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Résumé de l'article

A partir du milieu et jusqu'à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle, les petites populations colonisatrices de Colombie Britannique s'organisèrent en communautés isolées et distinctes. Une de ces communautés, Burrard Inlet, s'explique plus facilement en fonction du développement du capitalisme industriel en milieu frontalier. A mesure que les populations colonisatrices s'établirent aux environs de deux scieries, l'instabilité crée par la composition ethnique complexe, la nature transitoire et l'isolement des sociétés basées sur l'exploitation forestière restreignit sévèrement le pouvoir du capitalisme qui s'exprime par des politiques administratives paternalistes. Par conséquent, les rapports entre les compagnies et la communauté se distinguèrent beaucoup plus par un processus de négociation que par un simple exercice de domination administrative. Les capitalistes de l'industrie forestière ne purent éviter les contraintes imposées par la nature frontalière de leur entreprise.

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Lumber Society on the Industrial Frontier: Burrard Inlet, 1863-1886

Robert A.J. McDonald

FROM THE MID-TO-LATE 19TH CENTURY, the small settler population in British Columbia formed relatively isolated and highly discrete communities. A number of factors made local distinctiveness the outstanding characteristic of community life on British Columbia's settlement frontier. Among them were the character of the several resource-extractive economies upon which society was founded; ethnic diversity, ranging from the prevailing Britishness of society at the region's political and administrative centre in Victoria to the social mixing of Native and European peoples on the resource periphery; the transient and disproportionately masculine nature of populations in non-agricultural areas of settlement; and the generally new and incomplete quality of institutional life outside of the region's two principal urban centres, Victoria and New Westminster.

One way to examine the process of settlement formation is to test general hypotheses within local settings. Frederick Jackson Turner's emphasis on the role of the "empty" land in stripping away the hierarchical structures of the old world while creating open, egalitarian societies in the new has formed the dominant paradigm through which American historians have examined the settlement process in the United States. Recently, New Zealand historian Miles Fairburn has added a fresh perspective to literature on the organization of society in regions of recent settlement. Rejecting suggestions that settlers experienced significant social cohesion either through vertical bonding (paternalism), economically-based classes, or local community ties, Fairburn argues that geographic isolation, the "scantiness of kinship ties," and New Zealand's "ruling ideology of extreme individualism" produced "a minimally organized society" composed of "bondless individuals." Closer to home, two interpretations have contended for place of preference in British Columbia historiography. One emphasizes the socially divisive influence of capitalism in a region where the resource endowment required large quantities of both capital and labour. Countering this emphasis on class as the region's characteristic social identity is another that posits race as the force that

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most effectively defined social boundaries, and races as the most significant social groups, in British Columbia. Whether presenting new world societies as collections of self-sufficient individuals, of unhappy and bondless individuals, of classes, or of races, these four approaches have led to very different conclusions about how European settlement societies organized themselves.[1]

The following takes as its guiding premise the notion that all such theories can illuminate aspects of the settlement process in early British Columbia but none by itself can unravel settlement's complexity. It aims to reconstruct one local society, the settlement that congealed around two sawmills on Burrard Inlet over a twenty-year period from the mid-1860s to mid-1880s. What little has been written about the social organization of industrial capitalism along North America's northwest coast has focused on coal mining and, to a lesser extent, salmon canning; the social history of lumbering, by contrast, has not been much told by British Columbia historians.[2] The paper argues that lumber society on Burrard Inlet is best understood

[1]Ray Allen Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage* (New York 1966); Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900* (Auckland 1989), 11-3 and 191-3; Martin Robin, *The Rush for Spoils: The Company Province 1871-1933* (Toronto 1972); W. Peter Ward, "Class and Race in the Social Structure of British Columbia, 1870-1939," *BC Studies*, 45 (Spring 1980), 17-35; and Rennie Warburton, "Race and Class in British Columbia: A Comment," *BC Studies*, 49 (Spring 1981), 79-85.

[2]Published work on Vancouver Island coal mining includes John Belshaw, "The Standard of Living of British Miners on Vancouver Island, 1848-1900," *BC Studies*, 84 (Winter 1989-90), 37-64; Jeremy Mouat, "The Politics of Coal: A Study of the Wellington Miners' Strike of 1890-91," *BC Studies*, 77 (Spring 1988), 3-29; and H. Keith Ralston, "Miners and Managers: The Organization of Coal Production on Vancouver Island by the Hudson's Bay Company, 1848-1862," in E. Blanche Norcross, ed., *The Company on the Coast* (Nanaimo 1983), 42-55. For salmon canning, see Geoff Meggs, *Salmon: The Decline of the British Columbia Fishery* (Vancouver 1991); Alicja Muszynski, "Race and Gender: Structural Determinants in the Formation of British Columbia's Cannery Labour Force," in G.S. Kealey, ed., *Class, Gender, and Region: Essays in Canadian Historical Sociology* (St. John's 1988), 103-20; Dianne Newell, "The Rationality of Mechanization in the Pacific Salmon Canning Industry before the Second World War," *Business History Review*, 62 (1988), 626-55; and H. Keith Ralston, "Patterns of Trade and Investment on the Pacific Coast, 1867-1892: The Case of the British Columbia Salmon Canning Industry," *BC Studies*, 1 (1968-69), 37-45. The best work on the social history of forestry along the northwest coast in the 19th century focuses on the American industry. See Norman Clark, *Mill Town: A Social History of Everett, Washington* (Seattle 1970); Richard A. Rajala, "Bill and the Boss: Labor Protest, Technological Change, and the Transformation of the West Coast Logging Camp, 1890-1930," *Journal of Forest History*, (1989), 168-79; and William G. Robbins, *Hard Times in Paradise: Coos Bay, Oregon, 1850-1986* (Seattle 1988). The best social history of a resource-extractive community in British Columbia before 1900 is Cole Harris, "Industry and the Good Life around Idaho Peak," *Canadian Historical Review*, 66 (1985), 315-43.

as the product of two forces, capitalism and the frontier,[3] which intersected in ways particular to this industry (logging and sawmilling), to this point in space (Burrard Inlet), and to this place in time (the early stage of industrial capitalism). It suggests that, while settlement clustered around a single industry, the power of capital, expressed through policies of managerial paternalism, was sharply curtailed by the ethnically complex, relatively transient, geographically isolated, and generally unsettled nature of lumber society. Economic power on BC's lumber frontier, in other words, did not rest easily in the hands of sawmill managers and their social allies; rather, it emerged out of a complex process of negotiation between capital and labour.

I

BURRARD INLET TODAY anchors a vast stretch of urban space along BC's lower coast, but to Europeans in the 19th century — until the 1880s, at least — the Inlet was relatively isolated. Travelling to Burrard Inlet from New Westminster, the closest urban centre, entailed a journey of nine miles overland through an "almost impenetrable forest" or a voyage of thirty miles by water from the Fraser River to Burrard Inlet around Point Grey.[4] The Fraser was the main route from the capital at Victoria into BC's interior; Burrard Inlet, by contrast, was a dead end for European travellers. After Spanish and English explorers entered area waters in the early 1790s, few other outsiders came until the late 1850s when the rush for gold on the upper Fraser heralded a permanent European presence. Gold seekers camped briefly on English Bay, and elk that inhabited swampy land between Burrard Inlet and the Fraser River were slaughtered to feed hungry miners. In 1859 Captain George Henry Richards commanding the HMS *Plumper* surveyed Burrard Inlet, and in 1862 the coal he had discovered near Coal Harbour (just beyond the Inlet's entrance) attracted the first white settlers to the area. Europeans soon began to pre-empt land, and in early 1863 Oblate missionaries from New Westminster visited Salish communities on Burrard Inlet and English Bay. A more permanent Roman Catholic presence on the Inlet followed with the erection in 1866 of a mission chapel at Ustlawn (now St. Paul's Mission) on the north shore. Methodist missionaries arrived in 1864.[5]

[3]The term "frontier" is used in this essay much as Don Harrison Doyle employed it in *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-1870* (Urbana 1978), 3: to refer loosely to the period when settlement was beginning and the social order was relatively unfixed. It is not employed in the Turnerian sense as defined by Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage*.

[4]*The British Columbia Directory, 1882-83* (Victoria 1882), 235.

[5]Eric Nicol, *Vancouver* (Toronto 1970), 11-21; Kay Cronin, *Cross in the Wilderness* (Vancouver 1960), 122-4; Thomas A. Lascelles, O.M.I., *Mission on the Inlet* (Vancouver 1984), 5-15; and Vancouver City Archives (VCA), Add. Mss. 54, Matthews Collection [hereafter cited only as Matthews Collection], Files #00634 and 03345 re: elk and 00610 and 02051 re: missionaries.

