

AN ETHNOHISTORICAL COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SCANDINAVIAN COLONIZATION
ON NORTHERN VANCOUVER ISLAND, BRITISH COLUMBIA: THE NORWEGIANS AT
QUATSINO AND THE DANES AT CAPE SCOTT / SAN JOSEF VALLEY, 1894-1913

by

LEONARD LEE SMITH
B.A., University of Victoria, 1983

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Anthropology

ACCEPTED
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEAN

DATE

Jan 22, 86

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

Dr. David S. Moyer

Dr. Donald H. Mitchell

Dr. Richard L. Ogmundson

Dr. Yuen-Fong Woon

© LEONARD LEE SMITH 1985

University of Victoria

August 1985

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced
in whole or in part, by mimeograph or other means,
without the permission of the author.

Supervisor: Dr. D.S. Moyer

ABSTRACT

Using a wide range of library and archival sources, this thesis documents and discusses Scandinavian colonization and settlement on northern Vancouver Island, British Columbia, at the turn of the century.

There was an episode of Norwegian-American colonization at Quatsino, 1894-1900, an episode of Danish-American colonization at Cape Scott, 1896-1900, and a subsequent episode of Danish-American colonization and settlement in the San Josef Valley, 1901-1909, which took the form of an expansion of the Cape Scott Colony.

Settlement on northern Vancouver Island, 1910-1913, was multi-ethnic in nature, and no Scandinavian colonization occurred.

A transactional theoretical orientation, a two-case comparative methodology, and a periodization research design—in conjunction with a pattern style of explanation—reveals that the Cape Scott / San Josef Valley colonization manifested a much closer articulation of ecology and ethnicity than the Quatsino colonization, and was a more robust colonization attempt.

The Danes had a dairying-Danish focus in both ideology and activity, while the Norwegians were improvising, individualistic ranchers and prospectors.

Both colonizations failed, but some effective settlement had

taken place, in the form of crown grants of land eventually obtained by Scandinavians at Quatsino, Cape Scott, and the San Josef Valley.

The Quatsino Colony and the Cape Scott Colony were largely encouraged and assisted by the government of British Columbia, and received favourable publicity in the major newspaper of the province, the Victoria Daily Colonist.

Northern Vancouver Island was a frontier area from 1894 to 1913, but frontier development was always more apparent on Quatsino Sound than at Cape Scott or in the San Josef Valley.

It is suggested that sufficient numbers of people, the presence of extensive arable land, firm secular or spiritual leadership, government encouragement and assistance, and articulation of ecology and ethnicity may be important factors in comparatively assessing the viability of the mid-coast Scandinavian colonizations, which included Bella Coola, Quatsino, Cape Scott, Sointula, and Hunter Island.

Examiners:

[REDACTED]

Dr. David S. Moyer

[REDACTED]

Dr. Donald H. Mitchell

[REDACTED]

Dr. Richard L. Ogmundson

[REDACTED]

Dr. Yuen-Fong Woon

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF MAPS	vii
<u>Chapter</u>	
I INTRODUCTION	1
Mid-coast Scandinavian Colonizations	3
Provincial Historical Context	7
Scandinavian Immigrants	14
Northern Vancouver Island Environments	19
II THEORY AND METHODOLOGY	26
Ecology and Ethnicity	27
Ethnohistory	32
Frontier Colonization	33
Two-case Comparison	36
Research Notes	38
III RAW BEGINNINGS	42
Quatsino 1894	42
Cape Scott 1896	45
Overview	50
IV SETTLING IN	52
Quatsino 1895-1896	52
Cape Scott 1897-1898	61
Overview	76
V LIMITED PROGRESS	83
Quatsino 1897-1898	83
Quatsino 1899	96
Cape Scott 1899	101
Quatsino and Cape Scott 1900	106
Overview	111

VI	EBB AND FLOW	119
	Quatsino 1901-1903	119
	Cape Scott / San Josef Valley 1901-1903	127
	Overview	143
VII	STASIS	152
	Quatsino 1904-1908	152
	Cape Scott / San Josef Valley 1904-1908	162
	Overview	179
VIII	THE YEAR 1909	186
	Quatsino	186
	Cape Scott / San Josef Valley	192
	Overview	197
IX	COLONIZATION ECLIPSED	202
	Sound, Cape, and Valley 1910-1913	202
	Overview	213
X	CONCLUSION	217
	REFERENCES CITED	228

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Land Tenure and Ethnicity, the "Settling In" Periods	77
2	Government Expenditures, the "Settling In" Periods	78
3	Land Tenure and Ethnicity, the "Limited Progress" Periods	112
4	Government Expenditures, the "Limited Progress" Periods	113
5	Voters and Their Occupations, 1900	114
6	Scandinavian and Other Pre-emptions, 1901-1903	145
7	Government Expenditures, 1901-1903	145
8	Ethnicity and Occupation, 1903	146
9	Some Education Data, 1899-1903	147
10	Scandinavian and Other Pre-emptions, 1904-1908	181
11	Government Expenditures, 1904-1908	181
12	Some Individuals and Occupations, 1908	182
13	Scandinavian Crown Grants and Cancellations, to 1909	199
14	Government Expenditures, to 1909	199
15	Land Tenure and Ethnicity, 1910-1913	214
16	Government Expenditures, 1910-1913	214
17	Northern Vancouver Island Voters List Data, 1913	215

LIST OF MAPS

<u>Map</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Locations of Mid-coast Scandinavian Colonizations	2
2	The Northern Vancouver Island Study Area	18
3	Quatsino: Townships and Place Names	40
4	Cape Scott / San Josef Valley: Townships and Place Names	41
5	"Sketch Showing Subdivision of Meadow"	71
6	"Sketch Showing Subdivision of Sections"	72
7	The Settlement Pattern at Quatsino	88
8	The Reserve Wanted in the San Josef Valley	130
9	The Settlement Pattern at Cape Scott	172

