deteriorate. On November 28, 1787 at Canton, after drinking some stale beer aboard the *Locko,* an Indiaman, M'Leod became violently ill. His bladder may have burst for at 3:00 p.m., the following day he died. On the morning of November 30th, he was buried on Frenchman's Island, off Canton in the Canton or Pearl River.

Another Scot on that voyage was seaman John M'Coy who was a bit of a hero. In August, 1787, along with third mate Samuel Hayward, assistant trader Robert Hill, seaman James Blake and others, M'Coy left the *King George* on a longboat for a trading expedition to trade for furs in the vicinity of Cape Edgecomb, Alaska. Sailing very fast on August 14, the night before they returned to the *King George*, James Blake fell overboard and it was considerable time before they were able to bring the longboat to John M'Coy who jumped overboard and swam to Blake with an oar. It took almost an hour for the crew of the longboat to get Blake on board because the wind kept taking him away from the boat. Our hero returned to England in August 1788 and has not been followed further.

William Lauder the twenty-two year-old surgeon on the sister ship, the *Queen Charlotte,* was not so lucky. He was on the vessel when it traded in both 1786 and 1787. He sailed to China where both vessels sold their furs and took on tea to be transported to England. Lauder took ill some time after leaving Whampoa on the voyage home and shortly after, on February 28, 1788, died of unknown causes. According to Dixon, Lauder "resigned himself to the Divine will, with the greatest composure, being perfectly sensible to the last moment." His body was committed to the deep the next day.

What about other vessels? The last group came on assorted ships

John McKay
Alexander Stewart
William Douglas
James Charles Stuart Strange

One of the more unusual Scots was surgeon John M'Key, if I can call him a Scot for he was born in Ireland. The early life of M'Key has not been traced but, likely as a young surgeon, he went to Bombay in the service of the East India Company. In Bombay, in late 1785, he was engaged by David Scott (after whom Cape Scott is named) and James Strange as surgeon aboard the *Captain Cook* and sailed from Bombay on December 8, 1785. M'Key reached Friendly Cove on June 27, 1786 and either because he had "purple fever" (skin eruptions) or because James Strange wanted him to set up conditions favourable to future trade, McKey agreed to stay behind with the local Friendly Cove natives. The young surgeon was left with a red coat so that he could look more war-like, as well as blankets, clothes and seeds so that he could plant a garden, a male and female goat, musket, pistols, beef, biscuits, rice salt, sage tea, sugar, tobacco and books.

He was also left with pen, ink and paper to record "the Manners, Customs, Religion, & Government of these people". He soon secured a modicum of safety and respect by curing one of Chief Macquinna's children of scabby hands and legs. In fact, he adjusted so well in the first two months that when Captain Hanna of the *Sea Otter* arrived and offered to take him off, he refused. During the next year at Friendly Cove, he planted his garden, learned the language, adopted local customs and discovered through his wanderings that Vancouver Island was, in fact, an island. After a year at Friendly Cove, and now without his original clothes and with a considerably darkened complexion, M'Coy was quite willing to leave in August 1787, when Captain Charles Barkley and wife Frances arrived on the *Imperial Eagle*. He sailed back to Bombay with his observations, which, unfortunately, have never been traced.

Now we come to two brothers from Orkney, one of whom saw service in the South Pacific, the other on the Northwest Coast. These are the brothers Alexander and George Stewart. Lets deal with George who never made it this far north. Brother George (not to be confused with the above George Stewart), born in Massiter, South Ronaldsay and having few prospects in Orkney, met and befriended William Bligh when he dined in the Stewart's house in Stromness when Captain Cook's ships called in 1780. Our George then became midshipman with Bligh on his legendary breadfruit voyage on *HMS Bounty*. George didn't partake in the 1789 mutiny but took refuge in Tahiti where he married and had a child. However, as he was considered a mutineer, he was apprehended in March 1791 but drowned in May, while being brought back manacled on *HMS Pandora*. This ends the story of George accept that he was later immortalized in Lord Byron's poem "Torquil."

Less known is brother Alexander who reached Friendly Cove on the Northwest Coast in 1789. He came via Canton as second mate of the ship *Princess Royal* [Thomas Hudson] in company with the *Argonaut* [James Colnett] with their European crew and Chinese technicians. Because they were trading in what-is-now British Columbia waters, then Spanish claimed territory, Stewart and fellow mariners were seized by the Spanish. He was taken south to languish for a year in a Spanish prison at San Blas and nearby Tepic in Mexico. This escapade didn't faze him for, after his release, he was soon back trading on the coast as captain of the tender *Jackal* – at the same time as George Vancouver's explorations. On the dark side, the guns that he traded at Hawaii were of such poor quality that they exploded when they were fired for the first time. He soon tired of the fur trade on the coast and decided to settle for the rest of his life in the Hawaiian Islands with a local woman he had met there previously – probably not on the same island where he sold his guns. He was also depressed over the news of the fate of his brother – George. You remember George. Five years later, in 1799, Alexander's love of his Hawaiian wife had worn thin so when the vessel *Dove* [Robert Duffin] anchored to winter at the Islands, Stewart had no trouble at being persuaded to go to sea again by his old friend. He toured the Northwest Coast for one more season with Duffin and returned to the Sandwich Islands where he took up residence just as his brother had done to the south. And there we leave him.

Our next Scot on the coast was William Douglas a ship's captain who is credited with introducing watermelon to the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii] and who was an unwilling participant in the Anglo-Spanish conflict at Nootka. He came several times to the coast, each voyage testing his mettle. For example, on the first voyage, after sailing from Calcutta in 1786 in the two hundred ton *Nootka* [John Meares] he survived an ice-bound winter of 1786-87 in the King William Sound area where scurvy took many officers and men, including Indian Lascars. He next came to the coast in 1788 as supercargo of the nominally Portuguese vessel, *Iphigenia Nubiana*, in company with the *Felice* [Meares]. A stop at Zamboanga [Philippines] for repairs and to alleviate scurvy saw the loss of one of the fifty Chinese artisans

hired for the voyage to the Northwest Coast. After trading on the coast during 1788 and wintering in Hawaii, he returned to the coast, just as Spain was trying to assert its claimed sovereignty. In May 1789, Don Estéban José Martinez asserted Spanish sovereignty by seizing the *Iphigenia* and its contents. Within days of the seizure, however, most or all of Douglas' property was returned and, after signing papers admitting guilt of trading in the area as well as dismantling the post that Meares had built, Douglas sailed north to continue trading and did a name exchange with an old Haida chief. He sailed to Hawaii that summer and, as luck would have it, foiled a plot by some of King Kamehameha's chiefs to kill all officers and crew and destroy the ship. He then sailed for China but then the record gets a bit fuzzy. Douglas, appears to have become master and owner of the American eighty-five ton schooner, *Grace*, which was back on the coast in 1791. Here his luck ran out, for while returning to China in the autumn, William Douglas died and was presumably buried at sea.

The last Scot, James Charles Stuart Strange (1753-1840) is a person about whom we know a lot thanks to research by others. He made one voyage to the coast in 1786. Born in 1753 to Jacobite supporter and well-known engraver, Sir Robert Strange, and having Charles Edward Stuart ("Bonnie" Prince Charlie) as a godfather, a young James Strange saw action early when he was kidnapped in London. He was only rescued after several days when he was able to hail someone he knew while being spirited across London Bridge in a basket. As a youth, the uncommonly handsome Strange's wayward habits of dancing on the stage were cut short when he was articled as a "writer" under the secretary in the military department in the East Indian Company's service at Madras. While on furlough in England, he became impressed with the possibilities of trade on the Northwest Coast, having just read James Cook's voyages and so, on his return to India was financed by fellow employee, David Scott, and outfitted by the East India Company with men, supplies, guns and ammunition. So, on December 8, 1785, he sailed on the *Experiment* [Capt. Guise] in company with the larger *Captain Cook* [Capt. Lowrie] from Bombay for the Northwest Coast. After months of sickness, gales, calm and a grounding, Strange sighted the coast. On July 6, he landed the surgeon, about whom we have already spoken, and crew ashore at Friendly Cove, where he purchased a building to act as a temporary hospital to cure the men of scurvy. After four days he moved into a tent, cured the men to each of whom he gave vegetable seeds to plant. During his time there he secured furs, even bartering away his cymbals, expanded James Cook's dictionary on the language and provided observations of the various habits of the native peoples. After a month's stay, Strange left Friendly Cove, leaving behind surgeon Dr. John M'Key. After sailing north to Prince William Sound and running into a rival, Strange decided to abandon the financially unsuccessfully mission, and sailed directly to Canton where he arrived in November.

Now, what happened to this adventurous Scot after the Northwest Coast? The thirty-three year old Strange returned to India, where his wife had died while he was away, and, in Madras, worked his way through the ranks until 1795 whereupon he retired to England. There he remarried and pursued a career in business and politics until 1802 when financial ruin brought him back to India where he once again rose in the Madras bureaucracy. When he finally retired and returned to England, he stopped at St. Helena where he won a gold coin from the then-exiled Napoleon Buonaparte over a game of picquet. He also took a gift of bonbons from Buonaparte back to his daughters. He died in 1840 at the Castle of Airth, Scotland, which he had rented for several years. His grandson, the Rev. R. J. Dundas, came to Victoria in 1860 as an Anglican minister. And so, what goes around, comes around.

So there you have it. This is just a small glimpse into the lives of a few Scots who were on the Coast before Alexander Mackenzie. All were equally brave, adventurous and tough. So as our childhood visions of the uniqueness of Lewis-born Scot, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, tend to become more remote, we can begin to look at the other Scots who were on the coast before him. Their stories are certainly worth telling. •

John Ledyard

An exclusive extract from the new book *First Invaders*

By Alan Twigg

John Ledyard published some of the earliest non-Aboriginal impressions of British Columbia but he is little-known in Canada, perhaps because his roots were American and not British. Ledyard was described by Thomas Jefferson as "a man of genius, of some science, and of fearless courage and enterprise." He described his momentous arrival at Nootka Sound with Captain Cook on March 30, 1778.

"We entered this inlet about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The extremes of the opening at the entrance were about 2 miles distant, and we had the prospect of a snug harbour. It was a matter of doubt with many of us whether we should find any inhabitants here, but we had scarcely entered the inlet before we saw that hardy, that intrepid, that glorious creature man approaching us from the shore...."

John Ledyard began to earn his title of "America's Marco Polo" at an early age. Born in Groton, Connecticut in 1751, he studied law and theology at Dartmouth in 1772, intending to become a missionary. His family was poor because his father had died at sea. One of his Dartmouth classmates was an Aboriginal who taught him how to paddle a canoe whereupon, in 1773, Ledyard chopped down a white pine, carved a 50-foot-long canoe on the banks and paddled down the Connecticut River with the Greek Testament and Ovid as his reading material. He paddled 140 miles to Hartford, then reached New York. It was the start of a lifetime of wandering.

As a sailor he visited the Barbary Coast and the West Indies in late 1773, then enlisted in the British Navy at Gibraltar in 1776. In Plymouth he signed on for duty with Captain Cook's third voyage that took him to the Canary Islands, Cape Verde Islands, Cape of Good Hope, Tasmania, New Zealand, Tahiti, California, Oregon, the Bering Sea, Unalaska Island, the eastern coast of Asia and the western coast of Vancouver Island. His description of Cook's arrival continues:

"Night approaching we came to an anchor between one of those islands and the eastern shore about one quarter of a mile from each. In the evening we were visited by several canoes full of the natives; they came abreast our ship within two rods of us and there staid the whole night, without offering to approach nearer or to withdraw farther from us, neither would they converse with us. At the approach of day they departed in the same reserve and silence. On the 30th we sent our boats to examine a small cove in the opposite island, which answering our wishes we moved with both ships into it and moored within a few rods of the surrounding beach."

John Ledyard proceeded to provide one of the first and best records of Mowachaht (Nuu-chah-nulth) behaviour and attitudes in the eighteenth-century. "Water and wood they charged us nothing for. Capt. Cook would not credit this fact when he first heard it and went in person to be assured of it, and persisting in a more peremptory tone in his demands, one of the Indians took him by the arm and thrust him from him, pointing the way for him to go about his business. Cook was struck with astonishment, and turning to his people with a smile mixed with admiration exclaimed, 'This is an American indeed!' and instantly offered this brave man what he thought proper to take; after which the Indian took him and his men to his dwelling and offered them such as he had to eat."

Upon his return to England in 1780, Ledyard was forced to give his journals to the Admiralty. He served in the British navy for two more years, reaching America at the close of the Revolution in December 1782. During a seven-day leave he visited his mother, brothers and sisters whom he had not seen for eight years. Unwilling to fight for the British against his American brethren, he deserted at Huntington. Ledyard spent the first four months of 1783 at Thomas Seymour's home in Hartford. When friends persuaded Ledyard to recount his adventures with Cook, he was not averse to using portions of crewmember John Rickman's newly published account to refresh his memory. Ironically, Ledyard's book, published in 1781, served as a landmark volume for copyright legislation in the United States.

As a former student of the law, Ledyard successfully petitioned the Connecticut Assembly for the right of exclusive publication. Although the copyright designation did not appear in the volume, Ledyard's memoir became the first book to be issued in the United States under a copyright law of the sort that is now prevalent, to protect the rights of the author. Provisions of the Connecticut copyright law were soon copied by other states, leading to a national copyright law in 1790.

Ledyard's memoirs provide an uncensored eye-witness narrative of Cook's murder at Kealakekua Bay. Also killed were Royal Marine Corporal John Thomas, Privates Theophilus Hinks, John Allen and Tom Fatchett and many Hawaiians. Unlike most of his British contemporaries, Ledyard was clearly willing to consider the confrontation from

Ledyard & Cannibalism

"On the 1st of April [1778] we were visited by a number of natives in their boats... This was the first fair opportunity after our arrival that I had of examining the appearance of those unknown aborigines of North-America. It was the first time too that I had been so near the shores of that continent which gave me birth from the time I at first left it; and though more than two thousand miles distant from the nearest part of New-England I felt myself plainly affected... It soothed a home-sick heart, and rendered me very tolerably happy.