The Burrard Inlet to which Europeans came in the 1860s was not an empty place. Salish-speaking Indians had harvested abundant fish and game for many hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of years. The group that eventually settled in the Inlet was the Squamish, one of the clusters of Gulf of Georgia Salish people whose original home centred on the Squamish River at the head of Howe Sound, and whose territory extended from above the Sound southward along its shores into English Bay and Burrard Inlet. Another Salish group, the Musqueam, lived further south near the mouth of the Fraser River. Extensive middens at Whoi-Whoi, just inside the First Narrows entrance to Burrard Inlet near what is now Lumberman's Arch in Stanley Park, indicate that a significant number of Native people (probably Squamish) had used this site for at least 500 years; an even larger midden at Marpole, on the south slope of Point Grey in what is now Vancouver, indicates the presence of Musqueam extending back 2,000 years. Both the Musqueam and Squamish claimed the territories around English Bay, False Creek, and Burrard Inlet to be part of the social and economic space in which they had fished, hunted, and lived. Both were correct, though only the Squamish could be found there during the period of European settlement.[6] Ethnographic and historical evidence suggests that the Squamish people had traditionally migrated to Burrard Inlet and False Creek for food gathering in early summer, virtually abandoning the area during the salmon runs of August, and during the winter. As Cole Harris recently observed, in coming to Burrard Inlet the Squamish were not so much entering the territory of another people, the Musqueam, as "moving within webs of social and economic relations that connected different individuals and people to each other and to each other's places."[7] Seasonal migration gave way to permanent settlement when the Inlet's two sawmills began employing the Squamish as labourers in the mid-1860s.[8] By 1881, more than 500 Squamish Indians lived at or near Burrard Inlet, with 300 Musqueam further south. Settlements in the area, occupied mainly by Squamish-speakers, included "the rancherie," a collection of Indian people immediately east of Hastings Mill on the south shore; Snauq on False Creek; Whoi-Whoi in Stanley Park; Homulcheson at the mouth of Capilano Creek across the First Narrows from Whoi-Whoi; the Mission Reserve at Ustlawn farther east along the north shore, one

[6]Charles Hill-Tout, *The Salish People*, ed. with intro. by Ralph Maud (Vancouver 1978), II, 27-30 and III, 11-9.

[7]Cole Harris, "The Lower Mainland, 1821-81," in Graeme Wynn and Timothy Oke, eds., *Vancouver and Its Regions* (Vancouver 1992), 42.

[8]In conversation with Major Matthews, August Jack Khatsahlano, who was born at Whoi-Whoi in 1877, claimed that Squamish people had lived there continuously before Europeans arrived. Anthropological evidence suggests, however, that the Squamish began to reside at Burrard Inlet on a year-round basis only when the sawmills employed their labour. See Homer G. Barnett, *The Coast Salish of British Columbia* (Westport 1955), 9-10 and 31-4; Wilson Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians* (Victoria 1952), 27; Major J. S. Matthews, comp., *Conversations with Khatsahlano, 1932-1954* (Vancouver 1955), 31, 35A, 213, and 246; Matthews Collection, File #06588; and Harris, "Lower Mainland," 301.

and one-half miles before Moodyville; and the Seymour Creek Village, still further up the channel. (See map.)[9]

The desire of Europeans to profit from Burrard Inlet's immense firs and majestic cedars upset the delicate balance that had evolved over many years between Native people and the bountiful environment. Sawmilling in this "lumberman's paradise" began in 1863 when two New Westminster businessmen erected a small water-powered mill on the Inlet's north shore and became permanent at the end of 1864 when a party of entrepreneurs from the Royal City, enriched by the Fraser River gold rush, assumed control. The key member of this group was an American from Maine named Sewell ("Sue") Moody. Bouyed by the injection of new capital from two Fraser Canyon stagecoach operators (William Dietz and Hugh Nelson) and from his agent in San Francisco (Andrew Welch), Moody quickly emerged as the largest lumber manufacturer in British Columbia.[10]

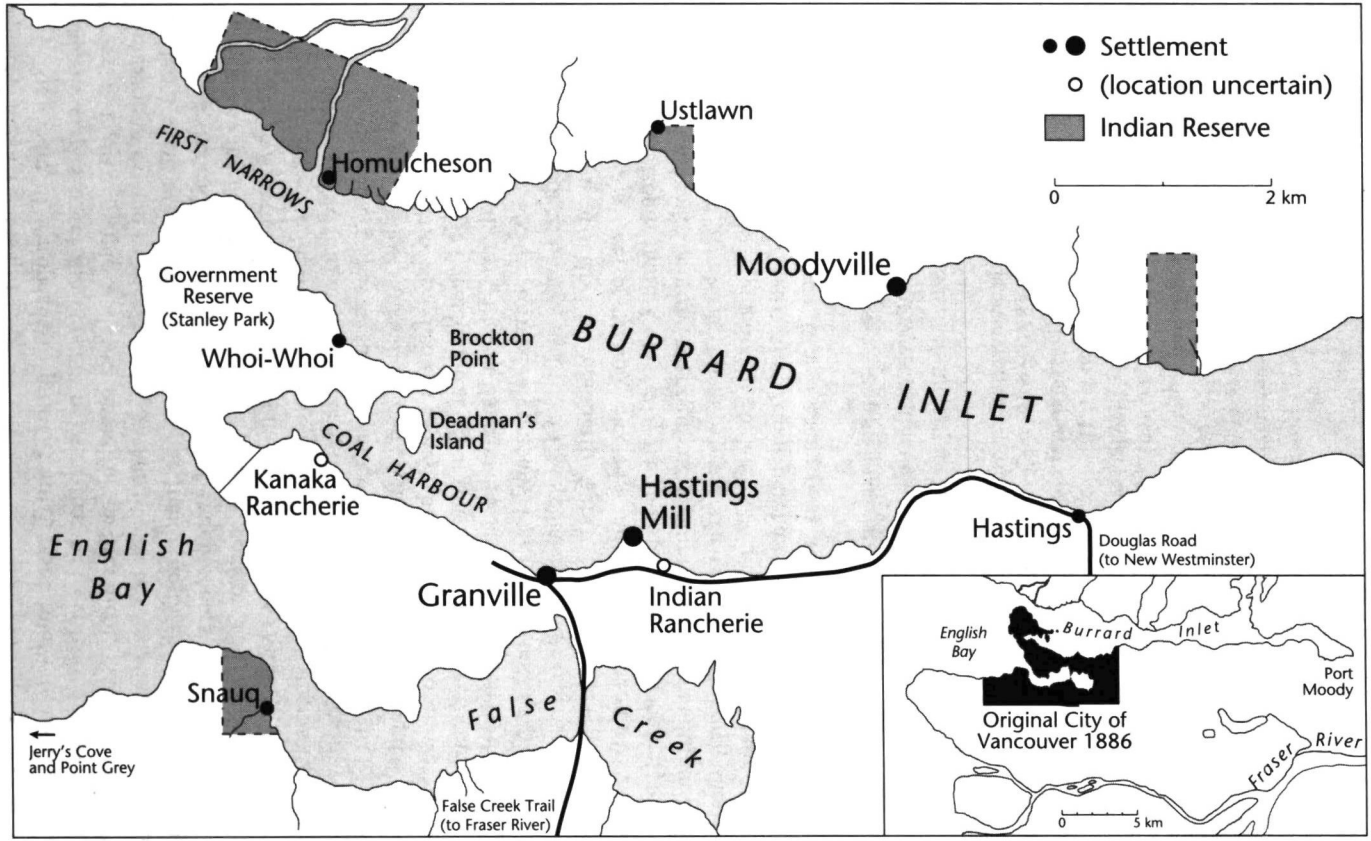
Moody met almost immediate competition from English capital. Captain Edward Stamp, a former English sea captain, had sailed to the northwest coast in 1857 to collect spars in Puget Sound and four years later established a large sawmill at the head of the Alberni Canal on Vancouver Island. Undeterred by the failure of this venture, in 1865 he formed a company in England backed by capital of £100,000 to produce lumber in British Columbia. Stamp also secured from the colonial government of British Columbia the right to purchase or lease 16,000 acres of timber on BC's lower coast, and selected a mill site on a point of land along Burrard Inlet's south shore. Delayed by the failure of crucial machinery parts to arrive from England, Stamp did not begin cutting lumber for export until June 1867. After managing the firm for less than two years he retired, and shortly thereafter his company went into liquidation in England. The mill closed for a period in 1870 but opened again in August after being purchased by Dickson, DeWolf and Company of San Francisco. It also changed its name to the Hastings Sawmill Company, or Hastings Mill.[11]

As the reorganization of Stamp's mill attests, the forces that brought industrial capitalism to Burrard Inlet were distinctly coastal, with financial ties to San Francisco and London. Sawmilling originated along the southern coast in the

[9]Figures derived from Canada, manuscript census, 1881, National Archives of Canada (NAC) microfilm (C-13284), division 187 (New Westminster), subsection D7 (Coast of Mainland), 35-44 and 50-62: Skuhuamish Indians on Burrard Inlet. The locations of Squamish villages are discussed in Matthews, *Conversations*, 31.

[10]F.G.H. Brooks, "Vancouver's Origins," MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1952, 26-37; Kathleen Marjorie Woodward-Reynolds, "A History of the City and District of North Vancouver," MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1943, 11-20; Joseph C. Lawrence, "Markets and Capital: A History of the Lumber Industry of British Columbia (1778-1952), 9-20; and F.W. Howay, "Early Shipping in Burrard Inlet, 1863-1870," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, 1 (1937), 3-20, quotation at 4.

[11]Brooks, "Vancouver's Origins," 26-37; Howay, "Early Shipping," 3-20; and Lawrence, "Markets and Capital," 20-7.