I

INTRODUCTION

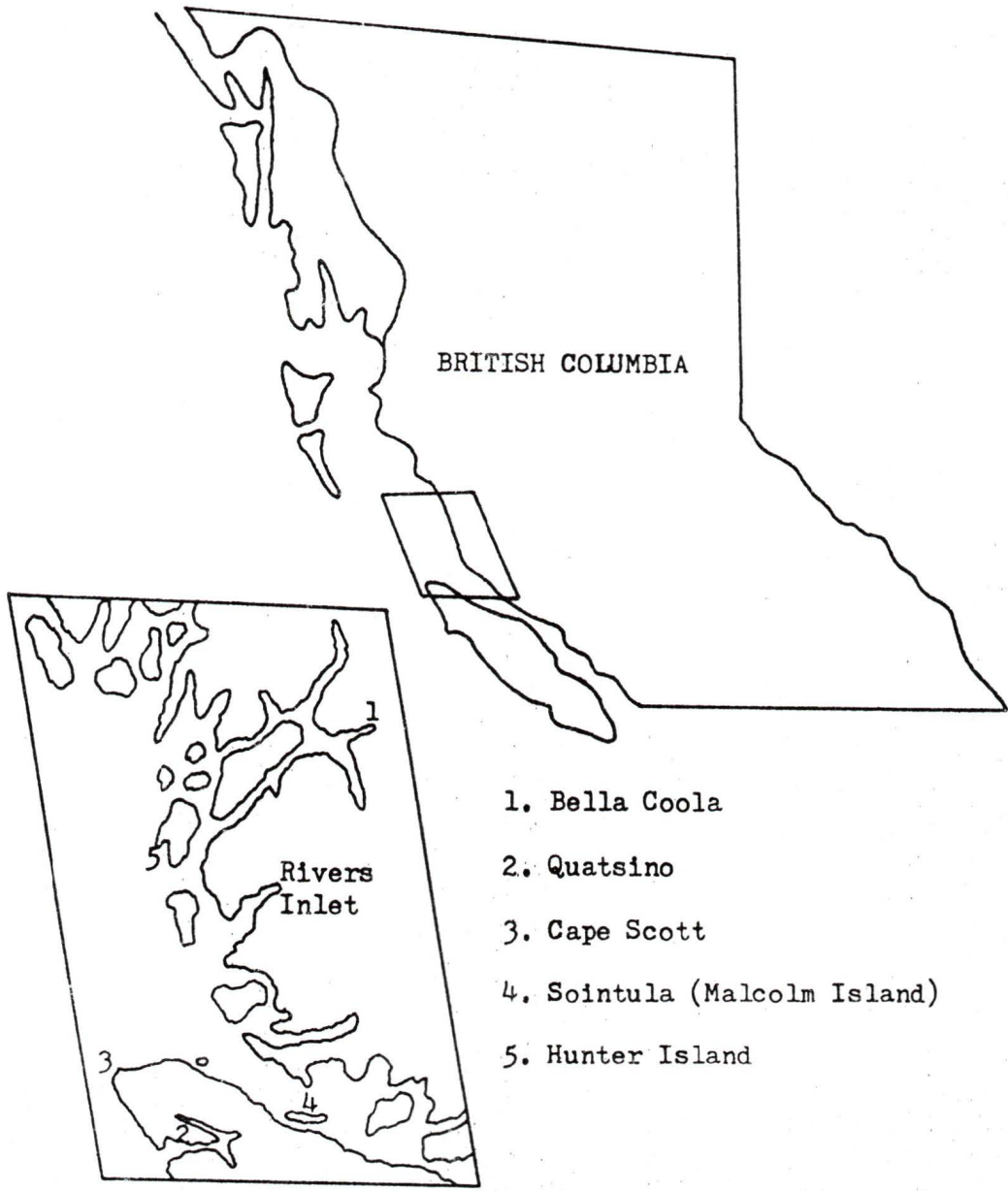
This thesis is a contribution to the anthropological knowledge of British Columbia history. The founding of rural communities is as much a part of the fabric of provincial history as is the growth of cities and industries or the turnover of governments,

The Norwegian colony at Quatsino and the Danish colony at Cape Scott / San Josef Valley, on northern Vancouver Island, were hopeful attempts to create and sustain community against the storms and isolation of raincoast wilderness.

In this thesis the theoretical focus is on ecology and ethnicity. It is largely in these terms that the relative success and failure of the colonizations is assessed. The methodology is that of two-case comparison, which reveals substantive similarities and differences between cases.

The "mid-coast" refers informally to the region extending north from Quatsino Sound to the Bella Coola Valley and centering on Rivers Inlet. Quatsino and Cape Scott / San Josef Valley were not the only Scandinavian colonizations in this frontier region around the turn of the century. There were also Norwegians at Bella Coola, Finns at Sointula, and Icelanders on Hunter Island (see Map 1).

No anthropological, comparative study of any of these mid-coast Scandinavian colonizations exists. This thesis is a step in that direction.



Map 1 Locations of the Mid-coast Scandinavian Colonizations

MID-COAST SCANDINAVIAN COLONIZATIONS

Norris (1971) describes the Scandinavian groups in British Columbia, including the five mid-coast colonies. But his work lacks documentation. Fish (1980) has interviewed some former Bella Coola, Cape Scott, and Sointula colonists. He (1982) uses excerpts from these tapes in a manner designed to highlight the theme of "broken dreams" associated with the colonizations.