"We had no sooner beheld these Americans than I set them down for the same kind of people that inhabit the opposite side of the continent. They are rather above the middle stature, copper-coloured, and of an athletic make. They have long black hair, which they generally wear in a club on the top of the head, they fill it when dressed with oil, paint and the downe of birds. They also paint their faces with red, blue and white colours, but from whence they had them or how they were prepared they would not inform us, nor could we tell. Their cloathing generally consists of skins, but they have two other sorts of garments, the one is made of the inner rind of some sort of bark twisted and united together like the woof of our coarse cloaths, the other . . . is also principally made with the hair of their dogs, which are mostly white, and of the domestic kind. Upon this garment is displayed the manner of their catching the whale—we saw nothing so well done by a savage in our travels... Their language is very guttural, and if it was possible to reduce it to our orthography, [it] would very much abound with consonants.

"In their manners they resemble the other aborigines of North-America; they are bold and ferocious, sly and reserved, not easily provoked but revengeful; we saw no signs of religion or

worship among them, and if they sacrifice it is to the God of liberty.

When a party was sent to procure some grass for our cattle they would not suffer them to take a blade of it without payment, nor had we a mast or yard without an acknowledgment. They intimated to us that the country all round further than we could see was theirs… The houses we saw near this cove appeared to be only temporary residences from whence it was supposed that in winter they retired into the interior forests, and in summer lived any where that best answered the purposes of fishing or hunting.

"The food we saw them use consisted solely of dried fish and blubber oil, the best by far that any man among us had ever seen: this they put into skins. We purchased great quantities of it [for] our lamps [and] many other purposes useful and necessary. Like all uncivilized men they [were] hospitable, and the first boat that visited us in the Cove brought us what they thought the greatest possible [gift], and no doubt they offered it to us to eat; this was a human arm roasted. I have heard it remarked that human flesh is the most delicious, and therefore tasted a bit, and so did many others without swallowing the meat or the juices, but either my conscience or my taste rendered it very odious to me.

"We intimated to our hosts that what we had tasted was bad, and expressed as well as we could our [disapproval] of eating it on account of its being part of a man like ourselves. They seemed to be sensible by the contortions of our faces that our feelings were disgusted, and apparently paddled off with equal dissatisfaction and disappointment themselves."

the perspective of the Hawaiians. His account of the great hero's death was critical of Cook's arrogant attitude towards the Hawaiians and he alleges Cook was jealous of Vitus Bering.

Ledyard's memoirs constitute the first great travel literature by an American to be published in the United States. His publisher was Nathaniel Patton, a Hartford printer who dedicated the book to Governor Jonathan Trumbull, George Washington's "Brother Jonathan" of Revolutionary fame.

It soon became Ledyard's great ambition to become the first American to cross the continent on foot. Thomas Jefferson wrote of their meeting in Paris in 1786: "I suggested to him the enterprise of exploring the western part of our continent by passing through St. Petersburg to Kamtchatka and procuring a passage thence in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, whence he might make his way across the continent to the United States; and I undertook to have the permission of the empress of Russia solicited."

Ledyard devised a plan to travel across Russia and Siberia, then on to Alaska, then down to the Mississippi River. With two hunting dogs as companions, he set forth but failed to cross the Baltic ice from Stockholm to Abo. Reconsidering, he walked from Stockholm to St. Petersburg, arriving barefoot and penniless in 1787. Undeterred, Ledyard managed to accompany a Scottish physician named Brown to Siberia. Leaving Dr. Brown at Barnaul, he went on to Tomsk and Irkutsk, visited Lake Baikal, and descended the Lena to Yakutsk, but Catherine the Great sent orders for him to be arrested. At Irkutsk he was accused of being a French spy and banished from Russia. He was sent back to Poland.

In 1788, Ledyard speculated about possible racial connections between Asian and American aboriginals, providing grist for similar anthropological arguments that advanced in the two centuries that followed. Ledyard's wanderlust continued. Back in London, he signed on for duty with Sir Joseph Banks and the African Association for an overland expedition from Alexandria to the Niger. At age thirty-seven, John Ledyard died in Cairo on January 10, 1789, killed by an overdose of vitriolic acid.

Extracts from Ledyard's private correspondence with Thomas Jefferson and others are provided in Jared Sparks' *Life of John Ledyard*. Ledyard's comments about women give an indication of his seriousness and character.

"I have always remarked that women in all countries are civil and obliging, tender and humane; that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modest; and that they do not hesitate like men, to perform a generous action. Not haughty, not arrogant, not supercilious, they are full of courtesy, and fond of society; more liable in general to err than man, but in general also more virtuous, and performing more good actions, than he. To a woman, whether civilized or savage, I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer.

"With man it has often been otherwise. In wandering over the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden and frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide spread regions of the wandering Tartar; if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or sick, the women have ever been friendly to me, and uniformly so. And add to this virtue, so worthy the appellation of benevolence, their actions have been performed in so free and kind a manner, that if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and if hungry, I ate the coarsest morsel with a double relish." •

BOOKS:
A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and in Quest of a North-West Passage, between Asia & America; Performed in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, and 1789 (Hartford, Connecticut: Nathaniel Patten, 1783).

ALSO:
Sparks, Jared. *Life of John Ledyard, the American Traveller; Comprising Selections from His Journals and Correspondence* (London: Hilliard and Brown, 1828; 1834, 1847, 1864.) [Contains extracts from Ledyard's journals and his private correspondence with Thomas Jefferson and others.]
The Adventures of a Yankee; or, The singular life of John Ledyard; with an account of his voyage round the world with the celebrated Captain Cooke. Designed for youth by A Yankee (Boston, Carter, Hendee and Babcock, 1831).
Mumford, James K. John Ledyard: *An American Marco Polo* (Portland: Binfords & Mort, 1939).
Mumford, J. K. (editor). *John Ledyard's Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage* (Corvalis, Oregon: Oregon State University, 1963).
Watrous, Stephen D. (editor). *John Ledyard's Journey Through Russia and Siberia 1787-1788: The Journal and Selected Letters* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966).

From First Invaders: The Literary Origins of British Columbia *(Ronsdale Press, $21.95 1-55380-018-4) by Alan Twigg.*

Alan Twigg is the founder of BC Bookworld *and author of ten books. He has compiled* www.abcbookworld.com *(hosted by SFU Library) with information on more than 6,500 B.C. authors.*

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In Search of David Thompson

A Study in Bibliography

By Barry Cotton

Barry Cotton is a retired BC Land Surveyor and is the author of *First in the Field, the Pioneer Years of Garden, Hermon and Burwell, Civil Engineers in the Province of British Columbia 1890-1920*

On July first 2002, at Invermere BC a new statue of David Thompson and his wife Charlotte Small was erected, with all due celebration. The festivities were a prelude to a series of related bi-centennials to take place in the north-west from 2007 to 2011. To quote the *Link* - the B.C. Land-Surveyors magazine: "recognition for David Thompson and Charlotte Small is coming"

It is indeed encouraging to see the renewed interest in this man, who has been described as the greatest geographer of his time, certainly in North America. There are other encouraging signs, too, such as interestingly written books which portray Thompson without prejudice. Although the framework of his life has been known for many years, painstaking research is still necessary for any new author, so it is also nice to know that the resulting picture of him as a man is now being painted in straightforward and ethical tones.

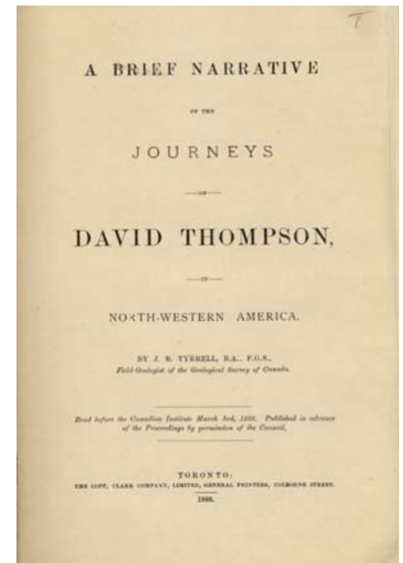
But everything in the garden is not necessarily lovely. I also happened to read several paragraphs regarding David Thompson in Peter Newman's *Caesars of the Wilderness*[1] which riled me up so much that I resolved to go back to basics, and do a little research myself. Should I blame Peter Newman? Perhaps. When one takes for granted flawed opinions from the past, and builds on them, the results can turn out to be less than factual, and Peter Newman states as fact what is - in fact -fantasy. So I have to admit that it was his treatment of David Thompson that sparked this article.

Perhaps it is time to ask the big rhetorical question; when will we see the consolidated, all inclusive publication of Thompson's writings, Journals, letters, maps and reports. It has certainly been advocated more than once and there are rumours that the Champlain Society are planning such a (monumental) work, although it may still be several years before we see it. Until it comes, we must track Thompson down through dozens of publications relevant to the Fur Trade, the North West Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Astorians as well as in the publications of his own works.

Other pathfinders in Canadian history are easier to know. The lives of Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Simon Fraser do not rest uncomfortably on unresolved issues. But David Thompson remains an elusive character because he has been too well analysed by the many writers who had a theory to expound.

The purpose of this article, therefore, is to provide a guide through the maze of historical writing and editorializing about David Thompson - a history of a history - to result in a more clear-thinking approach to this man who should be a legend in our recorded past.

A Well Recorded Life At almost any time of his fur trading days, David Thompson's movements can be verified by the records of his Journals, reports, letters and other contemporary memorials. He himself also threw his life open to the scrutiny of posterity when he wrote his *Narrative*, and lesser memoirs. For seventy years his grave lay unmarked, and the fear which he held in late lifetime - that he would not be given credit for his explorations - was only too well realized. Then came recognition, and with J.B. Tyrrell's researches in the field, and publication of the *Narrative* in 1916, the public became aware of the truly remarkable achievements of this fur-trader/geographer. In 1927 his grave was monumented, and a special ceremony held in his honour. For at least the next few years, the authenticity of his work was confirmed, and without questioning the integrity of his reporting.


A BRIEF NARRATIVE

JOURNEYS

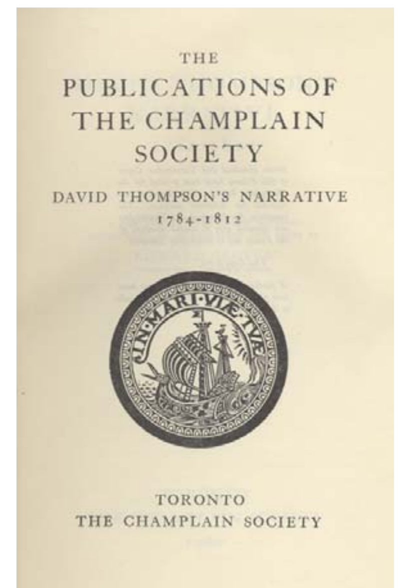
DAVID THOMPSON,

NO<TH-WESTERN AMERICA.

BY J. B. TYRRELL, B.A., F.G.S.,

TORONTO:

Since then, however, underneath the ornate lettering of the monument, it seems doubtful that the shade of David Thompson can have slept too peacefully. The hero of J.B.Tyrrell's 1916 edition of the *Narrative* gave place to the pariah of Richard Glover's 1962 edition (both editions, incidently published by the Champlain Society). No doubt all heroes have feet of clay (as any modern historian will be quick to point out) - but the fact remains that Thompson's own text is the basis of the *Narrative* in all of three published editions. Only the footnotes vary - editorial comment far-reaching into the realms of assumption. In fact, David Thompson's character, as popularly conceived, has rested almost entirely on the building-blocks of these addendae to his own incomparable *Narrative*.


THE

PUBLICATIONS OF

THE CHAMPLAIN

SOCIETY

DAVID THOMPSON'S NARRATIVE

1784-1812

IN MARI VIA TUA

TORONTO

THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

David Thompson's Writings Let's take a look at the records from which the facts of David Thompson's life are gleaned. For a first, general impression, no reader need go further than the *Narrative*. This is nothing less that his own account of travels in North America from 1784 to 1812. It was

written in late life, seven years before his death in fact. Prof.V.G.Hopwood, who edited the third edition, called it a literary masterpiece, as indeed it is, acknowledged by historians as an invaluable insight into life and times when white-men were still newcomers in the vast Pacific North-West. The *Narrative* is, of course, a literary work in its own right. The wealth of description and knowledge of the day which was incorporated into Thompson's *Narrative* was drafted out by him at seventy-six years of age - forty years after the events which form the framework of the writing. It is fairly obvious that his Journals were the reference points which sparked his reminiscences, and that they were in front of him as he wrote. If there are any discrepancies between the two records, they are normal considering the circumstances (although a few have been triumphantly pounced upon by some historians). David Thompson kept meticulous Journals in his travels through the unmapped territory of the West. They describe as in a diary the main events of each day, noting the directions and courses of his travel (by compass bearing and estimated distance), and also the data and calculations used for astronomic observations. Thus the factual record of events as they happened, and the geographic data needed for his later map-making have been preserved. In addition there are many other contemporary Journals and writings, official and personal letters, much still unpublished - in fact enough actual published material to cover five pages of bibliography that must be mentioned (not to say digested) by any historian who dares to offer a fresh idea.

... And His Publishers The late J.B. Tyrrell was the first to "discover" David Thompson's competence in 1887/8, and he edited the first edition of the *Narrative* in 1916.[2] He is still regarded as a foremost practical authority on David Thompson's activities, having followed much of his routes, his explorations, portages, trails, and observation points on the ground; and as part of both the Champlain editions of the *Narrative*, Tyrrell's "Itinerary 17 85-1812", is an invaluable ready reference.

Many literary works give an involuntary indication of the writer's individuality and general disposition; although an assessment, as such, can be coloured by the reader's own ideas and aspirations. Tyrrell was David Thompson's champion, but unfortunately the first to let assumption prevail over the few recorded facts about him as a person. Tyrrell's Thompson strides through the bush, sextant in one hand, Bible in the other, and is perhaps a little too good to be true, even for the reader who is prepared to hunt for that rare first edition. The Journals and other official documents have, of course, been the subject of numerous scholarly articles in periodicals over the years, all being the result of original research. Elliott Coues was publishing Thompson's Journals as early as 1897[3], and T.C. Elliott's researches into Thompson's activities in Idaho and Washington were published in the *Washington* and *Oregon Historical Quarterly* magazines, most well before the 1930's.[4] It was about this time, when so many records of the old fur-trade, and the North-West Company in particular, had been unearthed (and published), that serious-minded historians felt that it was time to tackle David Thompson's hitherto stainless character as a man; and here it is really quite fascinating to note how differently the various writers have dealt with Thompson as a person.