Settlement
(location uncertain)
Indian Reserve
0
2 km
Ustlawn
FIRST NARROWS
Homulcheson
Moodyville
Government Reserve (Stanley Park)
Whoi-Whoi
Brockton Point
BURRARD INLET
Deadman's Island
COAL HARBOUR
Kanaka Rancherie
Hastings Mill
Hastings
Douglas Road (to New Westminster)
English Bay
Granville
Indian Rancherie
Snauq
False Creek
Jerry's Cove and Point Grey
False Creek Trail (to Fraser River)
English Bay
Burrard Inlet
Port Moody
Original City of Vancouver 1886
Fraser River
0
5 km

1820s. Early mills were usually small and geared to local markets, a pattern evident from California north to Oregon, Vancouver Island, and the Fraser River. But market forces around the Pacific soon generated more capital-intensive enterprises, of which the steam-powered sawmills constructed on Puget Sound during the 1850s by two lumbermen from Maine, Andrew Jackson Pope and Captain William C. Talbot, are an excellent example. After mid-century west coast production of lumber grew rapidly to exploit a series of new market opportunities created by gold rushes in California and in the Australian colonies of New South Wales and Victoria; by sharply increased sugar production in Hawaii; by dramatic economic growth in Chile; and by less spectacular but nonetheless significant increases in demand from Peru, Mexico, Tahiti, and China. At the centre of the expanding industry was San Francisco, an important market itself but also the location of regional entrepreneurship, capital, and trade.

Burrard Inlet's two sawmills were products of these influences. They were closely tied to San Francisco, large compared to the earliest BC mills, and oriented to export markets around the Pacific. Indeed, for 20 years after 1865 Burrard Inlet "remained the only important [lumber] exporting centre in British Columbia," with over 60 vessels loading there in the peak year of 1882. Sewell Moody in particular looked south for buyers, machinery, and supplies. He lost his life just beyond Cape Flattery when, during the night of 4 November 1875, the small ship on which he was sailing collided with another; the constantly travelling Moody had once again been on his way to San Francisco to market Burrard Inlet lumber.[12]

Moody's Mill (by the 1870s referred to as Moodyville) and Hastings Mill, both steam-powered and producing lumber for markets around the Pacific, were large by BC standards but smaller than some mills on Puget Sound. Moodyville's capacity of 100,000 bd. ft. per day in the early 1880s was greater than that of its rival, and together the two Burrard Inlet enterprises employed from 150 to 200 workers, not counting longshoremen and loggers.[13]

Since sawmills were not sophisticated or complex industrial places they were able to rely on the workers available to them, often a mobile and ethnically heterogeneous collection of "rough labourers." Several sawmill occupations required special skill, among them engineering, saw filing, and blacksmithing, but many mill jobs "were open to ordinary labourers" with little skill. Sawmill workforces were also notoriously transient, with an unmarried worker likely to remain employed in a mill for no more than a few weeks, "after which he would

[12]Thomas R. Cox, *Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900* (Seattle 1974), 21-137; Lawrence, "Markets and Capital," 4-15 and 27; and Brooks, "Vancouver's Origins," 55 (quotation from Lawrence, 27).

[13]Newton H. Chittenden, *Travels in British Columbia* (Vancouver 1984 [1882]), 66-7; *Illustrated History of British Columbia* (Victoria 1884), 301-2; *British Columbia Directory, 1882-83*, 234; and Rev. Stott, "The Mills of Moodyville," Matthews Collection, File #04420.

withdraw his wages and move on."[14] R.H. Alexander, who became Hastings Sawmill manager in 1882, claimed that his mill hands "were largely composed of runaway sailors and Indians."[15] The number of Native men who worked in the mills cannot be discovered accurately from the 1881 census, the earliest taken in British Columbia, but contemporary comments indicate that both Squamish and Musqueam people worked as millhands and longshoremen. Some native workers came from even farther afield, one sawmill labourer a distance of 400 miles from his home on B.C.'s north coast.[16] The Indian Reserve Commissioners reported in 1877 that sawmill labour and other forms of economic activity put between $80,000 and $100,000 annually into the hands of Burrard Inlet Natives; in return, the mill owners and shippers who visited the mills "benefited in a corresponding degree ... by having a local source of labour constantly available."[17] Both the Mission Reserve near Moodyville and the Indian rancherie east of Hastings Mill were products of the labour market created by the sawmill industry on Burrard Inlet.

In contrast to most sawmill and longshoring jobs, the "responsible posts" generally belonged to white men of British cultural heritage.[18] Burrard Inlet loggers, who worked either for the mills or for independent logging contractors, were on average more highly skilled than millworkers and more likely to be of British origin. The highest paid camp workers were fallers and teamsters, the latter rewarded for coaxing oxen, acting in unison, to drag huge logs across greased skids from the forest to tidewater. While ordinary mill hands toiled for twelve hours a day, "minus one half hour for a hurried lunch," in return for approximately $20-30 per month plus board, fallers and teamsters could earn double that amount, or more.[19] Other forest industry workers probably made something in between, depending on the skill and status of the job.

[14]Quotations from Lawrence, "Markets and Capital," 35-6; for an excellent description of a New Westminster mill in the 1880s, see Morley Roberts, *The Prey of the Strongest* (London 1906), 1-21.

[15]R.H. Alexander, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of British Columbia," VCA, Vancouver Art, Historical, and Scientific Society Records, Add. Mss. 336, 113; also see Matthews Collection, Files #02473 and 03307.

[16]Matthews, *Conversations*, .253; Matthews Collection, Files #00596, 02473, 03307, 04420, 04479, 06260, and, 06588; Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 11 (1879), Paper No. 10, Department of the Interior, Indian Affairs Branch, Annual Report, 1878, 72-3, and Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 17 (1885), Paper No.3, Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report 1884, 104.

[17]Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 10 (1978), Paper No. 10, Department of the Interior, Indian Affairs Branch, Special Appendix D, lii; my thanks to John Lutz for this reference.

[18]Douglas Cole and Bradley Lockner, eds., *The Journals of George M. Dawson: British Columbia, 1875-1878* (Vancouver 1990), Vol. 1, 115.

[19]Morley Roberts, *Western Avernus* (Westminster 1896), 162; Lawrence, "Markets and Capital," 35-6; Matthews Collection, File #01835; George M. Grant, *Ocean to Ocean: Sandford Fleming's Expedition Through Canada in 1872* (Edmonton 1967), 323; and Edward M. Towler, "Old-Timers Interviewed," *Pacific Coast Lumberman*, 4, 4 (April 1920), 39.

Native Longshoremen at Moodyville, 1889

Taken in 1889, this photograph illustates the ethnically-diverse nature of Moodyville's workforce. Most of these longshoremen are Native and probably lived at the Mission Reserve more than a mile to the west. The supervisors to the left are white, and the man and boy with laundry are, typically, Chinese.
C.S. Bailey Bros. photo, *Vancouver City Archives,* Mi. P2 N.26.

Lumbering was the industry through which Europeans placed their imprint on the landscape of Burrard Inlet. But in the 1870s it provided only limited and slow growth. Employment was either in logging and sawmilling or in servicing the forest industry. For a decade the settlement clustered around Moody's Mill on the north shore remained the larger of the two population centres, "a straggling little place" with workers' shanties strung along the waterfront, and a few better homes on the hill behind.[20] Moodyville's population of 200 was linked almost entirely through work at the sawmill, which employed about 100 (see Table I). As an urban space owned by private capital, Moodyville was from its inception a company-controlled community with virtually no independent merchant class. But while its physical appearance was unprepossessing and its economic base limited, Moodyville was viewed by contemporaries as a socially progressive community with a school, a library, and a fraternal society, and with a management-imposed policy that strictly forbade the presence of liquor. In the words of a young English sailor, James McCulley, who had jumped ship at Moodyville in 1875, "there is a library and papers with reading room which is a great boon and places Moodyville far ahead

TABLE I
Population of Lumber Society [Excluding Indian Villages] on Burrard Inlet, 1881 (by number)

	Total		Adults	
	M	F	M	F
Granville (& Hastings Mill)	170	73	126	40
Moodyville	135	61	108	30
Hastings	11	1	11	--
Logging camps	133	9	128	5
Visiting ships	92	5	90	5
Total Number	541	150	463	76

Source: Data for Tables I-III was drawn from Canada, manuscript census, microfilm (C-13284), division 187 (New Westminster), subsection B (S.D. North), 86-114. The term "Adults" is defined in Table II.

of the neighbouring mills and villages which nearly all boast of a rum mill or two ... nothing of the kind is allowed on Moody's land."[21]

[20]Cole and Lockner, *Dawson*, 115. Excellent descriptions of Moodyville are to be found in the Matthews Collection, Files #04420 (Rev. Stott) and 03270 (Muriel Crackenthorp), and in the British Columbia Archives and Record Service (BCARS), Vertical File (VF) [Moodyville] #0436-0439 [Patrick Allen] and [Burrard Inlet] #0452-0455 [Ruby Bower].
[21]James C. McCulley to his parents, 5 September 1875, BCARS, E/C/M13, McCulley Correspondence.