The Bella Coola Colony was started in the fall of 1894. Most of the 80 original colonists came from Minnesota. They were under the spiritual and secular leadership of Rev. C. Saugstad. Hagensborg, 12 miles from the Pacific on the Bella Coola River, became the principal settlement. By 1898 there were over 200 Norwegians in the valley, and within a few years people of other nationalities had settled there.

Bjork (1971) delineates the history of the Bella Coola Colony. Kopas (1970) provides a local history of the valley, emphasizing the achievement of multi-ethnic harmony (see also Kopas 1935). L. Kopas (1974) alludes to tangible ethnic boundaries between Indians and whites. Fougner (1904) writes an account of the colony's progress for a national audience. Fougner's diary (1892-1915) exists, as does his collection of photographs (1895-1896). There are typescripts and letters (Carlson 1895, 1901; Nygaard 1950; Viken 1950; Dean 1953a, 1953b; Saugstad 1971; Helland n.d.), a copy of the constitution and by-laws of the colony (Bella Coola Colony 1896), the minutebook (Bella Coola Colony 1897-1908), and the registers of the Augsburg Lutheran Church (Bella Coola, B.C. 1898-1942).

Quatsino Sound was colonized in the winter of 1894 by several Norwegian families from North Dakota, while Cape Scott was colonized in the fall of 1896 by a few Danes from Washington State. The history of these northern Vancouver Island colonizations forms the main body of this thesis.

Nearness in space and time is the basis for comparing Quatsino and Cape Scott / San Josef Valley. It is less than 40 miles from the sound to the cape, and the colonizations began within two years of one another. By 1913 both colonizations were played out.

Bjork (1972) gives an account of the founding of Quatsino Colony, drawing much of his information from H.O. Bergh's letters in the B.C. Sessional Papers and in the Scandinavian-American press. Bergh was the colony's chief spokesman. Dawson (1979) has interviewed George Nordstrom, one of the original colonists. Nordstrom, apparently, does not mention the colony. There exists a ledger recovered from the remains of an old store (Quatsino, store n.d.). Scandinavian names appear in the ledger but the entries are undated.

Peterson (1974a) tells the story of Cape Scott from prehistoric times to the creation of the provincial park in 1973. He has had the usual difficulties of the local historian in "controlling the material, thoroughly probing the evidence, and placing events in a larger perspective" (Humphreys 1974: 74). Peterson (1974b) suggests that the mid-coast has become a depopulated rich man's playground due to the consolidation of economic enterprises and the cutting back of transportation service. He (1975) describes the sockeye salmon fishery

at Rivers Inlet, an important source of employment for the Danish colonists and others.

Dane's (1939, 1972) typescripts are concise versions of the Cape Scott colonization. He was one of the later settlers. The later, multi-ethnic phase of settlement at Cape Scott / San Josef Valley is dealt with impressionistically by Whiteley (1962). Stooke (1978a, 1978b) describes the sociocultural wreckage scattered around the wild environment of the cape. Herzog (1983) and Tasker and Lutz (1983) exemplify the coffee-table photojournalism built around the broken dreams theme. There exists a Cape Scott / San Josef Valley collection of material, which includes letters, newspaper clippings, a Department of Agriculture soil analysis, and internal archival memoranda (Cape Scott, B.C. n.d.).

Sointula was founded on Malcolm Island in 1901 by Finnish coal miners from Nanaimo. Under the guidance of Matti Kurikka, a theosophist and former editor of a leftist newspaper in Helsinki, Sointula was to be an unchurchly experiment in communal living. By 1903 the colony had over 200 people. Two years later, after internal dissension regarding money and morality, the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company was liquidated. It is estimated that over 2000 people had passed through the colony during the four years of its existence.

Oberg (1928) and Kolehmainen (1941) provide documented histories of Sointula, whereas Woodcock (1958) and Lawrance (1974) take a less rigorous approach. Anderson (1958?) offers a local history based on his personal experience of the colony. Salo (1978) considers cultural

life at Sointula, from saunas to folksongs, contending that the Finns were engaged in a millenarian movement. Salo includes his own translation of M. Halminen's (1936) history. Halminen was one of the organizers of Sointula. Wilson (1973, 1978) details the careers of Matti Kurikka and his colleague A.B. Makela, ethnic radicals. Wilson and Dahlie (1978) argue that the criticisms levelled at Canadian society by ethnic radicals are often constructive. Bowman (1978) perceives present-day Sointula as a persisting intentional community, while Miller's (1982) simulation of socio-ecological phenomena there is barely comprehensible. The agreements made between the colonists and the British Columbia government exist (Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company 1902-1903).

The first Icelandic settler on Hunter Island was T.S. Johnson, who settled at Howyet Bay in 1912. A Dane by the name of "Buckskin" Willson settled in the next bay to the west. In 1913 J. Leifson and family from Saskatchewan took land at Fanny Creek. Several Icelandic families from Vancouver then moved to the island. In the early 1920s perhaps as many as 70 people were there, and a school was opened. But young people began to leave in search of jobs and higher education. The island became deserted in the 1930s.

Lindal (1967) discusses this Icelandic colonization. Additional information is to be found in Trygvasson and Jobin (1967), Kristjanson (1971), and Beck (1971). These are articles in The Icelandic Canadian, a non-academic periodical published in Winnipeg. Less is known about the Hunter Island colonization than any of the others.

PROVINCIAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT

During the late 19th century provincial politics was oriented towards the non-party tradition (Dobie 1932; Ormsby 1964: 295-325; Robin 1972: 49-86; Howay 1980). Governments were loose coalitions of businessmen who gave land, timber, and mineral concessions to their friends. Most of the businessmen and friends were based in Victoria and were of British origin.