Bones of Contention The historian A.S. Morton, in his article on *The North-West Company's Columbian Enterprise and David Thompson* in 1936,[5] led the attack on Tyrrells too-pious David Thompson. The latter was blamed for the "failure of the Columbian Enterprise" (a particularly successful endeavour in the end), and adversely affecting Britain's claim to the Oregon Territory in favour of the USA. This latter allegation refers to the theory of the "race," in which the North-West Company were presumed to be engaged in an all-out effort to plant the Union Jack at the mouth of the Columbia before Astor's American company got there. Four years later, in his *History of the Canadian West to 1870-1*[6], Morton's assumptions had hardened into affirmations, (perhaps the idea of a "race" sounded quite plausible at the time, although today's readers might wonder why such a race had not already been won a few years previously by Lewis & Clarke, the ruins of Fort Clatsop having still been in place when the Astorians arrived).

Morton had some very harsh criticism of Thompson, whom he accused not only of having lost the alleged "race", but to the extent of deliberately destroying one of his own Journals (presumably in order to mislead discerning historians a century later). Unfortunately for David Thompson's image, Morton's authority as a historian was profound, and his theories endured for at least the next forty years.

His reasoning would not go unchallenged[7], but Tyrrell was now getting on in years, and valid though his objections might be, they would simply be viewed as natural reaction. Mary Catherine White, in her 1950

NOTES

1. Peter C.Newman. *Caesars of the Wilderness*. NY. Viking. 1987.

2. Tyrrell J.B. ed. *David Thompson: Narrative of his Explorations in Western America*. Toronto Champlain Society. 1916.

3. Coues Elliott ed. *New Light on the early history of the Greater NorthWest*.(3 vols) - Minneapolis. Ross & Haines. reprint 1965.

4. Elliott. T.C. ed. Journals of David Thompson. *Washington Historical Quarterly* - VIII (1917) - IX (1918) - X (1919) - XI (1920) - XXIII (1932)
Oregon Historical Quarterly - XV (1914) - XXI (1920) - XXVI (1925).

5. Morton A.S. The North-West Company's Columbian Enterprise and David Thompson. Canadian *Historical Revue No.17* (1936).

6. Morton A.S. *A History of the Canadian West to 1870/71*. Reprint University of Toronto Press 1973.

7. Tyrrell J.B. David Thompson & the Columbia River. *Canadian Historical Review* 1937.

8. White. M. Catherine ed. *David Thompson's Journals relating to Montana ....* Montana University Press. 1950.

9. Bridgewater Dorothy W. John Jacob Astor relative to his settlement.... *Yale University Press Library Gazette No. 24* 1949.

10. Glover R. ed. *David Thompson's Narrative*. Champlain Society 1962.

11. Glover R. The Witness of David Thompson. *Canadian Historical Review Vol. 31*.1950.

12. Lavender D. *First in the Wilderness*. Doubleday N.Y. 1964.

13. Ronda James P. *Astoria and Empire*. University of Nebraska 1990.

14. Lamb W Kaye ed. *Journal of Gabriel Franchere 1811-14*. Champlain Society 1969.

publication of *David Thompson's Journals Relating to Montana and Adjacent Regions*,[8] a scholarly work now very hard to find, devoted the whole of Appendix B to forcefully refuting Morton's arguments. Moreover, in 1949, new evidence came to light regarding David Thompson's exploration of the Columbia River, published in an article by Dorothy W. Bridgewater, in the *Yale University Library Gazette* - John Jacob Astor relative to his settlement on the Columbia.[9] This article should have effectively put a damper on the implications (and persistence) of Morton's philosophy, but unfortunately it was not taken seriously by the next editor of note - Richard Glover[10], who now reinforced Morton's ideas in his new edition of the *Narrative* in 1962. (It seems that Glover, as a champion of Samuel Hearne,[11] was quite ready to believe anything detrimental about David Thompson).

Glover's hatchet was even sharper than Morton's, and the David Thompson whom he cut down to size, had little similarity to the man who had been so eulogized by Tyrrell. Glover noted on page xiii of his Introduction, that "when every subtraction has been made, much will remain to be admired"', yet by the time he had finished pulling his unfortunate subject apart, it is a wonder that anyone would want to read the *Narrative* that follows. Thompson is now not only the scapegoat in losing the Oregon Territory for Britain, but he is also blameworthy for having quit his employment with the Hudson's Bay Company, for cowardly behaviour towards the Peigans, for deliberate suppression of the truth in his writings (the "missing" Journal) - even for his own poverty late in life (because he was an inept businessman!). In a way David Thompson's character would have been better served had he not written his *Narrative* at all, since every slight discrepancy seemed to generate the seeds of distrust.

In the ensuing inuendo, Thompson became not a person to be admired, but an object of scorn. This version of the craven David Thompson would last for the next nine years, and find its way into several history books, where the writers were disposed to take for granted the suppositions of their colleagues.

The Astor Connection John Jacob Astor's Pacific endeavour was, of course, the motivating factor behind David Thompson's journey to the mouth of the Columbia River, and in order to put the latter's expedition in proper perspective, relevant information on the tactics of America's first tycoon should be appreciated. David Lavender[12] was the first to delve deeply into the Astor papers in recent years. But for complete details of Jacob Astor's dealings with the North-West Company, the reader must go to *Astoria & Empire*, by James Ronda[13], which authentically quotes chapter and verse, as well as outlining the part played by David Thompson. Both of these publications reveal a lot about Thompson that was imperfectly understood, and place him logically in the sequence of events.

One historian who was not taken in by the controversy was W. Kaye Lamb, when he edited the *Journals of Gabriel Franchere.*[14] The latter was a clerk at Astoria at the time when Thompson, with Union Jack flying, arrived at the mouth of the Columbia on July 15, 1811. It would be natural for him (and his fellow clerks) to assume that Thompson had been sent to forestall the Astorians, but had 'lost the race". Franchere's *Journal* makes fascinating reading, especially Lamb's Introduction, and it is hard not to wonder how Franchere's assumption became mistaken for fact. But to find a good reason for this, one must go to Washington Irving's book *Astoria,*[15] written in 1836, the first story of Astor's enterprise. This book was written at Astor's request, and has been around for 165 years, in several re-issues. Irving used several contemporary sources for his dramatic, even romantic story, and it is interesting here only insofar as the theory of the "race" is concerned (since James Ronda's book retells the story of Astoria in its entirety). One of Irving's sources was Franchere himself, and the author skilfully transformed Franchere's opinion into historical fact in his, otherwise, well-researched best-seller, so the idea was widely circulated as fact, to the extent of being swallowed whole by at least one Canadian historian exactly one hundred years later.

Less Contentious Reading Insofar as the *Narrative* is concerned, many readers may not need to go further than Prof.V.G. Hopwood's edition of *David Thompson's Travels*.[16] This was a "popular" edition - in that there are few footnotes to denote sources - but it tells Thompson's story in his own words, thereby revealing much of the character of the writer and central figure. It is basically a third edition of the *Narrative* (including sections not previously published), rearranged where necessary, and with abridged extracts from Journals and other supplementary writings, skilfully blended in to maintain continuity.

The fur trade was a background for the history of the North-West, an era that only lasted a few years. Since it can only exist now in the imagination of today's generation, it should be important to "get it right" So there is quite a paradox when one considers that books

15. Irving Washington. *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise* (various editions).

16. Hopwood. Victor G. *David Thompson: Travels in Western America*. McMillan Toronto. 1971.

17. Evans, Hubert. *North to the Unknown*. Dodd Mead. 1949. Wood, Kerry. *The Map Maker.* McMillan, Toronto. 1955.

18. Nicks, John. Thompson, David. *Dictionary of Canadian Biographies Vol VIII*. 1985.

19. Thomson Don W. *Men and Meridians* Vol. I. Queens Printer Ottawa 1967.

20. Sebert L.M. David Thompson's Determination of Longtitude in Western Canada. *The Canadian Surveyor Vol 35 No.4*, 1981.

21. Belyea, Barbara. The "Columbian Enterprise" and A.S.Morton, a Historical Exemplum. *BC Studies 86* 1990.

22. Belyea Barbara. *Columbia Journals: David Thompson*. McGill-Queens University Press 1994.

23. Nisbet, Jack *Sources of the River.* Sasquatch Books, 1995.

24. McCart, Joyce & Peter *On the Road with David Thompson*. Fifth House, 2000.

25. Wood W. Raymond ed. David Thompson at the Mandan-Hidatsa Villages .... *Ethnohistory 24* 1977. Wood and Thiesson T.D. *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains*. University of Oklahoma 1985.

26. Masson L.R. ed. *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* . New York Antiquarian Press 1960.

27. Campbell Marjorie W. *The North-West Company*. Douglas & McIntyre 1973.

28. Campbell Marjorie W. *McGillivray. Lord of the North-West*. Clarke Irwin 1962.

29. Payette B.C. *Northwest*. Privately Printed (a reference book for the Friends of the Columbia River Maritime Museum). 1964.

30. Payette B.C. *The Oregon Country under the Union Jack*. Privately printed for Payette Radio Ltd, Montreal. 1962.

31. Akrigg G.P.V. & Helen B. *British Columbia Chronicle Vol. 1* Discovery Press 1975 (p.395-406).

32. Bigsby J.J. *Shoe and Canoe Vol. 1* London 1850.

written for young people[17] in the 40s and 50s continued to portray David Thompson as a role model, while perpetuating the myths of his "dalliance" and the "race". Old ideas die hard. Even John Nicks' excellent biography in 1985[18] did not answer the controversies.

For genuine facts about David Thompson's surveys a person only has to read *Men & Meridians Volume One.*[19] These activities speak for themselves, and for him, as no other material can. As we are now in the age of satellite imaging and GPS fixes, it might be of interest to mention the complexities of observing for latitude and longitude in Thompson's day. Although latitude and local time, could be determined in a straightforward manner from astronomic observation, using sextant and the current *Nautical Almanac*, obtaining Greenwich time (and so longitude) was anything but straightforward. The method of lunar distances as used by David Thompson has been described in detail by L.M. Sebert in his 1981 article in the *Canadian Surveyor.*[20] Use of this arduous method enabled David Thompson to determine astronomic fixes that compare remarkably well with those taken two hundred years later (which have all the advantages of modern methods and equipment). Any larger discrepancies can well be atributed to the exigencies of operating in rugged unknown terrain, with or without the assistance of an untrained man as timekeeper. Another reason - if one is needed - to admire the dedication and competence of this eighteenth-century geographer.

A New Look Although a few authors, in writing about related subjects, had cleared up some of the mystery surrounding David Thompson's epic journey down the Columbia, none actually took up the cudgels in the cause of proper, historical logical deduction until Barbara Belyea came on the scene. In *The Columbian Enterprise and A.S.Morton: A Historical Exemplum*,[21] she effectively hammered into the ground the theories of Morton and Glover, as well as castigating several other historians for adopting them without question. This very ethical historian then went on to edit and publish *The Columbian Journals: David Thompson*,[22] filling a much needed gap in our knowledge. This is the first publication of the Journals as such for many years and is the result of a prodigious amount of research. Here, Thompson's great achievement is set out for the readers themselves to interpret.

Belyea's publication of the *Columbia Journals*, and her vindication of Thompson's motivation, proved to be the start of a new perspective - that David Thompson's story should be derived basically from his daily Journals, while other writings e.g. the *Narrative*, are given due importance, but used advisedly.

Sources of the River[23] by Jack Nisbet, gives an extensive biography of David Thompson largely from Journal content and clearly describes the problems facing a newcomer in a vast unknown country, where rivers run north before turning south and sometimes south before turning north (as in the case of the Kootenay); included are comparisons with people and places on the banks of today's multi-dammed Columbia which are only too realistic.

Also written with today's world firmly in mind is *On the Road with David Thompson*[24] by Joyce & Peter McCart. Here too the authors are not arm-chair historians, and the reader can follow, in today's complex pattern of roads, rivers and dams, the path of the first practical map-maker to penetrate the Rockies and explore the Columbia River. Thompson's Journals are well-quoted in this book, but the part which I relish the most is where the authors put paid to Peter Newman's fanciful (not to say outrageous) account of the events of September 15 - October 11, 1810. The happenings in this period were first described in Alexander Henry's Journal, at a significant time in Thompson's affairs, when the Peigan blockade forced him to adopt the Athabasca Pass as a new route through the Rockies. The interpretation of these events by the authors has an advantage over many other explanations, in that it is perfectly believable.

The Journals Reading and piecing together the entries from the Journals can be a most satisfying way of forming one's own narrative of events. Here there can be no malarkey. As an example:- although David Thompson's *Narrative* well describes the plight of his small party during the winter of 1810/11, in a frozen world, splitting cedar shakes for a shelter to live in, and for a clinker-built canoe, only his Journal will suffice for the reader to appreciate the hardships of this small party when they set off up the melting Upper Columbia on April 17, 1811, pulling their laden canoe, with the trackers wearing snow-shoes in three feet of wet snow on the banks. A cryptic entry for April 24th simply says: "Gumming canoe. Vallade ill with snowblindness"; what more miserable conditions could be conjured up by six words?

While every author who writes about Thompson becomes familiar with his Journals through research, the ordinary reader must rely on

published sources for his access to them; and here he faces a somewhat daunting task. The Journals are extant from 1790 until 1812, when he crossed the Athabasca Pass, going east on his last journey across the Rocky Mountains, and while they have been catalogued in archives, publication has only been done piecemeal. Some editions of the Journals have been already mentioned; and his *Mandan Journals 1897/8* were published in 1977[25]. To show how difficult it is to obtain a sequential record of Journals relating to Thompson's greatest accomplishment - say from Oct 29, 1810 (before crossing the Athabasca Pass west-bound), to arriving back at Boat Encampment Sept 18,1811 (after having explored the Columbia to its mouth) - I have set out a record of Journal publications for that period (see above).