Although Moody was, in fact, forced to accept a hotel on north shore land in the mid-1870s, McCulley's "rum mills" were to be found principally at two spots on the south shore: Granville, west of Hastings Mill just outside the boundary of company land, and Hastings, four miles to the east (see map). Granville's life as a European settlement began with the construction of a saloon. An enterprising engineer and steamboat pilot named Jack Deighton, a Yorkshireman lured by gold first to California and then to the Fraser, saw an opportunity in meeting the recreational needs of thirsty mill workers and loggers. The site he chose in 1867 for the Globe Saloon, known popularly as "Gastown" because of "Gassy Jack" Deighton's willingness to express himself on any subject, was surveyed as a townsite three years later and given the legal name of Granville.[22] To the sailors and loggers of Burrard Inlet, however, Granville remained "Gastown," a place consisting mainly of saloons. Of its ten buildings in 1875, several of a "rather primitive kind," four were devoted to selling liquor.[23]

While initially smaller than Moodyville, Granville eventually outgrew its rival. The reason is simple enough: Granville's function as a service centre where loggers gravitated for recreation, equipment, and food gave it a potentially broader economic base. That Granville's economy did expand is illustrated by an often-reproduced photograph taken in 1884. Later annotated by Vancouver Archivist J.S. Matthews, it shows a pioneer settlement, "crowded between forest and shore," consisting of three hotels, two saloons, a dry goods business, a restaurant, a general store, a Chinese laundry, a Chinese wash house and general merchandise emporium, George Black's very substantial butcher shop, and a profusion of stumps, forest debris, and luxuriant skunk cabbage.[24]

Another constellation of people lived on company-owned land at Hastings Mill, an entirely separate place one-quarter mile east of Granville but closely linked to it. Here amid the "incessant rattle of machinery and cloud of escaping steam" could be found the cottages of married men, a bunkhouse for single men, the mill manager's residence, and Hastings Mill store, the single most important merchant house on the south shore.[25] The Granville school also held classes here in a one-room building donated by the company.

East of Hastings Mill, Hastings had emerged as a distinctive place on Burrard Inlet in 1865 when a hotel was erected at the north end of the recently completed Douglas Road built to connect the Inlet with New Westminster. Initially called Brighton because it functioned as a summer resort and bathing spot for "all the

[22]Brooks, "Vancouver's Origins," 39-40; Nichol, *Vancouver*, 32-6 and 40-3; and John Deighton to his brother, 28 June 1870, BCARS, E/B/D36, Deighton Correspondence, Outward.
[23]Matthews Collection, Files #01836, 02605, and 04479; and Nanaimo *Free Press*, 5 July 1876 (quotation from Matthews Collection, File #02605).
[24]John Warren Bell, Memoirs, VCA, Add. Mss.144, 79A; also see Matthews Collection, File #01835. Quotation from *ibid.*, File #06260 (Rev. C.M. Tate).
[25]*British Columbia Directory, 1882-83*, 235. Also see Cole and Lockner, *Dawson*, 117-8 and Matthews Collection, File #02051 (Calvert Simson).

swells and their children" from the Royal City, Hastings (the name assigned to Brighton by the colonial government in 1869) remained into the 1880s little more than a stopping place which was galvanized into a few moments of activity each day when the New Westminster stage met the Burrard Inlet ferry. It boasted two hotels, the second constructed by Granville businessman and sports enthusiast George Black, but had no industries and virtually no families, its population being eleven men and one child. This village, in other words, had developed little from a resort and ferry stop.[26]

The more complex nature of society at Granville compared to that at Moodyville is illustrated in the 1881 Canadian census: almost twice as many men of working age in Granville (which includes here both Granville proper and Hastings Mill) were small proprietors or white collar workers. Skilled workers made up 22 per cent of the male workforce on the south shore compared to only 14 percent across the water. A doctor, a minister, four merchants, two butchers, a shoemaker, and five lodging house keepers lived at Granville; Moodyville had only one hotel and one general store. The image of "rum mills," then, while accurately portraying Granville's difference from Moodyville, should also be viewed as symbolizing something broader, the divergent functions of two communities operating within a common, lumber-extractive economy.

The social structure of these villages reflected the newness of European society on Burrard Inlet. Characteristic of resource-extractive settlements at an early stage of development are a marked imbalance between the sexes and a very young population. In the lumber villages of Burrard Inlet the number of men exceeded women of all ages by a ratio of 2.3 to 1, and of working age, by 3.5 to 1.[27] Yet, such statistics still underrepresent the masculine character of society because they ignore the number of non-Indian men who used its services but did not reside in the villages — men from the logging camps around the Inlet and crews from ships waiting to load lumber. The 1881 census lists five logging camps around Burrard Inlet with a total population of 142, all but fourteen of whom were adult men of working age. Ships docked regularly at Moodyville and Hastings Mill to load lumber — there were five such sailing vessels at the Inlet when the Canadian census was taken in 1881 — bringing crews that were almost entirely male for layovers lasting from one to several weeks. Only seldom did wives and children accompany the captains of these ships. When the crews of lumber vessels and logging camps are included in the calculation of Burrard Inlet's non-Indian population, the imbalance between adult men and women increases to a ratio in excess of six-to-one. In the demographically more mature population of Native villages on the Inlet this

[26]Brooks, "Vancouver's Origins," 42-6; F.W. Howay, "Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, 1 (April 1937), 103-4 and 106-9; and Matthews Collection, File #01835 (George Black) (quotation from Matthews).

[27]Refers to men and women of European and Native descent, the latter mainly mixed blood, but not to Indians living on reserves outside the lumber villages.

relationship between the sexes differed dramatically, with adult Indian women only slightly outnumbering men.

Adding to the impression that these lumber villages were on the margin of settlement society is the fact that males were disproportionately of working age (78 per cent) and single (54 per cent). By contrast, only slightly more than half of the much smaller female population was of working age; of these, a mere 6 per cent were single, the rest linked to men by marriage or common-law relationship. Burrard Inlet's lumber villages, then, contained a great many unattached men of working age but almost no single women. The impression of a rather rootless society with relatively few families and limited social permanance was reinforced by the movement of loggers and sailors in and out of Moodyville, Granville, Hastings Mill, and Hastings.[28]

Yet, while single men of working age constituted the dominant social group in lumber society, women, children, and families were also present. Their increasing numbers by the 1880s served to lessen the raw edge of masculine dominance. Particularly in the early years when few European women ventured to settle in such a distant society, white men formed relationships with Native women. Reminiscences by Burrard Inlet pioneers tell of many European men who lived with, or married, women of Native descent. For instance, sawmill owner Sewell Moody co-habited with an Indian woman on Burrard Inlet while his wife of European descent lived in Victoria; the first wife of Granville hotel owner Joseph Mannion, a cultured man of literary ability and "fond of good music," was Native; and the first and second wives of saloonkeeper Jack Deighton, the latter only twelve years old at marriage, were Indians.[29] We cannot know for certain whether Emma Gonzales, who according to the 1881 census lived at Moodyville with Chilean-born millhand Pedro Gonzales and their two children, or Annie Larvieu, listed as sharing a household with the Québec-born stoveman Onesam Larvieu and three Larvieu children, were of Native descent, but circumstantial evidence suggests strongly that they were. Combined with reminiscences, 1881 census data when interpreted in a speculative but reasoned manner indicates that approximately 40 per cent of the women and children of Moodyville and Granville were either of Indian or Mixed-

[28]In the words of Arthur Austin Langley, "When I came here in 1882 there were few families on Burrard Inlet" (Matthews Collection, File #01835). Also see (Mrs.) C.E. Cordiner to John Jessop, 5 June 1876, BCARS, British Columbia, Superintendent of Education Correspondence, 1872-1897, Reel #1 (micro.); my thanks to Clint Evans for references re: education on Burrard Inlet, and to Jean Barman for whom Clint's research was carried out.

[29]In addition, Burrard Inlet ferry boat operator Captain James Van Bramer, Hastings Sawmill foremen Leon Nahu and Charles Coldwell, and Moodyville millhand Secundo Caresco, among others, also created families with women indigenous to the area. See Matthews Collection, Files #00312, 00313, 01460, 01835, 01838, 02473, 05089, and 06612 and Bell, Memoirs, 176 (quotation from Matthews, File #01835).

Blood ancestry (see Table II).[30] Lumber society, it appears, was not as rootless as its gender imbalance would lead us to believe. Nonetheless, information on family formation, like data on age and gender, does reinforce the image of a society born in relative isolation and forged by the special circumstances of a particular place.

TABLE II
The Sex and Race of People Living in Lumber Villages[1] on Burrard Inlet, 1881 (by percentage)

	Working Age	Working Age[2]		Children	Children[2]		Total
	All	M	F	All	M	F	Population
Native Descent[3]	12	4	36	41	42	40	20
Europeans & Others[4]	89	96	64	59	58	60	80
Total %	101	100	100	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases	315	245	70	136	71	65	451

[1]Granville (with Hastings Mill), Moodyville, and Hastings.

[2]Children: ages 0-14; working age adults: ages 15-64.

[3]Since the 1881 Canadian manuscript census gives birthplace and ethnic origin but not racial descent, Indian status must be inferred from the available evidence. I defined as being of Native descent those adults who had been born in British Columbia but for whom a place of origin was not given. These women might have been Indian or Mixed Blood, but the difference cannot be determined accurately — hence the use of the more general description Native Descent. Children with one parent of Native origin and one of European were categorized as being also of Native Descent. Where possible, names of people determined as being of Native Descent were also checked against textual evidence, drawn mainly from the Matthews Collection at the City of Vancouver Archives. This data comes from the European part of the 1881 census (New Westminster, South District B) and not the separate Indian part (New Westminster, Coast of Mainland D7), where the population of Burrard Inlet's Indian villages were recorded.

[4]Includes (1) those for whom a place of birth and place of origin were given in the 1881 census as Canada, United States, Europe, or a British possession; (2) Chinese; and (3) blacks, of whom an unknown but small number (such as the Sullivan family) lived on Burrard Inlet.