At the end of 1893 the financial crisis in the United States led to a lack of capital investment in the province. The government of J.H. Turner, 1895-1898, fought the recession by chartering railways and encouraging speculation of all kinds. It also sought to attract well-to-do farmers to the province. Farming, fishing, and lumbering were concentrated in a region around the rapidly-growing city of Vancouver. The mining empire in the Kootenays was expanding.

The provincial election of 1898 was inconclusive, but it seemed that the people had rejected "Turnerism." The government was dismissed by the Lt.-Governor, and in the next five years there were three elections and five changes of government. The province was getting deeper into debt each year and was obtaining among capitalists a reputation for instability.

The Quatsino and Cape Scott colonizations were closely associated with the Turner government, especially with Col. James Baker, who was Provincial Secretary and Minister of Mines, Education, and Immigration. Baker was the wealthy representative from the electoral district of Kootenay West, where he had engaged in considerable railway speculation.

Baker did not reject the modest proposals advanced to him by the colonists, and he became their patron.

The year 1903 was a significant turning point in provincial politics (Dobie 1936; Ormsby 1964: 327-372; Robin 1972: 87-124; Roy 1980). The election of that year was the first to be fought along party lines. Richard McBride became Conservative premier, remaining in power through several elections until 1916.

Stability, development, and prosperity were the ideological keynotes of the McBride administrations. He got the province out of debt via large-scale licensing and leasing of timber lands, which lasted until 1907. He also encouraged and subsidized railways, obtained cash payments from Ottawa for B.C., and became an imperial statesman in London.

Sir Richard McBride was a populist who built his populism on an intensive program of public works throughout the province. Behind McBride was a party machine adept at distributing grants and jobs to Conservative supporters right down to the grassroots level.

Alberni tended to be one of the problematic electoral districts for the government. This district encompassed the west coast of Vancouver Island from the town of Alberni to Cape Scott. In 1903 Alberni returned a Liberal. In the highly-publicized by-election of 1905 a Conservative was returned. In 1907 H.C. Brewster, a Liberal and future premier, was returned. He was again returned, as leader of the opposition, in 1909. In 1912 the government appropriated over \$200,000 to be spent on public works in Alberni, and in the

election of that year a Conservative was returned by acclamation, as were many Conservatives in the province. Clearly, the people were impressed with the McBride brand of prosperity.

The people impressed included many of the Quatsino and Cape Scott / San Josef Valley Scandinavians. By 1912 the colonies had virtually ceased to exist. In the 1890s the colonies had been viewed as progressive, and the colonists had so viewed themselves. Less than 20 years later this little ideology of frontier conquest had been superseded by the great myth of limitless capitalist expansion.

On northern Vancouver Island before 1913 there were relatively few private dealings in land. The original Quatsino and Cape Scott colonists obtained land by way of 5-year indentures drawn up by Col. Baker and approved by Order-in-Council in the fall of 1894. These indentures, also called immigration leases, were discontinued in 1899 by the reform-minded Semlin government, 1898-1900. The colonists then pre-empted land.

Pre-emption was one of several kind of crown land transactions (Cail 1974). The principle behind pre-emption, and indeed behind the definitive Land Ordinance of 1870, was beneficial use. This involved permanent occupation and certified improvement. Pre-emptions were designed to settle legitimate farmers on 160 acres of agricultural land. The general price of a pre-emption was \$1.00 per acre. Timber land could not be pre-empted.

Miner's certificates and prospector's licenses were available for a small fee. Mining claims had to be improved. Mining activity

could occur on timber land. Several of the Quatsino colonists were involved in entrepreneurial mining activity.

Timber licenses and leases were valid for 21 years, and were known as timber limits when staked. In 1901 thousands of acres in the vicinity of Quatsino were acquired by a Victoria company in the form of a 21-year pulp lease. Such leases were discontinued in 1903, but the Quatsino and Cape Scott / San Josef Valley colonists and other settlers had found themselves surrounded by alienated land.

Various systems of survey existed in the province (Taylor 1975). The township system was used on northern Vancouver Island. The outlines were surveyed in the early 1890s, before the Scandinavians arrived. A township consisted of 36 sections of one square mile each. A section, being 640 acres, could contain four standard pre-emptions, though pre-emptions were not constrained by sectional boundaries.

Surveyors' reports were far less technical than their notebooks, and they were used by government officials, settlers, and speculators to assess land-use potential. The staff of the Department of Lands and Works increased from 17 in 1899 to 195 in 1913, an indication of the increase in transactions and of a shift towards more regulated disposition (Pearson 1971, 1974).

At the turn of the century farming, fishing, mining, lumbering, and transportation were not well-developed on northern Vancouver Island. It was just one of a number of underdeveloped regions in a developing province (Aitken 1925; Gough 1976).

From the 1890s to the early 1920s agriculture was spreading, but it was still in the experimental stage (Ormsby 1945; McCaan and Cook 1970). The developing regions were the Lower Fraser Valley, the Okanagan Valley, and the Peace River. Farmers were producing for local markets even as they were attempting to master the technical side of agriculture. They had difficulty competing with prairie and American farmers, due to the high costs of production in a vast, forested province with less than 10% arable land. They could not supply the home market until 1911.

On northern Vancouver Island there were few local markets and only scattered pockets of arable land.

The major fishing area of the mid-coast was Rivers Inlet, the third-ranked sockeye salmon fishery in the province (Carrothers 1941; Lyons 1969; Sandberg 1979). There were several canneries on the inlet packing salmon for export. Indians made up the bulk of the work force and were paid the least, white workers were few and were paid the most, and the Chinese and Japanese came in between. The necessary equipment and accomodation were supplied, and workers were able to accumulate a small cash reserve or "grubstake."

Some Cape Scott colonists rowed the more than 50 miles across the open Pacific to fish at Rivers Inlet in the summer, though this was the best time of the year for them to stay home and farm, or work for the government on roads and trails.