Date	Journal	Editor/Historian/Publisher	
1810			
July 22/Oct. 29	No Journal for D.T		
Sept. 6/Oct. 29	Alex Henry's. Journal Reference	Elliott Coues	*New Light on the History of the Greater Northwest* p.610-658
Oct. 29/Dec. 31	D.T. Journal (Athabasca Pass)	B. Belyea	*Columbia Journals*
1811			
Jan.1-26	D.T Journal	B. Belyea	*Columbia Journals*
Jan. 26/Feb. 26	D.T.Journal		(Unpublished)
Feb. 27/June 9	D.T.Journal	Mary Catherine White	*David Thompson's Journals Relating to Montana and Adjacent Regions pt VI*
June 4/9	D.T.Journal	T.C. Elliott	Washington Historical Quarterly XI (1920)
June 7/14	D.T.Journal	T.C. Elliott	Washington Historical Quarterly XXIII (1932)
June 10/16	D.T.Journal	T.C. Elliott	Washington Historical Quarterly VIII (1917)
June 17/19	D.T.Journal	T.C. Elliott	Washington Historical Quarterly IX (1918)
June 20/28	D.T.Journal		(Unpublished)
June 29/July 2	D.T.Journal	T.C. Elliott	Oregon Historical Quarterly XII (1911)
July 3/21	D.T.Journal (Lower Columbia)	B. Belyea	*Columbia Journals*
July22/Sept. 23	D.T.Journal (Return upstream)	B. Belyea	*Columbia Journals*

So even the most avid would-be reader of Journals has a problem - just too many sources. Moreover the Journals themselves, even when decyphered, are of little use to the layman without the footnotes of an editor/historian who is also a Thompson scholar. Which brings us again to that rhetorical question - when are we going to see that omnibus volume that does justice to all the criteria of David Thompson's life?

To Sum Up The books listed here do not, of course, constitute a complete tally of David Thompson publications. There have been over the years many biographical writings by other eminent authors. But nearly all owe their derivation to the ones I have mentioned. They are the basis for the liberal mix of fact and assumption that is seen as David Thompson's life. As for that boundless subject, the fur-trade, of which his story is only a small part, a few publications should be mentioned on account of their relevance, e.g. L.R. Masson's *Les Bourgeois . . .*[26], M. Campbell's *The North-West Company*[27] and McGillivray, *Lord of the North-West*[28], and B.C. Payette's *North-West*[29]. The latter has some very interesting exhibits (in particular the complete texts of the North-West Company's unsuccessful petitions to Britain in 1811/12 for a charter). Also relevant is a similar book by Payette, *The Oregon Country under the Union Jack*[30] a treasure trove of memorabilia about Astoria, in particular the full text of that historic Bill of Sale ceding Astor's Pacific Fur Company's assets to the North-West Company, at Astoria October 16, 1813. As for the loss to Canada of the Oregon Country, one should only have to read *B.C. Chronicles Vol ll*[31] to get to the root of the matter

As this article progresses to completion, the truth as hinted at in the beginning becomes inescapable; the reader who wants to get the complete story about the man David Thompson, Canada's greatest geographer, will have to do some exploring himself - through many libraries, and even archives. The books I have mentioned are still available, but some, I regret to say, are now out of print.

As for the only contemporary writer who met, and was able later to describe David Thompson as a man, this was J.J. Bigsby, in his book *Shoe & Canoe, 1850*,[32] and that one really is out of print!

It seems to me that Canadian history is being short-changed in this matter. It is as though the pundits are saying: "OK - we have dealt with David Thompson, and everybody knows about him, so let's get on with something else". But the pundits have not dealt with him in a satisfactory way. This is Western Canada's great geographer, about whom this generation should need to know - and would like to know better, but for the exigencies of having to conduct our own researches in so many different avenues, dodging round, as we must, the theories of sixty years ago, many of which are both outmoded and unproven. •

Token History

Bread, the Staff of Life or a tale of Two Related Bakeries

By Ronald Greene

Hanbury, Evans & Co., of Vancouver, B.C. Golden West Bakery, of Victoria, B.C.

The two principals of the Vancouver firm were David W. Hanbury and Thomas G. Evans. Both were born in England, moved to Australia, and then came to Canada, where they were associated for several years in the above named firms.

David W. Hanbury was born in London, England in 1868. He trained as a baker and moved to Brisbane, Australia, no later than the early 1890's for his three sons were all born in Australia.[1] His wife was Jeannie Clark Campbell, known as "Jennie," a native of Scotland.[2] Thomas George Evans, usually known as T.G., was born in Liverpool in 1870. He moved to Australia as a young man. He was married to Annie Robinson and they had one daughter.[3] According to David Hanbury's grand-children[4] with whom we spoke the two wives were very close friends. The family background seems not to have been discussed in the family but it was known that Jennie hated Australia. Not long after James' birth in October 1902 David Hanbury sent his wife and family to Scotland while he searched out a place to relocate. His first choice was California, but he didn't stay there very long. By mid 1904 he was running the Vancouver Bakery at 73 Cook Street, in Victoria, and the London Bakery at 25 Government Street. He had taken over from Simmons & Coker who had operated bakeries at both locations, and in the 1905-06 directory he was listed as the proprietor of the London & Vancouver Bakery at 73 Fort Street. By 1904 his family was living with him in Victoria. We will return to Mr. Hanbury's Victoria career below.

T.G. Evans arrived in Vancouver in 1906 and went into a large bakery business with David W. Hanbury. In October 1906 they bought a bakery from the William D. Muir who had operated Muir's Bakery at 2414 Westminster Avenue. Evans was the manager of the Vancouver operation, described as wholesale and retail bread manufacturers, and very quickly increased the number of loaves produced per week to 55,000[5] up 50% from the levels that Mr. Muir had produced. The plant had over thirty employees and used the most modern ovens available. They required fifteen wagons to make deliveries. Their expansion was swift and they needed to purchase a new site, which they did at 60 Lansdowne West (now 4th Avenue West). The bakery moved to this new location in time to be listed there in the 1910 city directory. We don't know what happened but in 1911 T.G. Evans left the bakery business and returned to Australia. Ramsay & Pinchin were listed as bakers at the former Hanbury, Evans & Co. premises in 1912. In 1914 T.G. Evans returned to Vancouver and entered the shoe business, working with James Rae. Later he was a partner with Marshall Sheppard. He appears to have retired in 1922 and lived in Vancouver until his death in 1947. The two families remained close and Rea Hanbury (David's grandson) remembered going over to Vancouver quite often to visit the Evans family into the 1940's. T.G. Evans does not appear to have had any involvement in the Victoria bakeries and David W. Hanbury never lived in Vancouver.

Above right, Mr. and Mrs. Hanbury and their 3 sons, l. to r. Evan, Alfred and James
Courtesy: Rea Hanbury

Below, D.W. Hanbury's delivery wagon, Vancouver & London Bakery, Victoria, B.C. from the period of 1904-1911
Courtesy: Rea Hanbury

Meanwhile, in Victoria, by 1910 David W. Hanbury had taken over the Golden West Bakery of John T. Legg at 1729 Cook St.[6] David Hanbury built a large bakery building at 2120 Quadra Street, on the south west corner of Princess Avenue in 1911 out of which he operated a wholesale and retail operation. He gave up the London & Vancouver Bakery by 1912.

The two older sons, Alfred and Evan, were working with their father by 1914. As WWI carried on both signed up and were listed as on "active service." After serving with the Canadian Army Medical Corps Alfred was discharged in July 1919. Life as a baker did not appeal to him and he took a horticulture course at university.[7] He married a Scottish girl, Ann Cameron Allen in 1924 and moved to Penticton. He later became an orchardist near the head of Osoyoos Lake. When James became old enough to work he started at the bakery. He moved

to New York to take a Fleischman's bakery course. When he returned he took over production in the bakery.

On April 2, 1929 the Golden West Bakery Limited was incorporated, with the intention of taking over the bakery business and its assets for $84,875.00.[8] There is a detailed list of assets and equipment, which included eight Ford and one Pontiac [delivery] vehicles, five horses and horse-drawn vans, one Essex manager's car, and two Shaller New Era Continuous baking ovens. Of interest was that Glenora Securities Ltd. of Montreal was allotted all of David Hanbury's shares. Those shares were transferred to McGavin Bakeries Limited June 10th of the same year. At this point David Hanbury retired but the boys kept running the bakery for McGavin's. Evan became President, James was Vice-President and production manager. The Golden West Bakery Limited entity was placed in voluntary liquidation in 1932 and after that the bakery operation carried on under the McGavin's name.

When David retired he took up fox farming, but the Great Depression was not easy on him or this profession. During WW2, the bakery was hard pressed to find help. Rea remembers helping out after school as a young teen-ager from 1942, but doesn't recall his grandfather going back to work at the bakery. However, the city directories show David Hanbury in 1940 as a fur breeder and production manager at McGavin's, in 1944 as a baker, and his death certificate showed that he last worked as a baker in 1945.[9] When Jennie died in 1945 David Hanbury moved to Osoyoos to live with Alfred. He died Aug 8, 1953.

James had to leave the bakery in 1943 due to health problems – flour dust is quite a health hazard and he was told if he kept working in the bakery his years would be very sharply numbered. He took over a 10 acre orchard, from Alfred and a man named Cummings. He later ran a launderette and died in Victoria in 1972. Evan continued to manage the bakery until the early 1950's, but then left the bakery and became a fireman at H.M.C.S. Naden. He was on the job when he suffered a fatal heart attack in 1965.

In 1961 McGavin Bakeries Limited merged with Canadian Bakeries Ltd., to form McGavin-Toastmaster Ltd. The new company amalgamated its Victoria operation into the plant at 2629 Prior Street and vacated the Quadra Street plant. From 1960, with the new B.C. government ferry system between Swartz Bay (near Victoria) and Tsawwassen (near Vancouver) in place it became practical to supply Victoria with bread baked in Vancouver and in 1964 McGavin-Toastmaster ended all production in Victoria. Today the former Hanbury bakery on Quadra street is the home to a wholesale marine supply business.

The Vancouver token of Hanbury, Evans & Co., can be dated to the period 1906 to 1911. It is black print on a dark red which will not reproduce well. It is interesting that the token also mentions the name Mount Pleasant Bakery, but that name does not appear in either the *Greater Vancouver Illustrated*, or city directories. The Golden West Bakery token can be dated to the period 1912 to 1928. Both pieces are rare. •

1 Alfred b. 1894, Evan b. 1895 and James b. 1902

2 Vital Events, Death Certificate, 1945-09-666847, microfilm B13188

3 Daily Province, July 29, 1947, p. 24

4 Interview with Ann Scott on April 3, 2004, and D.M. "Rea" Hanbury, on April 15, 2004

5 *Greater Vancouver Illustrated*, Dominion Illustrating Company, Vancouver, B.C. [copy in British Columbia Archives, NW/971.1Va/D671. This promotional publication is undated, but is evidently either 1908 or late 1907.

6 the 1910-1911 Victoria City Directory was published in January 1911. Hanbury was listed as the proprietor of the Golden West Bakery.

7 His obit in the Osoyoos Times, Dec 10, 1981, p. 2 mentions that he attended school and university in Scotland, but Rea recalled that he took a horticulture course in Oregon. This would not be contradictory if he had studied something else in Scotland.

8 Registrar of Companies files, BC0010858, microfilm B5176

9 Vital Events, Death Certificate, 1953-09-008009, microfilm B13216

(top left) Four Brisbane, Australia bakers in their baker's whites David Hanbury [at left front]
Courtesy: Rea Hanbury

(opposite) Golden West cardboard token 61x 32mm Black print on orange card

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

Grewingk's Geology of Alaska and the Northwest Coast of America; contributions toward knowledge of the orographic and geognostic condition of the Northwest Coast of America, with the adjacent islands. *Translated by Fritz Jaensch. 242 p., illus., maps. $24.95 paperback.*

Steller's History of Kamchatka; collected information concerning the history of Kamchatka, its peoples, their manners, names, lifestyles, and various customary practices. *Translated by Margritt Engel and Karen Willmore. 298 p., illus., maps. $27.95 paperback.*

Through Orthodox Eyes; Russian missionary narratives of travels to the Dena'ina and Ahtna, 1850s - 1930s. *Translated by Andrei A. Znamenski. 416 p., illus., maps. $27.95 paperback.*

These three books are 2003 publications by the University of Alaska Press at Fairbanks. They are Volumes 11, 12 and 13 of the *Rasmuson Library Historical Translation Series* which was introduced in 1985. The series provides access to historical journals and studies, generally from the Imperial Russian era, prior to the 1867 purchase of Alaska by the United States. While often specialized, this series provides fascinating in-depth historical accounts.

Volume 11. Grewingk's Geology

Constantine Grewingk assembled everything that was known of the geology of Russian America in 1850. Although he never visited Alaska, he exhaustively examined reports and mineral samples assembled by explorers and clerics to create the first mineralogical dissertation and maps of Alaska. He also provided information with respect to volcanic activity, fossils and the concept of the Bering Land Bridge.

Volume 12. Steller's History of Kamchatka.

Georg Wilhelm Steller, German by birth, was appointed by the Russian Academy of Sciences as naturalist to Vitus Bering's second Kamchatka expedition. Steller arrived in Kamchatka in 1740. He sailed with Bering to discover Alaska in 1741. Bering died on that island. Steller returned to Kamchatka on the salvaged St. Peter in September 1742 after being marooned on the island for approximately nine months. Steller's handwritten manuscript on Kamchatka was composed in 1743 and 1744 and was finally published in German thirty years after his death, at age 37, in 1746. This book is the first English translation of Steller's History of Kamchatka.

Steller was interested in everything. His review of the area's natural history is extensive. He was the first scholar to describe the complexities of the life cycle of the Pacific salmon. Today, his data allows researchers to determine changes in fish distribution due to natural and human causes.

His detailed descriptions of the native people (Itelmen)reflect his willingness to disregard his own comforts to access their life style. The book provides present day natives with a rich source of knowledege of their ancestors' way of life and traditions. Steller details their origins, religion, disposition, virtues, vices, physical characteristics, clothing, work, tools, diet, table manners, celebrations, entertainment, marriage and sexual customs, medicines, time measurement and travel habits. The book is easy to read, fascinating and often amusing.