Women contributed to the region's economy as well, though the masculine nature of work in the forest industry limited female opportunities for wage labour. The 1881 census reveals that in the area's three lumber communities only two women were employed for wages; both women were of Native descent, and both

[30]See Table II for a description of the method used to identify (from the 1881 manuscript census) people of Native descent who lived in the lumber villages of Burrard Inlet. The Gonsales's are listed in both the 1891 and 1901 censuses as Gonzales, but in 1881 as Onsalez. The 1901 census also identifies Emma Gonzales as "Indian Other Breed." My thanks to Roderick Barman and Jean Barman for the 1901 information.

worked as domestics.[31] Unfortunately, the census recorded women's employment very inadequately, particularly in their role as casual labourers. Thus, when in 1873 European families gave a party for the daughter of John Patterson, a stevedore, they had Indian women clean the Hastings Mill schoolhouse in preparation for the event; such short-term employment at low status jobs by women of Native descent probably occurred often on the Inlet. By contrast, European women worked mainly in the home and outside the market economy. Exceptions include women employed as prostitutes and as respectable but lowly paid schoolteachers.[32]

Ethnic and racial diversity was another product of Burrard Inlet's unique history and geography. When surveyor George M. Dawson came to Moodyville at the end of 1875 he reported "a very mixed assemblage of people. While Europeans or at least Whites fill the responsible posts, Indians (Squa'mich), Chinamen, Negroes and Mulattoes and half breeds and Mongrels of every pedigree abound."[33] The point to be noted is how different Burrard Inlet appeared to Dawson from the more homogeneous societies of French and English Canada with which he was familiar. The 1881 census confirms Dawson's impression of ethnic complexity. (See Table III.) While a third of the non-Indian population were British-born, the British formed a much less prominent cultural group on the Inlet than in some other parts of British Columbia, most notably Victoria. Eastern Canadians comprised one-sixth of the village populations and were especially prominent among skilled sawmill workers and area loggers. About one-in-ten Inlet residents hailed from the United States, their numbers also concentrated among the more skilled tradesmen of the forest industry. Burrard Inlet loggers, a highly skilled group, were almost entirely of British origin (more than four-fifths) and came disproportionately from Ontario, Québec, New Brunswick, and Maine. The British Columbia-born segment of Inlet society (one-in-six residents of the three lumber villages) was principally of Native descent. As noted earlier, women and children predominated in this group, with few men of native background living in Granville or Moodyville. On the other hand, a substantial if undetermined number of Native men, mainly Squamish from Indian villages around Burrard Inlet, worked in the mills and thus contributed to the area's industrial life, though remaining socially and culturally separate from it.

[31]By 1891 the number at Moodyville had increased to nine, with four women working as longshoremen, three as general labourers, and two as cooks. Of these, six were Indian, one Mixed Blood, one Chinese, and one Swedish. See Canada, manuscript census, 1891, microfilm (T-6290), British Columbia, District #2 (New Westminster), Subdistrict A (Burrard Inlet), Division 2a, 20-42.

[32]For casual labour by Indian women, see Matthews, *Conversations*, 248 and Matthews Collection, File #06596; for school teachers, see *Ibid.*, File #02052. While virtually nothing is known about prostitutes, novelist Daphne Marlatt identifies Birdie Stewart as "Vancouver's first madam" (*Ana Historic: A Novel* [Toronto 1988], 47).

[33]Cole and Lockner, *Dawson*, 115.

TABLE III
Birthplace of People[1] of Working Age Living in
Lumber Villages, Logging Camps, and Visiting Ships
on Burrard Inlet, 1881 (by percentage)

Birthplace	Burrard Inlet Lumber Villages									Other	
	All Lumber Villages			Granville		Moodyville		Hastings[2]		Visit. Ships	Log. Camps
	ALL	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M[3]	M[3]
Canada (not BC)	17	19	10	19	13	13	7	73	--	4	56
British Columbia	16	8	40	10	25	7	60	--	--	1	3
Great Britain	34	35	30	33	38	40	20	--	--	30	24
United States	10	10	11	6	10	13	13	18	--	12	10
Europe	9	11	--	13	--	11	--	9	--	26	2
China	7	7	7	11	13	2	--	--	--	2	4
Sandwich Isl.	3	4	--	6	--	3	--	--	--	--	--
West Indies	1	2	--	2	--	2	--	--	--	8	--
C. & S. America	3	3	1	--	3	8	--	--	--	4	--
Other	1	1	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	12	--
Total %	101	100	99	100	102	101	100	100	--	99	99
No. of Cases	310	240	70	125	40	104	30	11	--	90	128

[1] Includes people of Native descent in lumber villages but excludes people enumerated in the Indian section of the 1881 census for Burrard Inlet.
[2] Hastings, but not Hastings Mill; the population of the latter is included with Granville.
[3] One woman (an American) was living on a ship; five (two from E. Canada, two from BC, and one from the USA) resided in logging camps.

An impression of ethnic diversity was heightened by the one-in-four non-Indian men from places outside the sphere of British, Eastern Canadian, or American influence, their numbers reflecting the extent to which the male workforce moved in and out of the Inlet by sea from the four corners of the world. These workers included Germans, Swedes, Chileans, Philippinos, West Indians, Mexicans, Peruvians, Russians, and Chinese — what Hastings Sawmill executive R.H. Alexander referred to as a very "motley lot."[34] The crews of visiting ships, an important source of sawmill labour, were a noticeably varied group, with American, English, Scottish, Phillipino, West Indian, and German sailors represented in the 1881 census. One-tenth of Granville's residents were Chinese, who also worked as cooks in logging camps around the Inlet. Unlike Moodyville, Granville provided job opportunities for the Chinese in petty trade and the service sector. Of particular note is the balance between Chinese men and women at Granville, a pattern that would change dramatically with the influx of Chinese railway navvies in the 1880s.

Workers from the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands formed one other distinguishable social group. Known as Kanakas, they had laboured for the Hudson's Bay Company and other employers up and down the northwest coast since the 1820s and constituted a small but important part of Burrard Inlet's social landscape. The census indicates that 3 per cent of the population of lumber villages were Kanakas, though the intermixing of Kanakas and Native Indians, a product of the relatively long tenure of Sandwich Islanders on the coast, undoubtedly extended Kanaka connections to a larger number. A group of Kanakas lived at Coal Harbour on the south shore, and a row of houses built on pilings along the shoreline east of Moodyville was known as Kanaka Row. The partner of Maxie Michaud, the Hastings hotel owner notorious for selling liquor illegally to Indians, was a woman named Frisadie whose heritage was part Indian and part Kanaka. Frisadie was one of the many people on Burrard Inlet whom the ethnocentric George Dawson would have labelled "half breed" and "mongrel."[35]

II

THE SOCIETY formed by these various groups exhibited a relatively fluid but essentially hierarchical social structure. At the top were mill managers and logging

[34]"Bygone Days in Vancouver: ... A Talk With R.H. Alexander," BCARS, Vertical File (R.H. Alexander), micro. #1622.

[35]For Kanakas in general see Matthews Collection, Files #02424, 04420,05089, 06596, and 06612; for Frisadie, #03345. For a comment on the relationship between Kanakas and Indians on the west coast during the fur trade, see E. Momilani Naughton, "Hawaiians in the Fur Trade: Cultural Influence on the North West Coast, 1811-1875," MA thesis, Western Washington University, 1983, 28-40.

camp owners, the principal employers in an economy narrowly based on the extraction, processing, and export of timber. The localized nature of Burrard Inlet's labour market meant that work relations between capital and labour were carried on in a personal, face-to-face manner, reinforcing the discretionary power of managers and tying workers to individual bosses. Especially close to the managers were the remainder of Burrard Inlet's economic elite. They included the managerial staff of the sawmills (accountants, bookkeepers, storekeepers, and tallymen), the highly skilled technical staff at the mills (engineers, machinists), stevedores who managed the loading of ships, entrepreneurs engaged in respectable business activities (such as better class hotels and the butcher shop), and doctors who lived intermittently at Granville.

While defined primarily by occupational status, this elite was also male, white, of British origin, and reasonably well-educated. Its members were stable rather than transient residents of the Inlet. In addition, by the 1880s they were almost always married to women of European rather than Native descent. In short, the structuring of society on Burrard Inlet appears to have been a multi-faceted process involving elements of social status, gender, ethnicity, and race, as well as economic power.

Led by managers' wives, this group sought to solidify its place atop the relatively unstable society of Burrard Inlet by adopting a lifestyle that would set it apart from the threatening mass below. Elite families lived in detatched houses, the two largest of which belonged to mill managers. Of these, the one constructed by Hugh Nelson on Knob Hill, located behind and above the mill in Moodyville, became the centre of elite social activity, especially after 1882 when the Springers moved in. Mrs. Springer, formerly Mrs. Richards, Granville's second schoolteacher who had married Ben Springer in one of the earliest "society" events of the 1870s, led the way in importing social rituals such as tennis parties, teas, and 'At Homes' that aimed to enhance cohesion and identity among this small, exclusive group. As one observer of Burrard Inlet social life reminisced, Mrs. Springer "gave quite delightful garden parties, house parties, and afternoon teas; played tennis, and on one occasion gave a very elaborate entertainment at her elegant home on the cliff of Moodyville, above the mill, and had an orchestra." Mrs. R.H. Alexander led "society" in a similar fashion on the south shore. Social activities with the officers of visiting sailing vessels, and their wives, offered this group additional chances for shared outings, whether at balls organized by ships' captains "for the ladies and gentlemen of the Inlet and New Westminster" or on picnic excursions to nearby Granite Falls. Until 1881, however, the elite lacked one instrument essential for defining status — their own church. Reluctant to attend the Methodist church in Gastown, to which Indian mill workers mainly belonged, they participated in Anglican services at the Masonic Hall in Moodyville and at the schoolhouse near Hastings Mill until St. James' Anglican Church, sponsored by mill manager Captain James Raymur, opened in the spring of 1881 on Hastings