Southeastern British Columbia was the main mining region (Dunn 1929; Phillips 1974). Coal was discovered and worked by the Hudson Bay

Company in the 1830s at Coal Harbour, near the center of Quatsino Sound. In the 1850s these operations shifted to Nanaimo.

After the depletion of the timber supply around Vancouver, logging and lumbering activities spread north along eastern Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland. A large pulp mill was opened in 1918 at Port Alice, on the southernmost arm of Quatsino Sound, but northern Vancouver Island was not logged to any great extent until the 1920s (Lawrence 1957; Hardwick 1968).

There were no trunk roads, wagon roads, or railroads on northern Vancouver Island at the turn of the century. What existed were trails and monthly steamship service (Turner 1973; Hacking and Lamb 1974; B.C., Minister of Transportation and Highways 1980).

In the mid-1890s Capt. Foote operated his own little steamship, the Mischief, on the hazardous west coast route. The Canadian Pacific Navigation Company ran slow, poorly-scheduled steamships on the west coast route, until the company was taken over by the C.P.R. in 1901. The Coast Service was upgraded over the next few years. The Tees came to replace small wooden steamers such as the Willapa and the Queen City. The Tees was a fast, roomy, steel steamship with electric lighting and a distinctive, melodious siren which settlers liked to hear.

Quatsino was always a steamship call, but the Cape Scott anchorage at Fisherman's Bay received no service after April 1909.

Between 1881 and 1911 the population of British Columbia increased 700%, while Canada's increased only 67%. The completion

of the transcontinental railway in 1886 at Vancouver allowed for the easy movement of people directly from the prairies and eastern Canada, or from the United States and Europe via these regions (Caves and Holton 1980; Ralston 1982).

The province had always sought settlers (Keeble 1981). Those from Britain were preferred, and pamphlets were prepared and put into circulation by the B.C. Agent-General in London, who for many years was ex-premier J.H. Turner. The influx of people was out of all proportion to the official propoganda effort. It seems that people from everywhere came to the province for the economic betterment they had heard about from relatives and friends.

The Scandinavian colonization schemes never became a major part of provincial immigration or settlement policy. The aggressive private, C.P.R., and Dominion of Canada Scandinavian agents were on the prairies, working mainly out of Winnipeg.

The early Dominion census figures on origin are not comparable over time (Ryder 1955). But in scanning these figures some rough trends are apparent. From 1891 to 1921 there was a small percentage of Scandinavians (Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, and Icelanders) in the B.C. population, the high point being about 4% in 1911. The number of Scandinavians went from just over 1,000 in 1891 to 19,000 in 1921, while the population of the province went from nearly 100,000 to over 500,000. Norwegians plus Swedes always greatly outnumbered Danes plus Icelanders. In 1901 there were approximately 200 Scandinavians in the Alberni and Comox sub-districts of Comox-Atlin, most of whom were

mid-coast colonists. In 1911 there were 1,000 Scandinavians in these districts, most of whom were ordinary settlers.

SCANDINAVIAN IMMIGRANTS

There is little doubt that Scandinavians in Canada and the United States have tended to be assimilative. They marry non-Scandinavians, they lose their mother tongues, they are well-represented throughout all socioeconomic sectors, and they are "invisible" both racially and ethnically (Porter 1965; Canada, Royal Commission 1969; Norris 1971; Kalbach and McVey 1971; Gordon 1978). Even in places where they are concentrated, Scandinavians in no way resemble what Spicer (1971) has aptly referred to as persistent cultural systems.

In two ethnographic studies of Norwegians (Brunvand 1974) and Danes (Paulson 1974) on the Canadian prairies little retention of folk traditions was evident.

Krontoft (1974) considers assimilation among Norwegians and Danes in the United States. Both groups have been highly assimilative because of basic similarities in race, religion, and origin to most Americans. Norwegians have tended to be less assimilative than Danes. Norwegians immigrated sooner and in larger numbers, they concentrated themselves in rural communities, and they had stronger feelings of national consciousness and religion. Danes were more quickly naturalized than Norwegians. There was a larger ratio of single males to females among Danes, which made their marriages less ethnocentric.

Historical studies on Scandinavians in North America have themes of geographical mobility and assimilation (Bjork 1958; Dahlie 1980; Loken 1980; Nielsen 1981).

The American mid-west was the main destination for Scandinavian immigrants during the 19th century. In this region agriculture was specialized in corn and wheat. Many Scandinavians became successful farmers, while others went to the cities and became part of the rising middle class. Towards the end of the century increasing numbers of Scandinavians left the mid-west for the Pacific coast in the hope of economic betterment. It was thought that the Pacific northwest was similar to the Scandinavian countries in climate, topography, and diversified lifestyle based on a combination of farming, fishing, and logging. This internal migration was stimulated by promoters and the letters of settlers, as was the immigration to the United States and Canada.

Javala (1983) documents the 19th-century Scandinavian immigration to Canada. Government officials and businessmen regarded Scandinavians as ideal settlers who were strong, docile, and easily adaptable to Anglo-Canadian ways. Early agrarian colonies and settlements were not generally successful, though they were often portrayed as thriving. The Norwegian colony on the Gaspé Peninsula, 1861-1862, quickly failed, and this received adverse publicity in Norway (Blegan 1930 considers this colonization in detail). At this time the U.S. Homestead Law was in force and Canada was far behind in the competition for immigrants.

Bjork (1974) discusses Scandinavian-American migration to the Canadian prairies. The rush from the mid-west, analogous to an escape from a cold and dusty debt prison, began in 1896. Private, C.P.R., and Dominion agents had been active there. Colonies and settlements were established on homestead land in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, but extensive concentrations, as in the mid-west states, did not exist. Scandinavian schools, churches, societies, and newspapers came into being, and eventually became part of the prairie ethnic mosaic. On the prairies, as in North America as a whole, Norwegians and Swedes were more numerous than Danes, Icelanders, and Finns, and men out-numbered women.