Volume 13. Through Orthodox Eyes

This book brings into English an important collection of Russian missionary records which shed new light on the spread of Orthodox Christianity among the Athabaskan speaking peoples from the area on the north coast of Cook Inlet, south to the Copper River. It provides insights into the Russian perceptions of native society and includes much new ethnographic information on seasonal hunting and fishing cycles, shamanism, marriage practices, interaction between natives and miners as well as alcohol abuse. The translator has provided a substantial interpretive chapter that places events into historical perspective and cultural interaction, as well as biographies of individual missionaries and native leaders to demonstrate how the Athabaskans turned Russian Orthodoxy into their native church.

Norm Collingwood *Norm Collingwood is a recently retired Provincial Court Judge.*

A Ribbon of Shining Steel: the railway diary of Kate Cameron. *Julie Lawson. Toronto, Scholastic Canada, 2002. 203 p., illus. maps. $14.99 hard cover. 'Dear Canada' Series*

This story is set in 1882 and is written in the style of the diary of a twelve year old girl. Although the diary is based on actual historical fact and real people, Kate Cameron and the diary are fictionalized. Kate and her family have moved to Yale, B.C. and her father works for the C.P.R. railroad. The story speaks of life in a railroad construction town and the trials and tribulations of the twelve-year old girl and her family. She tells us about the first trip of the Skuzzy through Hell's Gate Canyon on the Fraser River, the terrible toll on the lives of the Chinese workers who built the railroad, the building of the many railway bridges, including the Skuzzy River and the cantilever bridge at Siska, writing the historical aspect in terms easily understood by the young and the not-so-young.

The story is exciting, informative and well-written. It will be extremely useful in the teaching of B.C. history and the railroad for that particular period in time. It has large, easily read print and particularly suits grades 4 to 8. However, it is also a great read for everyone else - I am in my seventies and thoroughly enjoyed it.

Dodothy Dodge *Dodothy Dodge is the Curator of the Lytton Museum and Archives.*

George Davidson: Social Policy and Public Policy Exemplar. *Richard B. Splane. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 2003. 236 p. $30 paperback.*

At this time of distrust in governments and high-ranking officials, it is restorative to read of the great respect that exists for public

servant George Forrester Davidson (1909-1995). For example, when Davidson receives a Doctor of Laws from U.B.C. in 1955 as part of the 25th anniversary of the School of Social Work it is “for his personal qualities, which so well reflect his humane studies, no less than for his contributions to the improvement of human welfare in British Columbia, in Canada, and through the United Nations”.

Davidson’s career begins in B.C. after graduating from U.B.C., and obtaining his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1932. He is an excellent classics scholar and he actually writes his doctoral thesis in Latin. However, no career doors open in his field and the future looks unpromising in the midst of the Depression. Then George Weir appoints him as B.C.’s Superintendent of Welfare. Davidson is quite aware of his lack of specific subject knowledge for the job. Fortuitously, he works with Dr. Harry Cassidy, known for his expertise on unemployment issues, and Laura Holland, B.C.’s celebrated first professional social worker. His career in social welfare and public administration is thus established, and he goes from one important post to another in quick succession.

He briefly serves in the volunteer sector as the Executive Director of both the Vancouver Council of Social Agencies and its funding raising arm, the Vancouver Social Welfare Federation. In 1939 Cassidy leaves the province, and Davidson assumes his role as B.C.’s Director of Welfare. Davidson is only in his mid thirties when B.C. loses him to Ottawa as he takes the executive helm of the Canadian Welfare Council, and he makes a point of travelling extensively in Canada to see the country’s social problems first hand. From the Council it is a short hop to the federal government. From 1944 to 1960 he is Deputy Minister for National Health and Welfare, where he plays a key role in the administration of Canada’s new family allowance program. He also is involved with the formulation of the Green Book proposals, which are influential in post-war reconstruction. Another deputy minister post follows: Citizenship and Immigration. Then he works at the administrative heart of government as the Director of the Bureau of Government Organization and as the Secretary to the Treasury Board.

But his career doesn’t stop there. Many remember Davidson as head of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. He doesn’t seek the position and he accepts it only at the insistence of Prime Minister Pearson, since Davidson expects that the role will be an arduous one. And indeed it is. There are many challenges including the coverage that the CBC gives the FLQ crisis. He once again proves himself and he goes on to the the United Nations to become the Under-Secretary General for Administration and Management in 1972. At that time it is the most senior post ever held by a Canadian at the U.N. In the 1980s Davidson concludes his work at the U.N. as an Advisor to the Fund for Population Activities.

Not surprisingly, Davidson receives many awards before his death in Victoria in 1995.

The book’s author, Dr. Richard (Dick) B. Splane, served under Davidson and he was inspired by him. Splane is a renowned figure in his own right winning a place in, *Faithful angels: portraits of international social work notables*. He has written an engaging work showing the importance of Davidson’s upbringing, as well as the social and economic times. Splane’s book details Davidson’s life very thoroughly and yet it is easy to read, and it has many bibliographic references. The book is a worthwhile contribution to the history of Canadian public administration.

Beverley Scott *Beverley Scott is a retired social work librarian and she recently authored*, Establishing Professional Social Work in Vancouver and at the University of British Columbia.

Harvesting the Fraser; a history of early Delta.
Terrence Phillips. Delta Museum and Archives, 2003. 80 p., illus. $20 hard cover, $15 paperback.

As the title implies, Delta has been strongly influenced by the Fraser River. It is truly a child of the river which has deposited silt and debris for approximately 8000 years, expanding the land westward by three metres each year, thus providing a rich productive natural environment, albeit one subject to constant geographical changes.

Delta municipality is located on a peninsula at the south-western extreme of the Fraser River delta. It possesses a large flatland region which was often submerged. Prior to European settlement, its First Nation people, the Coast Salish Tsawwassen, came to the swampy low-lying areas to obtain food. Part One of the book contains a fascinating account of the Tsawwassen people, their lifestyle and the inevitable changes resulting from contact with the first European explorers, Narvaez, Eliza, Galiano, Valdez, Vancouver and the first settlers.

The Ladners were the first to bring the rich delta marshland into production by diking and draining. In 1873, a government wharf was built on land donated by William Ladner, thus providing access to the steamboats travelling the Fraser. Prior to the wharf construction, Ladner offered part of his homestead as a post office site, which had become known as Ladner’s Landing. He would row out to passsing steamers, collect the mail and hand it over to local residents. The area continued to prosper with the construction of the Ladner Trunk Road in 1874, and in 1879 Delta was incorporated as a municipality.

A large salmon fishing and canning industry was a logical development from the 1870’s onward with much of the labour force coming from Chinese immigrants who were first brought to the west coast for the construction of the C.P.R. When the railway reached Vancouver in 1887 that community grew rapidly with a corresponding decline in other communities such as New Westminster and Ladner’s Landing. Delta, surrounded by ocean on two sides and separated from Vancouver by the massive Fraser delta, truly felt the need for a stronger transportaton infrastructure.

The canning industry lessened in importance with increased competiton from

American fishers, local fishers' dissatisfaction with prices they were paid for fish and the development of canneries at Steveston on Lulu Island which were more accessible than most of the Delta canneries. In 1902, the newly formed British Columbia Packers Association acquired and merged nine Delta canneries and promptly closed five of them. Finally, in 1913, railway construction resulted in the Hell's Gate slide in the Fraser Canyon which decimated salmon runs by blocking access to upriver spawning areas.

In 1883 Laurent Guichon, one of several brothers from France who had successfully ranched in the Nicola Valley, moved his family to Delta and began farming west of Ladner's Landing. Guichon already had interests in a hotel in New Westminster and he shortly built the "Port Guichon" hotel, a store and a wharf on his newly acquired land. In the late 1890's and early 1900's transportation construction expanded rapidly in the lower Fraser Valley. In 1902 the C.P.R. reached Steveston and ferries to Steveston from Ladner and Port Guichon shortened the journey to Vancouver. By May 1903, the Victoria Terminal Railway and Ferry Company, (a Great Northern subsidiary), constructed a line from Cloverdale to Port Guichon and from there a rail-ferry carried passengers and freight to Sidney on Vancouver Island.

The Delta community continued its progress through the 20th century resulting in today's attractive mix of farms, residential areas, recreational facilities and industrial complexes. It celebrates its 125th anniversary in 2004, an excellent reason to visit its museum and archives, to view their special exhibits and to acquire this fine record of its past.

Norm Collingwood

The Lake O'Hara Art of J.E.H. MacDonald and Hiker's Guide. Lisa Christensen. Calgary, Fifth House, 2003. 136 p., illus. $29.95 paperback.

This is the third book by author Lisa Christensen that studies the work of Canadian artists who visited several areas of the Canadian Rockies to paint some of their best works while there. All were members of the Group of Seven, whose homes were in eastern Canada. The author also includes the Lake O'Hara painting by the American artist John Singer Sargent who visited the region.

The three books by the author are unique since she links art and the environment where the art was created. Christensen is well qualified to do this since she is not only an art historian but also an ardent hiker and environmentalist who lives in the Rocky Mountain town of Banff. The art work of J.E.H. MacDonald was not painted on the Alberta side of the Rockies but in British Columbia in the Yoho and Lake O'Hara area. It is here that the artist visited and worked during the summers from 1924 to 1930. This was the same period that Lawren Harris, A.Y. Jackson and others were painting in the Jasper area. The Canadian Pacific Railway was encouraging in sponsoring Canadian artists to visit and paint in the Rockies to advertise their tourist potential.

The numerous colour reproductions in the book often occupy the entire page with no margins. Sometimes to designate the various sections or chapters of the text, the reproduction carries over to the second page. Most of the illustrations occupy a full page with margins. The colour reproductions are, as in the previous books, of excellent quality. The choice of paper also enhances both the text and the illustrations.

The introductory chapter includes biographical information about the artist and also gives precise and accurate advice to those who wish to visit and hike in the Lake O'Hara area. A map is included that shows the location of the camps, trails and the spot where the artist painted or sketched the works that are reproduced. Each art work is numbered and described. The corresponding number is shown on the map by a location dot. Many quotations from the artist's note-books are included in the text. Archival photographs and other material is also included, which makes the text both interesting and reliable.

A bibliography, end-notes, and index are features that the author has included here as in her previous works. Her attention to such details makes the book valuable not only to artists and those who enjoy the outdoors and wish to follow in the artist's footsteps, but also for those who are working on research on Canadian art and artists.

Since the only access to the Lake O'Hara area where MacDonald painted is by trail, the detailed location information that was included in the previous books is not necessary here. The hiker must depend upon the map on page eleven in the introductory section. It occupies a full page and would be easily reproduced to take along while hiking to the various locations.

The author is to be congratulated once more for producing an interesting and well-researched book on an unusual combination of subjects.

***Melva Dwyer** Melva Dwyer is the Honorary President of the B.C.H.F.*

Cassiar; a jewel in the wilderness. Suzanne LeBlanc. Prince George, Caitlin Press, 2003. 210 p., illus. $19.95 paperback.

The story of Cassiar is a very Canadian one, for this country has had many mining boom towns, places built in remote wildernesses to exploit a rich mineral deposit, then abandoned when the mining activity ceased to be profitable, its buildings moved or left to rot, and its people forced to move elsewhere. This book is a history of one of these towns, a modern example, and of the mine and the region in which it was located.

In 1950, prospectors discovered a huge deposit of high-grade asbestos on McDame Mountain, in the Stikine region of northwestern British Columbia. Although the location was very remote, the Alaska Highway, built eight years earlier, passed 138 kilometres to the north of it, and a very rough mining road came within 30 kilometres of the site, making access possible. The claims were sold to the newly formed Cassiar Asbestos

Company, and when surveys showed that there was enough of the mineral to mine for about forty years, the company built a town with modern (for the era) facilities, including a school, a clinic staffed by a doctor, and other amenities.

Founded in 1952, the town was closed in 1992, for reasons that are somewhat disputed, but involved world prices, increasing costs (the mine was on top of a steep mountain, and extracting the asbestos was always costly), company finances, and possibly union intransigence at the end. While it lasted, however, it was a place that one either liked or hated. Those who liked it cited the tremendous natural beauty of the region, the friendliness and safety of the community (doors were not locked), the high wages (25% higher than the provincial average in 1990), and the opportunities for outdoor recreation. Those who hated it cited the isolation (even when it was finally connected to the provincial road network it was a long drive from anywhere), the harsh climate and short winter days (the mean January temperature is -19C and the extreme minimum was -47C), and the fact that everyone knew your business. Those who liked it mourned its passing, and those who disliked it did not stay in the town for long.

Cassiar: A Jewel contains nearly everything one would want to know about a resource town of this sort. Based on interviews with former residents as well as archival research, it is part geography, geology, economics, and social history. LeBlanc, a sociologist by training, writes engagingly and sympathetically about the town without descending to the kind of boosterism that makes so many local histories interesting only to people who live in the communities that are being written about. As a history of the time and place of a single town of a very Canadian type, it is a model of its kind.

***William R. Morrison**, University of Northern British Columbia.*

Living on the Edge; Nuu-Chah-Nulth History from an Ahousaht Chief's Perspective.

Earl Maquinna George, B.A., M.A. Winlaw, Sono Nis, 2003. 158 p. illus. $19.95 paperback.

Academic letters following the author's name on the title page may not reflect current stylistic practice, but the Bachelor in History and the Master in Geography signify the intent and process of this book. Maquinna is heredity chief of the Ahousaht people, one of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth nations, on Vancouver Island's west coast, Already in his seventies, he demonstrated to First Nations youth the importance and attainability of learning, and at the same time equipped himself to deal with the challenge of the treaty negotiations. For the latter purpose the content of his studies was less important than its form; he had to master the white ritual of documentation and jargon. Long accustomed to navigating on the water, he learned to steer his way through paperwork.

Like many books reviewed in these columns, this book is based on a thesis, but in this case the writer has rejected the usual conventions of white scholarship: "The difference with the information herein is that I decided the agenda and the order of the information... Documentation by outsiders is an artefact of the order and the orderliness of western cultures; it is not a part of our way of knowledge."

He takes a good-natured dig at the myriad historians, geographers, anthropologists, and ethno-scientists who have "studied" his people, including his friend and academic mentor, ethnobotanist Nancy J. Turner: "I have no list of interviews and have never 'collected' information." Parts of the book are not always linked, he explains but does not apologize: "However, that is the way the information exists and has since time began for us. We lived here long before Franz Boas, Gilbert Sproat, the many Indian agents and band managers, treaty negotiators, fishing companies, logging companies, and government agents, as surprising as that may seem to non-native people".