Sawmill Company land. Former Methodists like Mrs. Springer now crossed the Inlet regularly to attend.[36]

This group saw itself as "respectable," and those around them as "rough." To be "respectable" was to be of good character — pious, sober, honest, industrious, and self-sufficient. It was to show tangible evidence of material progress, and in this fragile society with its newly formed and polygot population to be white and of British or American background.[37] The respectable included middling elements of society such as small businessmen — though not saloonkeepers, usually held in low esteem — and portions of the labour force, especially those working men whose education, background, and conduct led them to conform to the standards of Victorian morality. Loggers, mainly Anglo-Saxon and skilled, could be respectable; as one observer noted, "They drank, but were not drunkards. They were a superior class of men." Similarly, the former English sailor James McCulley, who praised Sewell Moody for the rational recreation that his library made possible at Moodyville, was respectable. By contrast, mill hands, who were ethnically mixed and generally unskilled, were perceived as "a roughish lot."[38] Even rougher were the "unruly seamen" who caused "trouble and annoyance to the respectable portion" of Moodyville's population.[39]

The ethnic and racial overtones that the ethos of respectability assumed at Burrard Inlet found particular expression in negative perceptions of Native and Mixed Blood people. Families created by men from European and women from

[36]The functions of "Society" on Burrard Inlet are described in the Matthews Collection, Files #01263, 02051, 02052, 03090, 03270, and 04420 (quotation from #02052), and Bell, Memoirs, 82; for the role of visiting ships, see the Matthews Collection, File #03270 and the *Mainland Guardian*, 18 July 1883, 3 and 11 August, 1883, 3 (quotation from 11 August); and for St. James Church, see Matthews Collection, Files #02052 and 06236 and Jessie Parnes, "History of St. James," VCA, Add. Mss. 570, St. James Anglican Church Records, 4.

[37]J.K. Johnson, *Becoming Prominent: Regional Leadership in Upper Canada, 1791-1841* (Kingston 1989), 88; Peter Bailey, "'Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand Up?' Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working Class Respectability," *Journal of Social History*, 12 (Spring 1979), 338; and Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1875* (London 1971), 257.

[38]W. Wymond Walkem, "Christmas Thirty-Eight Years Ago," in *Stories of Early British Columbia* (Vancouver 1914), 91 and "Bygone Days of Vancouver." The extent to which Anglo-Saxon loggers saw themselves, and were viewed by others, as "respectable" remains unclear. Their position was ambiguous, and probably varied according to context. Farther south, a Union soldier stationed in Oregon during the American Civil War depicted lumbermen there as "Roughs"; the close association of these woodsmen with Indian women appears to have contributed significantly to the observer's perception of their low status (see Gunter Barth, ed., *All Quiet on the Yamhill: The Civil War in Oregon. The Journal of Corporal Royal A. Bensell* [Eugene, Ore. 1959], 145-7).

[39]McCulley, to parents, 5 September 1875, McCulley correspondence, and "Petition of 18 February 1888 to H.B. Raycroft, Sup't. of Provincial Police, Victoria, BC," BCARS, GR429, British Columbia, Attorney-General, Correspondence, Box 2, File 1:1888, Doc. #149/88.

Native cultural traditions were quite common on Burrard Inlet, though for managers and the respectable element this was more a phenomena of the 1860s and 1870s than of the 1880s. Europeans never fully accepted such liasons as normal, particularly as more White women came to the Inlet. For example, women of Native descent were often referred to as "squaws" and their European partners as "squaw men," pejorative terms that implied a departure from European cultural norms. Thus, R. H. Alexander viewed the community created by his European workers and their "squaws" as "curious." The term "Siwash," commonly used by Europeans, was equally disliked by Natives. Jim Frank, a Squamish Indian born at Burrard Inlet and employed by Hastings Sawmill, reflected later in life on how much he had hated being referred to by the derogatory term "Siwash": "I'm Indian, me Indian, not Siwash," he asserted.[40] In addition, women of Native descent, including the Indian wife of Jack Deighton, were denied the right to inherit property from their dead, white mates. In the words of August Jack Khahtsalano, a Squamish Indian reminiscing about his youth on the Inlet, where he was born in 1877: when the white husband of an Indian woman died, "they kick the womans out ... because she's 'just a squaw.'"[41] Respectable whites held Mixed Blood people in particularly low regard. Comments in Department of Indian Affairs records emphasized the excessive drinking and generally debauched state of Mixed Blood people.[42] Equally revealing is the patronizing tone of a Moodyville schoolteacher who described her students — of whom one-half to two-thirds were Mixed Blood — as "very careless and the majority backward[,] although to be half breeds some of them are very nice ...."[43] Such images suggest the stigma that Indian blood carried among whites. Europeans cast Mixed Blood and Native people to the margins of what they considered respectable society, by which they meant white society of British origin. In so doing they defined people of Native descent living in lumber villages as a separate and lower status community. Race joined economic and social status as important sources of stratification at Burrard Inlet.

[40]Quotation from Matthews, *Conversations*, 253-254; also see Bell, Memoirs, 28 and "Bygone Days in Vancouver."

[41]7 Matthews, *Conversations*, 94; and Matthews Collection, File #06612 and Vol. 1, M237.

[42]Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 11 (1879), Paper No.10, Department of Interior, Indian Affairs Branch Annual Report, 1878, 73 and *ibid.*, 17 (1885), Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1884, 104; and Roberts, *Prey of the Strongest, passim.*

[43]T.H. Mathers to John Jessop, 13 April 1876, BCARS, GR 1445, British Columbia, Superintendent of Education Correspondence, 1872-1897, Reel #1 [micro.]. Also see Henry W. Hughes to John Jessop, 16 February 1877, *ibid.*, Reel #1 [micro.]; (Miss) A.I. Goring to C.C. McKenzie, 24 March 1879 and A.I. Colbeck to C.C. McKenzie, 19 April 1880, *ibid.*, Reel #2 [micro.]; and A.I. Colbeck to C.C. McKenzie, 27 October 1882, *ibid.*, Reel #3 [micro.].

III

LED BY SAWMILL COMPANY MANAGERS, the "respectable" elite worked assiduously to hold together the mélange of people and cultures at Burrard Inlet and to encourage within the community law-abiding, sober, and orderly behaviour; both in turn aimed to increase the efficiency of workers and maximize the surplus value that could be extracted from their work. This leadership from above is best categorized as a form of paternalism: a method of organizing society into an organic whole by linking the social mass to their superiors, usually through face-to-face relations in intensely localized and isolated locations. Historians have found that paternalism operated as a social system most frequently in rural and pre-industrial societies. But manufacturers are also known to have introduced paternalistic policies during the transition to industrial capitalism. Such was the case at Burrard Inlet.[44]

Mill managers attempted to direct the moral and social behaviour of Burrard Inlet residents by means of three types of initiatives: organizational, legal, and recreational. First, managers and their staffs strongly supported organizations that would promote rational social behaviour. For instance, the Mechanics' Institute [of] Burrard Inlet provided a library of books and periodicals, and Mount Hermon Lodge, a fraternal society, offered social assistance to needy members and their families. The Mechanics' Institute was run throughout its history by leading figures on the north shore, many of them in managerial positions at the mill; lodge members included a range of working people such as carpenters, blacksmiths, and some mill hands, as well as others in management and business. The names of almost all members of the Institute and the Lodge were of British origin, with Josiah C. Hughes, a clerk at Moody's Mill elected to the first provincial legislature after Confederation, heading both. The Hastings Literary Institute emerged on the south shore sometime after the Mechanics' Institute on the north; significantly, its president and secretary in 1882-83 were the manager and a clerk of Hastings Sawmill.[45] Mill managers took the lead as well in establishing public schools at

[44]The definition of "paternalism" employed here is drawn from Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991*, second edition (Toronto 1992), 41-8. Also see John Kleinig, *Paternalism* (Totowa, NJ, 1984), 4-7. For an excellent study of paternalism in an industrial setting in mid-to-late Victorian England, see Patrick Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics: The Culture of the Factory in Later Victorian England* (London 1982 [1980]), xxi, 53, 79, 92-9, 110, 124, 134-57, and 186. For a Canadian example of paternalism in an early industrial setting, see Christian Norman, "A Company Community: Garden Island, Upper Canada at Mid-Century," in Donald H. Akenson, ed., *Canadian Papers in Rural History* (1980), II, 113-34.

[45]Mechanic's Institute of Burrard Inlet, Minutes, 1869-1884, VCA, Vancouver Art, Historical and Scientific Society Records, v.26, File 253; Mount Hermon Lodge Membership Lists, 1869-1885, and Correspondence, espec. letters of 30 September 1879 and 31 January 1882, BCARS, Add. Mss. 002, Freemasons, Records, Box 4, Files 1-2 and 4; Matthews Collection, Files #00671 and 04306; and Brooks, "Vancouver's Origins," 73-7.