Wood (1967) notes that localized clusters of Scandinavians in farming communities was a feature of settlement on the prairies and in British Columbia during the height of Scandinavian immigration, from the 1890s to the 1920s. The children of pioneers tended to be assimilative, via marriage. They also went to live in cities.

Norwegians did not found the fisheries of the Pacific coast, nor did they ever become a major part of the B.C. fishing industry (Arestad 1943). Norwegians and Danes could unite in religious enterprise, as in Methodism on the Pacific coast, but the second generation preferred services in English and many left the church altogether (Andersen 1956).

Norwegian pioneers had courage and health, but little money. They had something unmeasurable, the pioneer spirit. It was a hard life, especially the inconceivable job of clearing the Pacific forest.

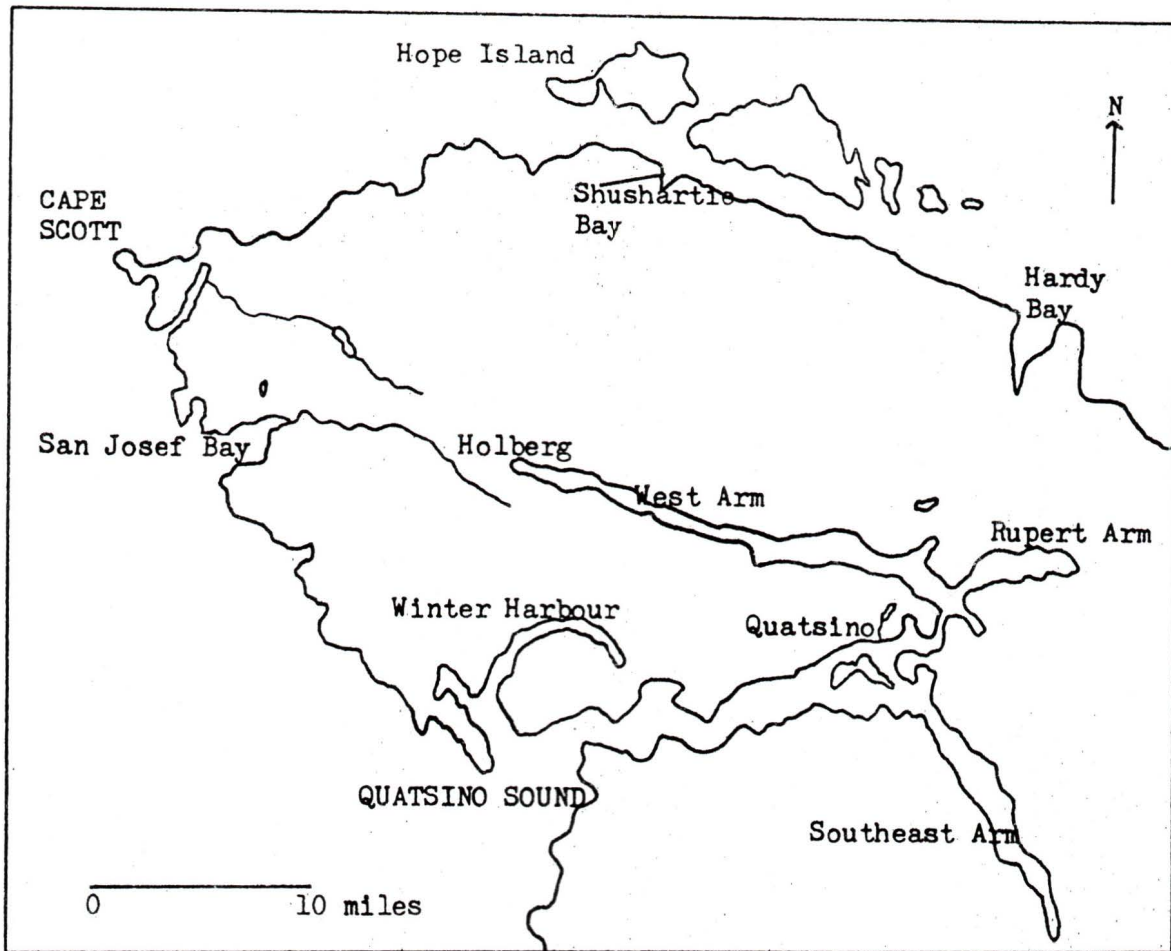
But people helped each other create homes. It was a beautiful dream. It was satisfying to burn cleared timber in the cold night air and watch sparks mix with stars. It could be a nightmare. Some were killed by falling trees or were drowned. Houses and farms were often abandoned to the wind and the rain (after Storseth 1943).

In Washington and Oregon in the late 1890s some settled Danes wrote letters to relatives and friends telling of regional prosperity, while other Danes wandered about half-starving looking for non-existent work and later wrote in ironic disillusionment (Hale 1980).

Dahlie (1972) counters the stereotype of immigrants as passive recipients of education. He perceives Bella Coola and Quatsino as enterprises deliberately created by Norwegians to reflect their heritage, in these cases the well-known Scandinavian respect for schools and learning. He suggests that assimilation does not mean the complete abandonment of heritage and that frontier isolation may have intensified ethnic identity.

Dahlie (1983) considers the ethnic press intelligent cultural conservation. The Canada Skandinaven, published in Vancouver from 1911 in Norwegian and Swedish, was designed to appeal to all Scandinavians. The paper emphasized education and material success. Dahlie says that it was thought imperative to found a newspaper at Cape Scott.