He has assembled, not collected, his information by living it; his autobiography belongs in the thesis as part of the argument of *Living on the Edge*, the edges being geographical, the edge between land and sea and also one edge of a large continent with power somewhere in the centre, and cultural, the edge between the native way and the white way. He has no regrets about his work in the fisheries, canneries, and forests. Even the residential school filled a need when his widowed father went north to work. But he does regret that, while he has learned about white ways, white people have not been willing to learn about native ways. Even well into the treaty process and environmental crises, native knowledge does not seem to be of much interest. So he makes that knowledge another part of his argument, including chapters about plants, animals and world-view: knowledge, not "folklore". His "research" has been his people's recollections and his own experience, and on these he bases his conclusions, his view of the future, and his insightful, often witty, analysis of the treaty process. He finds he must be a translator where exact translation is impossible. Keywords, such as nation, ownership, chief, crown, title and conservation, have been rendered into Native/English equivalents, but the concepts have not been translated. Almost always, the English implies a hegemony and rigidity alien to the Native connotation. The English terminology carries also overtones of paternalism, which Maquinna emphatically and repeatedly rejects.

He is deeply suspicious of the governmental reluctance to relinquish parental control of Native people through the bureaucracies at Indian Affairs and their satellite bandcouncils. He is very clear on the next step: "What should happen, and what should happen fast, is that we should scrap the Indian Act and set up our own department, First Nations managing their own destiny through self-government." He talks about "HaHuulhi", which is "not ownership in the white sense; it is a river or other place that is shared by all Nuu-Chah-Nulth people, with a caretaker being the hereditary chief of each site or village, such as Ahousaht"; a concept now written into the framework agreement and recognised

by the provincial and federal governments and the Nuu-Chah-Nulth nations. He concludes by alluding to the First Nation ideas of many nations within a larger nation, about one nation always being tied in with another on the outer side of the same island: "It is a fitting description of how all nations should live, as we are all on different sides of the same island." A successful scholarly work usually inspires further development by other students. It is no accident that the author of this thesis includes photographs of his daughter Grace and his son Corby who has assumed the chieftainship duties. Neither looks likely to allow their father's work or their people's future to slip off the edge.

Phyllis Reeve *Phyllis Reeve is a resident of Gabriola Island.*

Bent Props and Blow Pots; a pioneer remembers northern bush flying. *Rex Terpening. Madeira Park, Harbour Publishing, 2003. 338 p., illus. $36.95 hard cover.*

In this remarkable book, Rex Terpening provides an account of the age of classic bush-flying of which every word comes from direct, first-hand experience. The author, now in his nineties, spent his entire working life in commercial aviation. The early part of it was passed in the uncharted, lonely, and largely unexplored vastness of the Canadian north, where he worked as a mechanic and "air engineer". In prose which is always clear, graceful and sometimes elegant, the author returns us to a vanished world, almost unimaginable to most Canadians today. He kept a careful and extensive diary, and the book contains an abundance of photographs, mostly taken by him. The narrative is both instructive and evocative, a journey back through time.

We read of innumerable adventures, flying while sitting or lying on piles of cargo, as pilots routinely performed take-offs and landings in grotesquely dangerous circumstances – and of astonishing repairs and ingenious solutions to equipment failures and breakages. But there is far more to this book than details of aircraft registrations (which, like the given names of real people, give them an individuality which lives in the memory), or the ingenuity of major repairs made, of necessity, from random scrap parts or serendipitous bits of local junk.

In contrast to the modern world, choking on contracts, obligations, fee schedules, writs, torts, leases and bills, the Arctic world of the twenties and thirties depended on handshakes, friendship, co-operation and goodwill to an extent that we shall never see again. We read of an unplanned, damaging landing at McMurray in April of 1936. It being a Sunday, "a number of the townspeople, strolling in the sunshine, were now streaming across the ice . . . soon joined by CAL people who were enjoying a morning off . . . added manpower that would prove a blessing". After struggling with the damaged aircraft, they saw "coming toward us from the mouth of the Snye . . . a pair of hayburners from Ryan Brothers Transport . . . expert teamster at the controls. Baba and Prince then took over the towing operation . . ." This all happens spontaneously, and the motif appears over and over again. In those days, in that bitter, harsh, beautiful and often dangerous environment, goodwill prevails while danger and distance are overcome. In this book, beautifully printed and produced, the reader is uplifted as much by example as by the wings of northern aviation.

Mike Higgs *Mike Higgs is a retired Canadian Pacific Air pilot.*

From Tears to Triumph; the pioneers' journeys. *Borderline History Committee, Box 200, Tomslake, B.C., V0C 2L0. 435 pages, illus., maps. $95 hard cover.*

When Canada and most of Europe trembled on the brink of World War II, a small trainload of refugee immigrants reached journey's end at the tiny station of Tupper in unbroken land in British Columbia's Peace River country, a mile or two from Alberta. It was April 22, 1939. They had fled their homes and way of life far across the sea in Sudetenland in what is now the Czech Republic rather than submit to the imminent occupation of their land by Hitler's armies permitted by the Munich Agreement in September 1938. Great Britain and France had bought peace in their time.

The compelling story of these political refugees has been told before in such places as Andrew Amstatter's *Tomslake: History of the Sudeten Germans in Canada*, 1978; Bonar Gow's article, "A Home for Free Germans in the Wilderness of Canada", in *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol.10, 1978; and "The Sudeten Story" by William Wanka in *Lure of the South Peace* in 1981. These accounts make for poignant reading indeed as do the remembered family stories in *From Tears to Triumph*. But here it is mostly second generation recollection; life has surged on and many of the earlier narrators, the parents and older people, have been left behind. In this book we get more of the triumph than the tears.

We see the triumph in the black and white photographs of smiling, healthy-looking family members sometimes in their best clothes standing near their homes or relaxed at a picnic or in classes at log-built and newer schools with their teachers. There is even a photo of my library's bookmobile a long time ago at one of the rural schools with its dozen pupils and teacher. There are pictures of men at work, kids on horseback, young men in uniform, soccer players and hockey teams, and wedding parties and even people in lederhosen at community dances - all bespeaking the triumph of what they as a community have come through from the stark hardships of their parents who met their struggles head-on in the early days of the settlement during and after the war.

As one family wrote after moving into Dawson Creek in 1975, "No more half hour drives to work or shopping. We enjoyed water that was hot and ran endlessly out of the tap; a house that proved equally warm in all rooms with central heating. No more heat lamp under the propane tank to keep it going in forty below weather and provide shelter for an endless supply of mice. It is amazing how much things have changed in our own lifetime. We have gone from battery radios, coal oil lamps, and horse drawn implements to cell phones, digital TV, computers in the home and on vehicles - all

in the matter of fifty years. It makes a person wonder what the future holds."

If these sturdy descendants continue to show the same pioneer spirit and energy as their forebears did, no one should worry on that point. Well edited and indexed, *From Tears to Triumph* is a valuable source of local lore and a unique piece in the mosaic of our heritage. Well done, Borderline History Committee.

Howard Overend *Howard Overend, author of Book Guy: A Librarian in the Peace, was Head of the Public Library Commission's Peace River Branch from 1958 to 1972.*

Vancouver, A Novel *David Cruise and Alison Griffiths, Harper Collins Publishers Ltd., Toronto, 2003. 753 p. $37.95 hard cover.*

Vancouver, a novel of epic proportions written by David Cruise and Alison Griffiths, may appeal to the historian rather than the literary reader. Twelve stories titled after a protagonist, are set in sequential time periods, from the ice age to the present day. While the prose is plain, the ambitious structure and detailed research give the reader an appreciation of the many layers of Vancouver history.

The authors' eight previous collaborations, all non-fiction, dealt mainly with the business world, most notably, *Fleecing the Lamb: the inside story of the Vancouver Stock Exchange*. And so it is no surprise that some of the best stories in this novel are of entrepreneurial dreamers and schemers. Warburton Pike—inspired by an actual person and the only character whose real name is used—was one such dreamer. A 'gentleman immigrant' from Europe in the late 1800s, Pike became one of Vancouver's well-known eccentrics. His distant cousin of German stock, Konrad von Schaumberg, is also richly portrayed as a self-made man whose luck turns bad as the First World War approaches. Another excellent portrait is that of father and daughter, Walter and Tiffany Dolby, aggressive players on the Vancouver Stock Exchange in the 1960s and through the ensuing decades of VSE crimes and misdemeanors.

The stories of Soon Chong and Nanak Singh reveal much about the city's early ethnic enclaves. Chong's story begins in Guangzhou, China. He emigrates first to California at the time of the gold rush and experiences the brutality common to many Chinese miners. His tenacity and business know-how eventually lead him to Vancouver where he becomes a 'low profile' rich man. Similarly the Sikhs' resilience is depicted through Singh's story. To work at a sawmill, for instance, Singh is compelled to remove his turban and tell outsiders he is Italian. For all the racism and hardship, there is lots of humour in the telling of these tales.

The labour/left movement has played a major role in defining Vancouver, yet this perspective is notably absent. War and depression stories also get missed. But then, the history of the city since the great fire of 1886 is a mere blimp in time compared to that of the First Nations'. Appropriately, the novel begins and ends with their presence. The final story is prophetic as Ellie Nesbitt, part-First Nations, feels the history of her ancestors while in Stanley Park. This knowledge empowers her just as the reader of *Vancouver* is empowered by gaining a richer understanding of place.

Janet Mary Nicol *Janet Nicol is a free lance writer, a social studies teacher at Killarney Secondary School and long time resident of Vancouver.*

Native American in the Land of the Shogun; Ranald MacDonald and the opening of Japan. *Frederik L. Schodt. Berkeley, Calif., Stone Bridge Press, 2003. 418 p., illus., maps. US$19.95 paperback.*

Ranald MacDonald's ten-month adventure in Japan has been chronicled before, both in English and in Japanese, in novels and in biographies, but Frederik Schodt's account is the first to set the romantic tale in context. Schodt is an interpreter and translator with a broad understanding of Japanese history, and his telling clearly explains the importance of MacDonald's role and the significance of the timing of MacDonald's stay in Nagasaki.

Just when the Japanese Shogunate were coming to the realization that their strict Seclusion Laws were impeding their progress on the world stage, this young 'American' shipwrecked himself off their northern coast with a bundle of books and an ingratiating manner. He was transported to Nagasaki and, contrary to custom, confined in relatively comfortable quarters where a group of official 'interpreters' came to him daily for instruction in English. It was one of these interpreters, Einosuke Moriyama, who played the key role when Commodore Matthew Perry sailed into Edo (Tokyo) Bay in July 1853. For this reason MacDonald is known as the first teacher of English in Japan. After years of refusing entry to foreigners and avoiding contact with any outsiders other than a handful of Dutch traders resident on a tiny offshore island, the Japanese received Perry and he was able to begin the move to negotiate the 1854 treaty that opened Japan to commerce with the rest of the world.

Schodt has mined many hitherto undiscovered Japanese sources in telling the story and gives a full account of conditions that prevailed in the Pacific region in the mid-19th century. He describes the activities of Russian, Dutch and British traders, as well as the American whaling fleet that brought young Macdonald to the Sea of Japan. He updates the MacDonald story by reviewing Ranald's attempts during his lifetime to publish a memoir and the circumstances of its subsequent publication, in various forms, after his death. Today MacDonald is remembered by monuments in Japan and in Washington and Oregon and by the Friends of Ranald MacDonald in both countries who meet regularly to honour him.

Though a world traveller, Ranald MacDonald spent more years of his life in British Columbia than anywhere else. Born in Oregon, the son of Archibald McDonald, a prominent Hudson's Bay Company officer and Princess Raven, daughter of the legendary Chinook chief Comcomley, his mother died soon after his birth in 1824 and he spent his childhood years at Kamloops (1826-28) and at Fort Langley (1823-33) with McDonald's second family. After a term at John Ball's school at Fort Vancouver, he was sent to the Red River Academy in 1834 with

his younger half-brothers. Five years later, at age 15, he went to St. Thomas, Ontario, to be tutored in the ways of business by Edward Ermatinger, an old friend of his father who had retired from the fur trade. He endured the sedentary life for a few years, but in 1842 he ran away, ending up at Sag Harbour, New York, where he signed on as crew on the first of numerous sailing expeditions.

MacDonald returned to British Columbia about 1858, when he and his half-brothers Allan and Benjamin engaged in various entrepreneurial activities during the Cariboo gold rush. He was with Robert Brown's 1864 Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition, and remained in B.C. until about 1885, when he moved down to old Fort Colvile for the remaining nine years of his life. Schodt deals with all his years, but puts most of his emphasis on the Japanese experience which, as he says, was 'the highlight of his life'.

The book is attractively designed with numerous appropriate illustrations, maps, and helpful footnotes and bibliograhy. It sheds new light on the adventurous life of a pioneer British Columbian.

Jean Murray Cole *Jean Murray Cole is President of the Ontario Historical Society and a direct descendant of Archibald McDonald.*

Noteworthy Books

Books listed here may be reviewed at a later date. For further information please consult Book Review Editor, Anne Yandle.

Common & Contested Ground; a human and environmental history of the Northwestern Plains. Theodore Binnema. University of Toronto Press, 2004. $27.95

Denny's Trek; a Mountie's memoir of the march west. Sir Cecil Denny. Surrey, Heritage House, 2004. $18.95

Dr. Fred and the Spanish Lady; fighting the killer flu. Betty O'Keefe and Ian Macdonald. Surrey, Heritage House, 2004. $18.95

Lilies & Fireweed; frontier women of British Columbia. Stephen Hume. Raincoast Chronicles 20. Madeira Park, Harbour Publishing, 2004. $24.95

The Old Red Shirt; pioneer poets of British Columbia. Yvonne Mearns Klan. Vancouver, Transmontanus/New Star Books, 2004. $16

Plants of Haida Gwaii; Nancy J. Turner. Winlaw, BC, Sono Nis Press, 2004. $38.95

The Remarkable Adventures of Portuguese Joe Silvey. Jean Barman. Madieira Park, Harbour Publishing. $17.95

The Slocan; portrait of a valley. Katherine Gordon. Winlaw, Sono Nis Publishing, 2004. $24.95

Wires in the Wilderness; the story of the Yukon telegraph. Bill Miller. Surrey, Heritage House, 2004. $19.95

New Research on Highland Evictions Published

French publisher Publibook has just published *Improvement, pauvrete, evictions et emigration dans la presse d'Inverness 1845-1855*. Originally a thesis by Christian Auer, a researcher in British cultural studies at Louis Pasteur University, Strausborg, this new book deals with the Highland evictions and, in part, their emigration in large numbers to Canada and other parts of the British Empire. Published in French, the book is available from the publisher at www.publibook.com.