Moodyville and Granville in the early 1870s and continued to direct school matters into the 1880s.[46]

In addition, the judiciary served as a useful instrument of power for lumber industry officials. In the 1870s the province's legal system retained from the colonial period strong roots within local communities, and in areas outside Victoria and New Westminster the Justices of the Peace, who as the lowest-ranking officers of the court were not professionally trained in law, were often members of the local elite.[47] Among the Justices of the Peace appointed at Burrard Inlet in the 1870s were Hastings Sawmill officials Captain Raymur and R.H. Alexander, Moodyville bookkeeper Ben Springer, and logging camp operator Jeremiah Rogers.[48] They sought to maintain law and order at a place where, according to one observer, a "pretty hard crowd used to find their way ... from other parts [of the coast] to escape arrest."[49]

But it was moral behaviour, and particularly the sale of liquor to Indians, that most concerned local magistrates. Sewell Moody's attempt to limit access to liquor on the north shore has been noted. Captain Raymur had a tougher task, since his company did not own the land at Gastown or Hastings. After being appointed manager he expressed shock at what he called "this aggregation of filth" at Gastown, proclaiming: "I'll not permit a running sore to fasten itself on an industry entrusted to my care."[50] To this end as manager he fought hard to prevent the licensing of additional outlets that would sell liquor past midnight or allow cards to be played on Sundays, and as magistrate he tried to stop the illegal sale of liquor.

Paternalism found its most imaginative expression, however, during the Inlet's celebration of Dominion Day. The settlement that formed in the 1860s around the north shore mill initially had an American orientation, and the American national holiday emerged as the Inlet's first mid-summer festival. The festivities were led by Sewell Moody, an American. But in 1873 R.H. Alexander, then a Scottish-born but Canadian-educated bookkeeper at Hastings Mill, inaugurated a separate

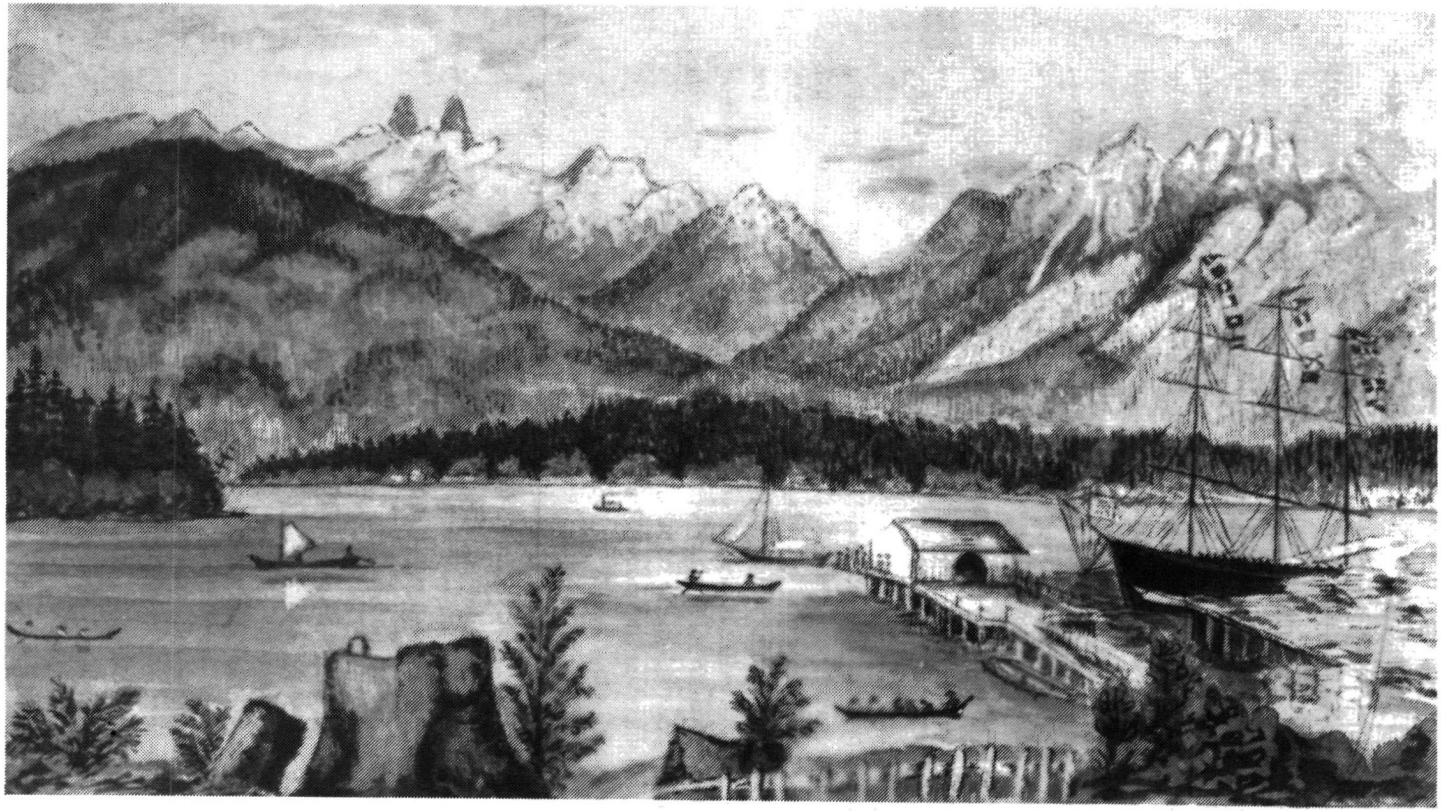
[46]In 1882-1883 the owner and manager of the Moodyville sawmill sat as two of Moodyville's four school trustees, while on the south shore the mill manager functioned as secretary of the Granville board. On both sides of the Inlet, school buildings were provided by the sawmill companies. See Matthews Collection, Files #02052 and 00903; and Helen Boutilier, "Vancouver's Earliet days," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, 10 (1946), 157.

[47]For the close connection between Justices of the Peace and local communities in the colonies of British North America before Confederation, see Allan Greer, "The Birth of the Police in Canada," in Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, ed., *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto 1992), 18-9.

[48]*British Columbia Gazette*, XIII, 14 (April 1873), 1 and XIV, 28 (July 1876), 165; and Boutillier, "Vancouver's Earliest Days," 157, n.10.

[49]Walkem, "Christmas Thirty-Eight Years Ago," 189; also see H.B. Roycroft to the Attorney-General, 23 February 1888, BCARS, GR429, British Columbia, Attorney-General, Correspondence, Box 2, Doc. 149/88.

[50]BCARS, VF (Burrard Inlet), micro. #0455-0456.



Dominion Day at Hastings Sawmill, Burrard Inlet, 1870s

This painting by Mrs. A.N. Richards, wife of British Columbia's Lieutenant-Governor, illustrates aspects of the Dominion Day celebrations sponsored by the Hastings Sawmill Company in the 1870s. The Naval Reserve, later to become Stanley Park, is shown at centre left, and the mill company's wharf at bottom right. *Vancouver City Archives,* Mi. P5 N.4.

celebration to mark British Columbia's recent entry into the Canadian Confederation. For a short period celebrations on July 1 and July 4 competed, but it was Dominion Day that grew and survived. Sponsored by the Hastings Sawmill Company, Dominion Day was, to quote one observer, "always ... a specialty at Hastings Mill," the sports and prizes way "ahead of anything else in British Columbia." Crowds of up to 750 people gathered on the sawdust spit in front of the mill, with flags atop the mill and wharf greeting as many as 400 excursionists from Nanaimo and Victoria. Activities included running, jumping, sailing and canoe races, rifle shooting, climbing greasy poles and catching greased pigs, a band that played through the entire day, and a "splendid dinner ... provided for everyone, free of charge by Captain Raymur," the mill manager.[51] As evening approached, departing excursionists extended loud expressions of thanks to an appreciative Raymur.

Others in the elite besides the managers supported these mill-directed initiatives. The gendered nature of this support is worth noting, for while the "respectable" tended to live in families, and thus to include women, the general workforce — the object of paternalism — was disproportionately masculine. Thus, in 1879 the elite's quest for social harmony led a group of respectable families to form the Coal Harbour Bachelors' Quadrille Club "for the purpose of raising the moral standard of the community, and bringing the young of both sexes together ... to promote sociability, harmony and good fellowship."[52] The leadership of Mrs. Alexander was particularly noticeable. On Dominion Day she could be found singing "with much taste" before a multitude of spectators drawn from all levels of Burrard Inlet society. More instructive of Mrs. Alexander's sense of herself as a moral and social leader is the story of how she intervened to stop racial "rioting" east of Hastings Mill. One day early in 1886, after many navvies from discontinued construction sites along the Canadian Pacific Railway line had come down to Gastown, a crowd of "tramping and shouting" men passed behind the mill on their way to the Chinese shacks to the east. Sensing their hostile tone, the manager's wife "was fearless and went out with her apron on — she wore a big white apron, and ... reprimanded them severely." The narrator, a local resident, leaves the impression that this leading member of the Inlet's "respectable" elite successfully restored order through her personal intervention.[53]

[51]Quotations from *Mainland Guardian*, 1 July 1876 and 2 July 1873; also see *Ibid.*, 4 July 1874 and 3 July 1880; Matthews Collection, Files #01213, 02050, 02051, 02403, and 04420; and BCARS, VF [Moodyville], micro. #0436-0439.

[52]*Vancouver News*, 20 October 1886, 1. The reference here is to the club when reconstituted in 1886 after being formed seven years earlier.

[53]*Mainland Guardian*, 4 July 1874, 3 and Matthews Collection, File #00030 (Hedley W. Otton).

IV

WHETHER PATERNALISM proved so effective, however, is open to more critical assessment. For while these various initiatives tell us much about the assumptions and identity of the Inlet's leaders, they indicate little about the community's response. Additional evidence, though fragmentary, suggests that economic power did not translate easily into social and cultural control.