The literature reviewed implies that the small-scale Quatsino and Cape Scott / San Josef Valley colonizations would have been unusual manifestations of Scandinavian ethnicity had they persisted



Map 2 The Northern Vancouver Island Study Area

longer than a single generation. In this respect, the 76-year old, 125-farm, potato-producing colony of New Denmark in the Saint Joan River Valley of New Brunswick described in an article by Shackleton (1948) seems atypical.

NORTHERN VANCOUVER ISLAND ENVIRONMENTS

Quatsino and Cape Scott / San Josef Valley are located in Rupert land district. It wasn't until 1907 that a government land office was opened at Alberni, which is over 200 miles southeast of the north Island and over 100 miles northwest of Victoria. Alberni was the closest town to Quatsino and Cape Scott / San Josef Valley on the west coast steamship route, and Victoria was the closest city. Alberni's population in 1901 was 500, Victoria's 20,000. Many colonists made frequent trips to Victoria. It was their capital as well as the province's capital and second largest city.

Quatsino is situated near the narrows at the center of an extensive fjord having three main arms, while Cape Scott juts out into the winds and waters of the open Pacific (see Map 2). Steamships had to backtrack through the sound before proceeding around the northwest end of the Island to the Cape Scott anchorage at Fisherman's Bay. When most Cape Scott colonists moved to the head of the West Arm and founded Holberg in 1909 it was to gain access to a harbour. Holberg is about 20 miles from everywhere else on the north Island. The Quatsino colonists were always anxious to have a wagon road 10 miles long linking them via Coal Harbour with Hardy Bay on the east coast.

The marine environment is described in early editions of the B.C. Pilot (Admiralty, Hydrographic Office 1913; U.S. Hydrographic Office 1916). The sections on northern Vancouver Island stress the importance of local knowledge and frequent soundings. Quatsino Sound is viewed as a safe harbour having several good anchorages. The northwest coast from the entrance of the sound and around the cape to Fisherman's Bay and Shushartie Bay is viewed as hazardous because of heavy flood streams, submerged rocks, tide rips, and poor anchorages. A northern Vancouver Island caution is given concerning sudden storms and summer fogs.

Dawson (1887a), Assistant Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, characterizes the area around Shushartie Bay as a lowland of volcanic rocks, with some potential for agriculture. He describes a lagoon at Cape Scott which is bordered by muddy flats covered with coarse grass and subject to flooding at high tides. He suggests that the mudflats could be reclaimed by dyking. The Danish colonists did this. The mudflats, or meadowland, at the north end of Goose Harbour, later called Hansen's Lagoon, became the very heart of the colony.

From the cape to the sound Dawson reports strong currents, rocky beaches, bad anchorages, and dense forest cluttered with fallen trees. Quatsino Sound has rocky shores, hills rising steeply from small beaches, tracts of lowland, coal deposits, and a limestone formation. Dawson refers to the apparent main village of the Koskimo tribe, near the narrows. It was beside the Indian reservation here that Quatsino and the Quatsino Colony would come to be located.

Dawson (1887b) describes the "Kwakwaka'wakw" peoples. There were several small tribes, amounting to about 500 people. The village of Koskimo had a population of 145, while Meloopa on Hope Island had 100. The Indians of the sound cultivated small patches of potatoes on open land near the shore. Indian huts, probably halibut fishing stations, were scattered around the cape.

Herman and Hawkins (1891), surveying township outlines, report that the townships around what was to become the village of Quatsino were hilly, forested with cedar and hemlock, and thick with salal, hardhack, and salmonberry bushes. The surveyors saw seals, salmon, trout, otters, deer, bears, beavers, and waterfowl.

Herman and Hawkins (1892) estimate over 140,000 acres of grazing land and almost 13,000 acres of agricultural land in the townships around Shushartie Bay. Township 42 to the west, which became a main Cape Scott settlement area, is estimated to have 35% rolling grazing land with some scrub timber on it.

Surveyor Burwell (1893) further describes Township 42. The scrub timber is cedar, hemlock, and pine. Near the sea the ground is rocky and the salal is dense. The soil is sandy loam, with gravel and boulders. Township 43 has some grazing land and a lot of scrub timber. Like Dawson, Burwell suggests the building of a dyke across the lagoon in this township—such a dyke could reclaim 1,000 acres of prairie land. He reports that Fisherman's Bay was recently used as a fishing station by a few whitemen.

An 1893 Return to the Legislative Assembly gives an indication

of how little-populated by whites northern Vancouver Island must have been before the Scandinavians arrived (B.C. Sessional Papers 1893). In Alberni electoral district 87 voters were registered, while the adjacent Comox district had 246. Taken together, these districts comprised 2% of the registered voters in the province. Victoria's total is 3,753, and Vancouver's 3,154.

A description of Rupert district in a Lands Bulletin long after the success and failure of the colonizations is similar to the early surveyors' reports, except that the environment has become somewhat more man-modified with farms, buildings, trails, bridges, and wharves (B.C., Department of Lands 1923). Jackson's (1937) report on surveys at Cape Scott refers to heavy timber, scrub timber on swampy ground, thick underbrush, overgrown trails, little game, few minerals, deserted pre-emptions, and the absence of schools, churches, and local markets.

B. Bekker (1919), who arrived at Cape Scott in 1899 directly from Denmark, describes the environment he appreciated. It was not mountainous. Hemlock, cedar, and pine were common on the hills, balsam and spruce in the lowland. The meadowland at Hansen's Lagoon had the best soils, and fine grass, alder, and crabapples grew there. The sand neck connecting the meadowland with the cape itself was carpeted with grass and flowers in the summer. On the Lagoon were teal, mallards, spoonbills, butterballs, pintails, mergansers, "big honkers and cackling geese from Christmas on," and trumpeter swans. There were elk, deer, black bears, wolves, beavers, and willow grouse.