New Release

The Whales, They Give Themselves: Conversations wiih Harry Brower, Sr.

by Karen Brewster

The Whales, They Give Themselves is an intimate life history of Harry Brower, Sr. (1924- 1992), an Inupiaq whaling captain, artisan, and community leader from Barrow, Alaska. In a life that spanned the profound cultural and economic changes of the twentieth-century, Brewer's vast knowledge of the natural world makes him an essential contributor to the Native and scientific communities of the North. His desire to share his insights with future generations resulted in a series of conversations with friend and oral historian Karen Brewster, who weaves Harry's storey with cultural and historical background into this innovative and collaborative oral biography.

Brower communicated a vast understanding of bowhead whales and whaling that became the basis for a scientific research program and helped protect Inupiaq subsistence whaling. He was a central archtect of the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation boundaries and served for over twenty years as a consultant to scientists at the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory.

This volume is a major contribution to our understanding northern peoples, and a testament to the immense value of collaborative oral history.

22.95 - paper/45.00 hardcover 248 pages, b/w photos, map, bibliography, index Available from the University of Alaska Press

WebSite Forays

Casting Your Vote

Christopher Garrish

This coming December could prove to be a pivotal month in the political history of British Columbia. On the 15th, a Report is due to be submitted to the government by the Citizen's Assembly on Electoral Reform. It is possible that the recommendations of this Assembly could change the way we elect the provincial government for the first time in over fifty years (and thereby place BC at the forefront of electoral reform in Canada). To mark this potentially momentous event, a suite of web sites related to electoral history (and reform) in BC will be reviewed, beginning with the Citizen's Assembly site at www.citizensassembly.bc.ca.

The Assembly itself is an independent, non-partisan assembly of 160 randomly selected British Columbians who are examining how votes cast in provincial elections translate into seats in the Legislature. If the Assembly decides that BC should move away from the current First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) system, a referendum will be held in conjunction with the provincial election scheduled for May 2005 (the first in the province since the successful 1991 vote on Initiative and Recall).

Although the Assembly's web-site deals primarily with current issues and events, there are, nonetheless, some very interesting historically based resources available to visitors. These pages can primarily be found in the "Learning Resources" section of the site. One of the more interesting papers details aspects of British Columbia's electoral past, specifically the use of the "Alternative Vote" (AV) in the 1952 and 1953 general elections.

The AV electoral system was adopted by the Coalition Government (comprising the Liberal and Conservative parties) for purely partisan motives as the best way to curb the growing popularity of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (forerunner of the NDP). This was because the Alternative Vote worked by asking voters to rank candidates in the order of preference.

As the story goes, the coalition assumed the election would only be a three-party race and that this would give Liberal and Conservative candidates a leg-up on CCF candidates, as their supporters would assign their vote to the other Coalition party candidate before the CCF candidate. What had not been anticipated was the rise of the Social Credit party, and its ability to garner many of the second or third preferences of Coalition supporters.

When Social Credit won the 1953 election outright under the AV system (having only won a minority in 1952), they abolished the AV and reverted back to First-Past-The-Post which Premier WAC Bennett felt would better guarantee his party's long-term electoral success against the CCF/NDP in what was now a two-party system.

It is this history of using the voting system for crassly partisan reasons that has long spurred the movement for electoral reform in the province. As a result, there are a number of sites on the web that advocate for change, although none provide as comprehensive a resource as the Elections BC site (www.elections.bc.ca).

Elections BC is a veritable tome of information with the history of virtually every election and by-election ever held, along with a number of other interesting features. For instance, in the 1909 election two candidates each ran in two different ridings. John Oliver (future Premier: 1918-1927) ran unsuccessfully in both the riding of Delta and Victoria City, while Premier Richard McBride was successful in both Yale and Victoria City. Want another curious fact? In 1934, Thomas King in the riding of Columbia was the last candidate elected by acclamation.

A May vote on electoral reform will not be the only issue British Columbian's have been asked to vote on in referenda. Historically, if an issue was too controversial, the Legislature generally put the matter to a popular vote. Many of these touched on common themes such as Women's Suffrage and Liquor Control, but there have also been some odder ones such as Daylight Savings (1952), the use of Pacific Standard Time in the Kootenays (1953), and my favourite, the "Beer by the Glass" plebiscite of 1924 (defeated).

I could quite happily continue to quote some of the intriguing and bizarre facts and figures I found contained at the site, but it is probably best if you explore it for yourself.

The last two sites that I will cover deal with the issue of directly advocating for electoral change. The first of these sites is the Malaspina College-hosted Electoral Change Coalition of British Columbia (ECCO-BC) site (http://www.mala.bc.ca/~westj/ECCO/welcome.htm). ECCO-BC's objective is to inform British Columbians about alternate electoral models used throughout the world. Unfortunately, many of the pages appear to be slowly vanishing due to neglect.

However, one of the more interesting features that still remains is a table that was compiled to show what the outcomes of the 1996 election (won by the NDP, but in which the Liberals captured the popular) would have been under different electoral systems. Problematic with this site, however, is that while it readily points out the problems with the current system, it does not appear to offer an objective assessment of the short-comings to other electoral systems.

A more comprehensive site, however, is Fair Voting BC at http://www.fairvotingbc.com, which bills itself as "non-profit, non-partisan" in its attempt to change BC's voting system to one that is more proportional. As with the ECCO-BC site, no one particular electoral model is favoured, rather Fair Voting BC simply lays out an argument that details everything that is wrong with FPTP.

The most interesting pages are, by far, those dealing with the writings of Fair Vote Director, Nick Loenen - a former Social Credit MLA during the Vander Zalm years. One of the central tenant of Loenen's writings is that reform must occur in order to curb both the concentration of power as well as political disengagement by the public. Loenen's writings draw on his experience as an MLA to argue for the adoption of a Single Transferable Vote (STV), a system that he has advocated in front of the Citizen's Assembly.

The STV works on the idea that voters rank candidates in the voter's order of preference by numbering the ballot. The ballots are then to be counted in a way that ensures the candidate with the highest preference is elected. It is an interesting concept, and one that some local media commentators have begun to peg as the odds on favourite recommendation of the Assembly.

Depending on the consensus that is ultimately achieved by the Citizens Assembly, the web sites that have been reviewed this time provide an excellent background to some of the issues that have been tackled in this debate.

By Roma Pedersen, Archives Volunteer

Edited by Sylvia Stopforth,
Librarian & Archivist, Norma Marion Alloway Library,
Trinity Western University

A "S.O.L.I.D." Collection

The South Okanagan Lands Irrigation District collection, which is held by the Oliver and District Heritage Society, consists of 9.24 metres of textual records, 990 maps and plans, and many black and white photographs.

S.O.L.I.D. was established in 1964, taking over what had been called the South Okanagan Lands Project (S.O.L.P.), which had been established in 1918. These two collections include field books, managers' diaries, scrapbooks, meteorological records, water measurement records, and more.

The following is based on these records, and on the book, *The Ditch: Lifeline of a Community*, by Julia Cancela, in co-operation with the Oliver Heritage Society Museum and Archives and British Columbia Heritage Trust (1986).

Premier John Oliver did not like what was happening to soldiers returning from the First World War. He believed that they had fought hard for their country and should be rewarded for such when they returned home. The *Soldiers Land Act*, passed by the B.C. Legislature in 1918, enabled the provincial government to purchase some 22,000 acres of land, extending from McIntyre Bluff to the U.S. border, from the Southern Okanagan Lands Company for $350 000; 8000 acres of the 22,000 were to be irrigated.

The government's main objective in taking over and developing the land was to provide homes for those returning soldiers desiring to work the land. These men contributed not only to the actual construction of the irrigation system, but also to the preparation and subdivision of the land. Many laboured for several years, and as work progressed and land at the upper end of the Project was offered for sale, they were the first to buy and to build homes. Five and ten acre lots were set out; a ten-acre orchard was considered sufficient to provide a family with an adequate livelihood.

Premier Oliver hoped that the young soldiers would see the importance of owning land, instead of remaining in urban areas where there was high unemployment. Men came from all walks of life – engineers, surveyors, carpenters, and labourers - to work on the project.

During construction of "The Ditch," and because there was no accommodation, nine camps were set up throughout the area. Large tent houses were erected, which could accommodate fifty to sixty men each, and between 150 and 300 men lived in each camp.

In 1927, the project was completed. It was twenty-five miles long, with twenty miles of ditches, twenty-seven flumes, and a wood stave siphon. "The Ditch" is still in operation today, and thanks to the vision of Premier John Oliver, we are now known as the Wine Capital of Canada!

These few facts and much more are to be found in these two collections.

Irrigation Canaland fruit trees in bloom, Oliver BC
Oliver Chamber of Commerce photo

In Rememberance

DORRIT LETICIA MacLEOD December 28, 1906 -August 13, 2004

Sadly, this is to report the passing of a long time member of the Alberni District Historical Society, a woman of many talents and a wide variety of skills.

Dorrit came to the Alberni Valley before her second birthday. As a young child she learned about the outdoors from her father who loved to explore the surrounding territory and often took some of his children with him. This included hiking through virgin forest, orienteering, handling small boats and fishing. Dorrit learned well. As an adult she put this knowledge to good use as the Leader of a Girl Guide Troop for many years and later as a member of the Tuesday Walkers, a group of women who enjoyed exploring the trails and mountain tops of the region.

As a young adult, Dorrit worked at the Post Office and then for the local newspapers, the *Twin City Times*, the *West Coast Advocate* and then the *Alberni Valley Times*. She excelled as a Proof Reader. Dorrit was married to Neill Macleod for over 50 years. They were a good team. They had no children of their own but their commitment to their community benefited many young people.

Dorrit was also an enthusiastic member of the choir of her church, and belonged to a number of organizations.

She joined the Alberni District Museum and Historical Society in 1966 and became a dedicated historian. This was well before photocopies and she spent many an hour copying information in her clear and firm hand gathering the real story of the Alberni Valley and assisting in the development of the Archives for which this society is so well known. When the City of Port Alberni opened a local museum, the responsibility for the artifacts and photographs moved over, and the Alberni District Historical Society continued to be responsible for the paper treasures. Dorrit also gave generously of her time speaking to various groups about our history and conducting Heritage Walking Tours. She had a lot of personal knowledge as well as what she gathered from the written and spoken words of others. She never hesitated to share it. She also held a number of positions on the Board of Directors including President.

Just listening to Dorrit and other members of the Historical Society as they discussed, and argued about, what had really happened on various occasions fascinated me. It wasn't long before I became a member too and committed myself to "Keeping the Record Straight".

Every member of the Alberni District Historical Society and many others throughout the BC heritage community have benefited form Dorrit's commitment and friendship. We will miss this dear friend and colleague.

Submitted by Valentine Hughes,
volunteer archivist,
Alberni District Historical Society.

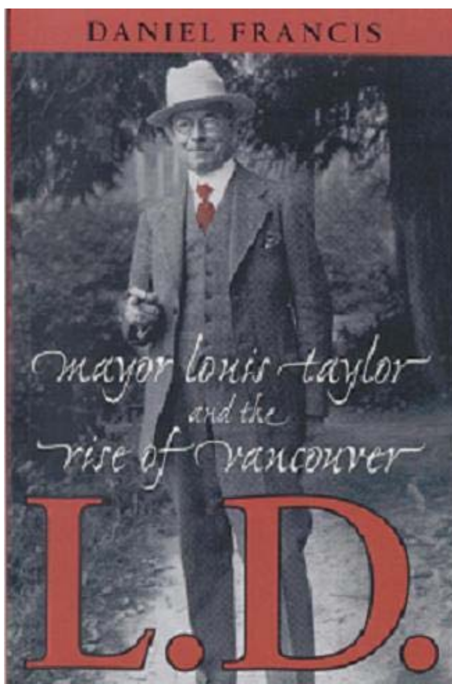
YVONNE KLAN 1930 - 2004

It is with great sadness we note the passing of Yvonne Klan, on October 4, 2004. Yvonne published numerous articles on the history of British Columbia including "The Lone Man: Founding of Fort St. John", "We Are Travelling Through an Unknown Country," and "The Apprenticeship of James Murray Yale" for *British Columbia Historical News*. She was also a contributor to *The Encyclopedia of British Columbia.*

Yvonne Klan was born in 1930 in a logging camp near Victoria, BC. Her father cut the umbilical cord while her 17-year-old mother read him instructions from a St. John Ambulance handbook.

She developed her literary tastes in the bunkhouses of her youth, where it was common for loggers to recite the bunkhouse ballads of Robert Swanson and other rhyming bards. "They trotted them out on every possible occasion," says Klan. "This is pre-TV we're talking about now." Her affinity for her working class origins led her to compile and edit an historical survey of pioneer poets of British Columbia called *The Old Red Shirt* (Transmontanus #12, New Star, 2004, $16). It contains poems and biographical notes dating back to James Anderson of Barkerville, touted as the first published poet in B.C. She was assisted and encouraged in the project by her partner Peter Trower, who contributed the introduction. Several of Peter Trower's poetry books are dedicated to Yvonne Klan and his volume that was most directly inspired by their relationship, *A Ship Called Destiny*, is subtitled Yvonne's Book. Klan died a few months after her first and only book was printed, following a prolonged battle with cancer.

Miscellany



Colourful biography of former mayor wins City of Vancouver Book Award

Mayor Larry Campbell presented writer Daniel Francis with the $2,000 City of Vancouver Book Award Tuesday for his colourful biography of a former long-serving mayor.

Francis' book, *L.D.: Mayor Louis Taylor and the Rise of Vancouver* (Arsenal Pulp Press), is a lively, though serious, look at former Vancouver Mayor Louis Denison Taylor who served eight terms in the early 20th century. It also follows the story of Vancouver's beginnings, and how Taylor matched this rowdy and growing city step for step.