Four historical incidents, all revealed through fragments of stories left by residents of the time, help us to explore the complex nature of social relations on Burrard Inlet. The first tells of mill owner Sewell Moody's attempt to discipline Native employees who had acquired whiskey from a visiting ship's captain. When a stern-looking Moody entered the Mission Reserve to berate the partying mill hands for failing to show up for work, the Indians "stripped him absolutely naked, put him at the head of the procession and marched him from 'The Mission' to the [nearby] sawmill, singing songs, making all the noise they could, ... three Roman Catholic priests following the procession carrying Moody's clothes." Two days later the Indians marched back to beg the humiliated sawmill owner his forgiveness. This time the priests led the procession.[54] The second story tells of how a "young lady," unmarried and probably from a genteel settler family in Victoria, came to observe an important Native ritual at Burrard Inlet. While visiting the Alexanders in 1877, she was invited to accompany them to an "Indian war dance ... held deep in the woods on the waterfront near Hastings." While the dance was "not open to the public," she gained access as one of a number of Europeans who had received special invitations; among them was her host, R.H. Alexander, who had been "made a chief awhile ago for some service they esteemed."[55] The third comes from Reverend Charles Montgomery Tate, a Methodist missionary who attended the Dominion Day celebrations at Hastings Mill on 1 July 1876. Of note are his comments on what came after the official, and mill-directed, programme had been completed. In the evening "people danced and drank whiskey until sober persons became scarce," Rev. Tate confided to his diary; "The sight I beheld that night I think I will ever remember — white people and Indians drunk on every hand. What is the country coming to."[56] The final example is less a story than a short but instructive comment from an elderly R.H. Alexander while reminiscing about how different Burrard Inlet life had been before the advent of the railway, rapid urbanization, and a fully developed capitalist economy. On one occasion, he stated, Hastings Mill had been forced to "shut down for a couple of days because so many [mill hands] were engaged in a particularly interesting game that was going on."[57]

[54]*Ibid.*, File #03270 (Muriel Crackenthorp).

[55]"Pioneer Judges Wife — Memoirs of Life in B.C., 1864-1906," NAC, MG29 C54, Vol. 1, File #1, 19-24.

[56]Diary, 1 July 1876, BCARS, Add. Mss.303, Rev. Charles Montgomery Tate Papers, Vol. 1, Folder 5.

[57]Alexander, "Reminiscences," 13.

Together these stories suggest a complex rather than simple pattern of social relations between elites and ordinary people on Burrard Inlet. At one level they reveal company power. In seeking the foregiveness of Moody for their indiscretion, Native mill workers seemed to buckle under to the moral authority of the church and the economic authority of the Moodyville Sawmill Company. The inclusion of Alexander in an important Native ritual could also be interpreted as an example of Indian deference to European economic power and evidence of the loss of Native cultural autonomy.

But another reading is also possible. In both cases Natives may have been making concessions to preserve something more important, the continued viability of their traditional culture. The war dance represented only one example of Native cultural persistence on Burrard Inlet; despite being declared illegal by the Dominion government in 1884, potlatching continued there at least until 1889, and perhaps beyond. The reason why Native men worked in the mills is suggested in another story, this one told by the Rev. George Grant while on an expedition to British Columbia from Central Canada in 1872. "An old fellow, big George," the ethnocentric Grant tells us, worked "industriously at the [Moodyville] mill for years till he saved $2,000. Instead of putting this in a Savings Bank, he had spent it all on stores for a grand 'Potlatch', summoning Siwashes from far and near to come, eat, drink, dance, be merry, and receive gifts. Nearly a thousand assembled ...." Once the potlatch had finished, the penniless man "returned to the mill to carry slabs at $20 a month."[58] Simply put, for Natives, wage labour appears to have been incorporated into a constantly evolving but still vibrant traditional culture.

The persistence of separate social realities on the Inlet is also revealed in the stories of drinking and gambling. Lumber company attempts to control excess drinking and the sale of liquor to Indians were at best only partially successful, as the repeated liquor charges laid against hotel operator Maxmillian Michaud indicate.[59] More significantly, drinking was a crucial part of the recreational lives of men, whether Native or European, who worked on the industrial frontier, and the practice remained relatively impervious to the reform-oriented goals of the elite. The gendered nature of drinking and gambling was a natural product of the social environment in which most male workers lived. While men with families resided in small houses, the majority of mill workers and loggers lived without female companionship, sharing all-male bunkhouses, mess halls, and twelve-hour work days. For single men Burrard Inlet life was generally quiet, indeed monotonous, though punctuated by periods of intense socializing. In the words of one Granville pioneer, the village was very quiet except on pay days when the loggers came in;

[58]Potlatches occurred at the Hastings Mill Rancherie in 1884 and 1885, Whoi-Whoi in 1885, and Seymour Creek in 1889. See Matthews, *Conversations*, 23, 199, 240, 268, 278, and 284; and Matthews Collection, File #01263. Quotations are from Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, 323.
[59]BCARS, GR419, British Columbia, Attorney-General, Depositions, Vol. 878, Box 14, Files 1876/7 and 1876/8.

then it was lively until they sobered up and went back to work. The Sunnyside Hotel in Granville, built "on stilts over the beach," was a favourite spot for single men when they were not working. Here they gathered around "the one long table" to share meals, later spending the night dancing and drinking. Liquor was an essential component of this masculine recreational culture, and as the name of Moodyville's "Maiden Lane" suggests, so too was prostitution.[60] One can argue, then, that the drinking Rev. Tate observed on Dominion Day was a natural part of the masculine world of lumber society and co-existed with, but was not superceded by, the rational culture of the "respectable" elite.

The four stories evoke one other observation about the relationship of social groups at Burrard Inlet: like their influence over social and cultural practices, the ability of company managers to discipline workers was limited. The labour market in this coastal enclave to some extent favoured management: the market's localized nature meant that work relations were carried on in a highly personalized manner between managers and workers, reinforcing the power of capital.[61] This personalized form of industrial relations may explain why no strikes are known to have occurred at Burrard Inlet until navvies who had recently arrived from inland railway camps led workers at Hastings Sawmill to walk out in the spring of 1886.[62] On the other hand, mill workers tended to move frequently, a pattern reinforced by the relatively high wages offered along the labour-short northwest coast. Thus, transiency could serve as a ready form of protest against management controls, and the labour market offered plenty of job opportunities for transient workers. Despite his humiliation, then, Sewell Moody needed Native labour and could not simply fire all workers from the Mission Reserve who had defied his edict against taking liquor. Similarly, Alexander had no choice but to close Hastings Mill when his employees collectively decided to gamble rather than work.

V

TO CONCLUDE, the most obvious fact about Burrard Inlet society is the prominence of sawmills in settlement life. This resource-based community came into existence to extract wealth from British Columbia's rich forests. Burrard Inlet was not an agricultural society organized around a large number of small producers who lived in nuclear families and owned land. Rather, production was highly concentrated and, supporting the thesis that British Columbia has been and remains a "company

[60]Matthews Collection, File #04191 and Walkem, "Christmas Thirty-Eight Years Ago," 92-4.

[61]This point is suggested in Palmer, *Working-Class Experience*, 42.

[62]The strike took place in early April and significantly influenced the subsequent civic election. Knights of Labor organizers who had accompanied navvies down to the coast from Interior railway construction camps appear to have been actively involved in the strike. See the reminiscences of W.H Gallagher and Hedley W. Otton in the Matthews Collection (Files #01835 and #00030). Also see *ibid.*, Files #01749 and #02052.

province," settlement emerged out of the labour demands of industrial capitalism. Indeed, social organization can be described as a symbiotic relationship between a company-dominated elite and a social mass that centred around work in the mills, on the waterfront, and in the forests. Lumber society on Burrard Inlet, one could argue, was structured primarily by class.

But the foregoing study has revealed a level of social complexity that challenges such a thesis. The mill managers and their economic allies came closest of all groups at Burrard Inlet to forming a self-aware and cohesive social class. Yet its members were part of the dominant British cultural group in British Columbia, and thus were also defined by ethnicity. In addition, lumber society below the culturally cohesive elite was fractured by ethnicity, race, marital status, and occupational role. In other words, the industrial society that grew up around the Hastings and Moodyville sawmills was hierarchically structured along several axes, of which class was only one. Complex identities united groups on some levels — the skilled and mainly Anglophone loggers with the mill society elite, or single loggers with male sawmill workers — but divided them on others. Thus, single men such as skilled loggers from New Brunswick and unskilled millhands from Mexico shared a common masculine subculture but faced obvious differences of occupational status and ethnicity. Race divided workers fundamentally, as the segregated locations of the Chinese rookerie at Moodyville and the Indian rancherie at Hastings Mill indicate. Indeed, the Native population living on reserves were not settlers in the European sense at all, remaining outside of lumber society but loosely connected to it.

This complexity is best understood as the operation of industrial capitalism in a frontier setting, with the term "frontier" used loosely to mean first stage of settlement when social relations were new and as yet unfixed. The geographic isolation of Burrard Inlet and the small but fluid nature of the settler population along the coast crucially influenced the makeup and operation of settlement society on the Inlet during its early years. In particular, these factors sharply limited the ability of lumber companies to control economic and social behaviour. As a consequence, relations between the companies and the community were much more a negotiated process than a simple exercise of managerial domination. Lumber capitalists may have provided the reason for settlement at Burrard Inlet, but they could not escape the constraints imposed upon them by the frontier nature of their operation.

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