Francis is one of Vancouver's most prominent popular historians. He's the author of more than fifteen books including the *Encyclopedia of British Columbia*, as well as social studies textbooks and works on Canadian social history. He is currently on the editorial board of *Geist* magazine and has served with the Writers' Union of Canada, the Federation of BC Writers, the Vancouver Word on the Street Festival and the West Coast Book Prize Society.

The City of Vancouver Book Award is presented annually to authors of books in any genre that demonstrate excellence and illuminate Vancouver's history, unique character or the achievements of its residents. The winning title and finalists were selected by an independent jury that included writer George Fetherling, UBC reference librarian Keith Bunnell, and bookseller Crystal Allen.

The finalists for the 2004 City of Vancouver Book Award were Annabel Lyon for *The Best Thing for You* (McClelland & Stewart) and Paul Yee for *The Bone Collector's Son* (Tradewind Books).

This year, the judges also awarded honourable mentions to three authors: Caroline Adderson for *Sitting Practice* (Thomas Allen Publishers), Maggie de Vries for *Missing Sarah* (Penguin Canada) and John Punter for *The Vancouver Achievement* (UBC Press).

New Historic Site Announced Stave Falls Hydro-Electric Installation

The Stave Falls Hydro-Electric Installation is an excellent representation of the core period of hydro-electric technological development among the approximately 160 extant stations built between 1900-1920 across Canada.

The hydro-electric power plant at Stave Falls is located sixty-five km east of Vancouver and five km north of the Fraser River, and is situated in the District of Mission and the Dewdney-Alouette Regional District. Its location and its watershed are clear examples of the types of installations that were built in British Columbia throughout this important phase of development. The history of its construction gives a clear outline of what was required to develop, what at that time, was a remote water power site.

Work began on the first phase of the installation in 1909-1910. Power production started in 1912 with transmission lines from Stave Falls to receiving stations at Ardley (between New Westminster and Vancouver) and Sumas, Washington.

The site's development eminently typifies the struggle for dominance of the power industry by the British Columbia Electric Railway Company within the province. As such, development of the site also reflects the political and economic climate in which electrical development took place in British Columbia, a period during which the predatory practices of private developers were the governing factors within this industry.

Reprinted from the Alliance of British Columbia National historic Sites of Canada Newsletter

The Chinese Canadian Historical Society of BC

The CCHS began formal operation in November of this year. Its main goal is to bring out the unknown aspects of the history of the Chinese in this province through a sustained effort to document, study, and promote teaching and publication on the subject. CCHS will sponsor or co-sponsor oral histories of families, organisations and localities. It will also sponsor lectures, seminars and workshops, and collaborate with like-minded organisations, inside and outside local Chinese society. Membership is open to anyone, whether individuals or groups, except for those representing foreign interests in Canada. Our goal is a broadly-based society with a diverse membership and social activities to accompany our other efforts. Our website will be developed as, among other things, an informal publication outlet for student and other research. For more information, contact Ed Wickberg (edbw@interchange.ubc.ca), Larry Wong (lywong@shaw.ca), Jean Barman (jean.barman@ubc.ca) or Imogene Lim (limi@mala.bc.ca)

British Columbia Historical Federation

an umbrella organization embracing regional societies

Questions regarding membership should be sent to:
Ron Hyde, Secretary, #20 12880 Railway Ave., Richmond BC V7E 6G2
Phone 604.277.2627 Fax 604.277.2657 rbhyde@shaw.ca

MEMBER SOCIETIES

Abbotsford Genealogical Society
PO Box 672, Abbotsford, BC V2S 6R7

Alberni District Historical Society
PO Box 284, Port Alberni, BC V9Y 7M7

Anderson Lake Historical Society
PO Box 40, D'Arcy, BC V0N 1L0

Arrow Lakes Historical Society
PO Box 819, Nakusp, BC V0G 1R0

Atlin Historical Society
PO Box 111, Atlin, BC V0W lA0

Bella Coola Valley Museum Society
Box 726, Bella Coola, BC V0T 1C0

Boundary Historical Society
PO Box 1687, Grand Forks, BC V0H 1H0

Bowen Island Historians
PO Box 97. Bowen Island, BC V0N 1G0

Bulkley Valley Historical & Museum Society
Box 2615, Smithers, BC V0J 2N0

Burnaby Historical Society
6501 Deer Lake Avenue, Burnaby, BC V5G 3T6

B.C. History of Nursing Group
c/o Beth Fitzpatrick Box 444 Brackendale BC V0N 1H0

Chemainus Valley Historical Society
PO Box 172, Chemainus, BC V0R 1K0

Cherryville and Area Historical Society
22 Dunlevy Road, Cherryville, BC V0E 2G3

Cowichan Historical Society
PO Box 1014, Duncan, BC V9L 3Y2

Craigdarroch Castle Historical Museum Society
1050 Joan Crescent, Victoria, BC V8S 3L5

Dixon Entrance Maritime Museum Society
PO Box 183, Masset, BC V0T 1M0

East Kootenay Historical Association
PO Box 74, Cranbrook, BC V1C 4H6

Finn Slough Heritage & Wetland Society
9480 Dyke Road, Richmond BC V7A 2L5

Forest History Assn. of BC
c/o 5686 Keith Rd West Vancouver, BC V7W 2N5

Fort Nelson Historical Society
Box 716, Fort Nelson, BC V0C 1R0

Gabriola Historical & Museum Society
Box 213, Gabriola, BC, V0R 1X0

Galiano Museum Society
S13 - C19 - RR1, Galiano Island, B C V0N 1P0

Gray Creek Historical Society
Box 4, Gray Creek, B.C. V0B 1S0

Gulf Islands Branch BCHF
c/o S-22, C-11, RR # 1, Galiano Island, BC V0N 1P0

Hallmark Society
c/o 810 Linden Ave, Victoria, BC V8V 4G9

Hedley Heritage Society
PO Box 218, Hedley, BC V0X 1K0

Horsefly Historical Society
Box 11, Horsefly, BC V0L 1L0

Hudson's Hope Historical Society
Box 98, Hudson's Hope, BC V0C 1C0

Jewish Historical Society of British Columbia
206-950 West 41st Ave, Vancouver, BC V5Z 2N7

Kamloops Heritage Railway Society
6 - 510 Lorne St, Kamloops, BC V2C 1W3
www.kamrail.com

Kamloops Museum Association
207 Seymour Street, Kamloops, BC V2C 2E7

Kimberley District Heritage Society
Box 144 Kimberley BC V1A 2Y5

Kitimat Centennial Museum Association
293 City Centre, Kitimat BC V8C 1T6

Koksilah School Historical Society
5213 Trans Canada Highway, Koksilah, BC V0R 2C0

Kootenay Doukhobor Historical Society
112 Heritage Way, Castlegar, BC V1N 4M5

Kootenay Lake Historical Society
PO Box 537, Kaslo, BC V0G 1M0

Ladysmith & District Historical Society
c/o 781 Colonia Drive Ladysmith, BC V9G 1N2

Langley Heritage Society
Box 982, Fort Langley, BC V1M 2S3

Lantzville Historical Society
c/o PO Box 274, Lantzville, BC V0R 2H0

Lions Bay Historical Society
Bopx 571 Lions Bay, BC V0N 2E0

Little Prairie Heritage Society
Box 1777, Chetwynd BC V0C 1J0

London Heritage Farm Society
6511 Dyke Road, Richmond, BC V7E 3R3

Maple Ridge Historical Society
22520 116th Avenue, Maple Ridge, BC V2X 0S4

Marpole Museum & Historical Society
8743 SW Marine Dr, Vancouver, BC V6P 6A5
www.globalynx.net/marpolehistorical

Metchosin School Museum Society
4475 Happy Valley Road Victoria, BC V9C 3Z3

Michel-Natal-Sparwood Heritage Society
PO Box 1675, Sparwood BC V0B 2G0

Myra Canyon Trestle Restoration Society
PBC Box 611 Kelowna BC V1Y 7P2

Nakusp & District Museum Society
PO Box 584, Nakusp, BC V0G 1R0

Nanaimo & District Museum Society
100 Cameron Road, Nanaimo, BC V9R 2X1

Nanaimo Historical Society
PO Box 933, Nanaimo, BC V9R 5N2

Nelson Museum & Historical Society
402 Anderson Street, Nelson, BC V1L 3Y3

Nicola Valley Museum Archives Association
PO Box 1262, Merritt BC V1K 1B8

North Shore Historical Society
c/o 1541 Merlynn Cres., North Vancouver, BC V7J 2X9

North Shuswap Historical Society
PO Box 57, Celista, BC V0E 1L0

North Vancouver Museum and Archives
209 West 4th St North Vancouver BC V7M 1H8

Okanagan Historical Society
PO Box 313, Vernon, BC V1T 6M3

Old Cemeteries Society of Victoria
Box 5004, #15-1594 Fairfield Rd, Victoria BC V8S 5L8

Parksville & District Historical Society
PO Box 1452, Parksville, BC V9P 2H4

Pemberton Museum & Archives
PO Box 267, Pemberton, BC, V0N 2L0

Prince Rupert City & Regional Archives
PO Box 1093, Prince Rupert BC V8J 4H6

Princeton & District Museum & Archives
Box 281, Princeton, BC V0X 1W0

Qualicum Beach Historical Society
587 Beach Road, Qualicum Beach, BC V9K 1K7

Revelstoke & District Historical Association
Box 1908, Revelstoke BC V0E 2S0

Revelstoke Heritage Railway Society
PO Box 3018, Revelstoke, BC V0E 2S0

Richmond Heritage Railroad Society
c/o Suite 200, 8211 Ackroyd Rd., Richmond, BC V6X 3K8

Richmond Museum Society
#180 - 7700 Minoru Gate, Richmond, BC V6Y 1R8

The Riondel & Area Historical Society
Box 201, Riondel, BC V0B 2B0

Roedde House Preservation Society
1415 Barclay St, Vancouver BC V6G 1J6
www.roeddehouse.com

Saanich Historical Artifacts Society
7321 Lochside Dr., Saanichton, BC V8M 1W4

Salt Spring Island Historical Society
129 McPhillips Ave, Salt Spring Island, BC V8K 2T6

Sandon Historical Society
Box 52, New Denver, BC V0G 1S0

Sea Island Heritage Society
4191 Ferguson Road, Richmond, BC V7B 1P3

Sicamous District Museum & Historical Society
Box 944, Sicamous, BC V0E 2V0

Silvery Slocan Historical Society
Box 301, New Denver, BC V0G 1S0

South Peace Historical Society
c/o 900 Alaska Avenue, Dawson Creek, BC V1G 4T6

Steveston Historical Society
3811 Moncton St., Richmond, BC V7E 3A0

Sullivan Mine & Railway Historical Society
PO Box 94, Kimberley BC V1A 2Y5

Surrey Historical Society
Box 34003, 17790 #10 Highway, Surrey, BC V3S 8C4

Terrace Regional Historical Society
PO Box 246, Terrace, BC V8G 4A6

Trail Historical Society
PO Box 405, Trail, BC V1R 4L7

Union Bay Historical Society
Box 448, Union Bay, BC V0R 3B0

Vancouver Historical Society
PO Box 3071, Vancouver, BC V6B 3X6

Victoria Historical Society
PO Box 43035, Victoria North, Victoria, BC V8X 3G2

Williams Lake Museum and Historical Society
113 - 4th Ave North, Williams Lake, BC V2G 2C8

Yale & District historical Society
Box 74, Yale, BC V0K 2S0

Yellowhead Museum
Box 1778, RR# 1, Clearwater, BC V0E 1N0

AFFILIATED GROUPS

Archives Association of British Columbia
PO Box 78530 University PO, Vancouver BC V6T 1Z4

Hope Museum
PO Box 26, Hope BC V0X 1L0

Kelowna Museum Association
470 Queensway Avenue, Kelowna, B. C. V1Y 6S7

Langley Centennial Museum
PO Box 800, Fort Langley BC V1M 2S2

Northern BC Archives - UNBC
3333 University Way, Prince George BC V2N 4Z9

North Pacific Historic Fishing Villiage
PO Box 1109, Port Edward BC V0V 1G0

North Vancouver Museum and Archives
209 - West 4th Street North Vancouver BC V7M 1H8

Women's History Network of BC
402 - 9603 Manchester Dr., Burnaby BC V3N 4Y7

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BC Historical News,
John Atkin,
921 Princess Avenue,
Vancouver BC V6A 3E8
e-mail: johnatkin@shaw.ca

Book reviews for *BC Historical News*,
AnneYandle,
3450 West 20th Avenue,
Vancouver BC V6S 1E4,
604.733.6484
e-mail: yandle@interchange.ubc.ca

Subscription & subscription information:
Alice Marwood
#311 - 45520 Knight Road
Chilliwack, B. C. V2R 3Z2
phone 604-824-1570
email: amarwood@imag.net

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2004

22nd Annual Competition for Writers of BC History
Lieutenant-Governor's Medal for Historical Writing
Deadline: 31 December 2004

The British Columbia Historical Federation invites book submissions for the twenty-second annual Competition for Writers of BC History. Books representing any facet of BC history, published in 2004 will be considered by the judges who are looking for quality presentations and fresh material. Community histories, biographies, records of a project or organization as well as personal reflections, etc. are eligible for consideration.

Reprints or revisions of books are not eligible.

Lieutenant-Governor's Medal
The Lieutenant-Governor's Medal for Historical Writing will be awarded to an individual writer whose book contributes significantly to the history of British Columbia. Additional prizes may be awarded to other books at the discretion of the judges.

Publicity
All entries receive considerable publicity. Winners will receive a Certificate of Merit, a monetary award and an invitation to the Awards Banquet of the Federation's annual conference to be held in Kelowna, BC on May 14, 2005.

Submissions
For information about making submissions contact:
Bob Mukai, Chair of Competition Committee
4100 Lancelot Drive
Richmond, B. C. V7C 4S3
phone 604-274-6449 email robert.Jnukai@telus.net

Books entered become property of the BC Historical Federation.

By submitting books for this competition, authors agree that the British Columbia Historical Federation may use their names in press releases and Federation publications regarding the book competition.