Ellen Mellstrom (1980) was the daughter of T. Fredericksen, an

original colonist and long-term settler, who was known as "the king of Cape Scott." According to Mellstrom, salmonberries, salmonberry shoots, huckleberries, and cranberries were gathered. The lagoon was full of waterfowl in the winter. Wild goose was the Christmas fare. Deer were plentiful at times. Cougars were around when the deer were, and brought a good bounty. Fruit couldn't be grown, but strawberries and gooseberries could. Carrots, peas, beans, beets, potatoes, corn, squash, and marrow were grown, but not tomatoes. Berries, game, vegetables, and butter were canned. Farming, largely dairying, was a family activity. Hay was produced, but grain had to be bought.

There were few close neighbours. People walked or rowed places. Rubber boots were worn much of the time. Markets for farm products were always scarce, but the situation improved when the pulp mill was built at Port Alice.

B.W. Leeson (1929), an early non-Scandinavian pioneer at Winter Harbour, near the entrance of the sound, says that the old village of Quatsino extended along the shore for three miles. A visitor arriving at the wharf would not have seen much evidence of settlement. He refers to the "notorious Hardy Bay trail," which wasn't a road for 30 years.

J.R. Ildstad (1951, 1953), a member of an original family of Quatsino Colony, says that cut-throat trout were found in the many streams around Quatsino, 7lb.-size being common. There were schools of salmon throughout the sound. Ptarmigan and blue grouse were abundant in the hills, and willow grouse in the lowland. There were

elk, deer, black bears, and cougars. An enduring, successful mine did not exist. The lack of a road or rail link with southeastern Vancouver Island held back the industrial development of the sound, which is a great natural port. The pulp mill at Port Alice is a claim to fame.

Most of Vancouver Island and mainland coast is in the Coastal Western Hemlock biogeoclimatic zone (Krajina 1969). This zone is the wettest in the province and supports the best growth of coniferous trees. Northern Vancouver Island is in the wetter subzone, where the major trees besides western hemlock are amabilis fir, red and yellow cedar, and Sitka spruce.

The climate of northern Vancouver Island is West Coast Marine. For much of the year the Aleutian lows bring a succession of strong southeasterly and northwesterly winds, cloudiness, and much rain. In the summer the Hawaiian highs exert a clearing, stabilizing influence. Annual precipitation is over 100 inches, with little snow. Most of the rain is in the fall and winter. The winds are most intense on the west coast, and rainfall decreases west of the small mountains around Holberg. The growing season is over eight months long, the temperature averaging in the low 40s F. The winter temperature averages above freezing. There are no abrupt transitions between seasons.

Quatsino and Cape Scott / San Josef Valley are in the Nahwitti Lowland physiographic unit (Howes 1981). East of Holberg the hills are plateau-like, while west of Holberg they are more rounded and have intervening broad valleys. Over 70% of the geological surface material

is colluvium (gravel) and moraine (rocks).

Podzol soils predominate in the CWH zone (Jungen and Lewis 1978; Acton and Crosson 1978). These are forest soils, characterized as cold and poorly-drained. Acidic organic matter accumulates on the surface and there is hardpan formation beneath the shallow B horizon of translocated volcanic ash. The podzols have limited agricultural potential. On northern Vancouver Island these soils may be thought of as clay loam. Adequate agricultural soils exist in scattered areas along river valleys and around bays. These are alluvial soils, a kind of silt loam. Such soils exist at the north end of Hansen's Lagoon, around San Josef Bay, in the San Josef Valley along the river to just north of Holberg, and in a small pocket near Quatsino (Allin 1962).

Northern Vancouver Island has a low agriculture capability rating (B.C., Department of Agriculture 1976). The restrictions regarding the potential to grow a wide range of crops are excessive moisture and cool temperatures throughout the growing season. In less technical terms, it may be said that farming and ranching are limited because of rain, rainforest, underbrush tangled with wind-blown trees, hills and swamps, rocks, poor soils, high costs of clearing, and problems of land and sea transportation (B.C., Department of Lands, Forests, and Water Resources 1966; Dalichow 1972).

The Scandinavian colonists came as farmers, but had little more than axe and shovel to cope with these conditions. Local markets were small, and the productive farms on the southeastern side of Vancouver Island supplied their own markets well enough.

II

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

This thesis takes an action-oriented theoretical approach to social phenomena. The approach emphasizes human agency, entailing decision, negotiation, strategy, and politics—social structures and systems at different levels, though constraining, are made and unmade by people through processes of dialectical interaction. In these terms, the Scandinavian colonists of the mid-coast are viewed as people attempting to make their own local ways of life in the context of the larger provincial framework.

The local ways of life which the Norwegian and Danish frontier colonists on northern Vancouver Island attempted to make for themselves may be described and compared, and it is the primary concern of this thesis to do so. This is a substantive, ethnohistorical concern built around careful consideration of a wide variety of library and archival sources.

Methodologically, the thesis is a two-case comparison. Description is the basis for comparison, and it is given largely from the viewpoint of the people involved, while comparison itself is given in terms of analytic overview. A periodization format is used to give order and coherence to fragmentary ethnohistorical information, and the format may be found useful to other researchers working on related mid-coast ethnohistorical problems.

In general, the thesis provides an explanatory pattern, or a

detailed cognitive-mapping, of the Quatsino and Cape Scott / San Josef Valley colonizations; moreover, the ideas of the Scandinavians involved in these processes of historical development comprise a necessary part of the explanatory pattern and cognitive-mapping (after Brown 1963; Kaplan 1964).

The following literature review encompasses ecology, ethnicity, ethnohistory, frontier colonization, and two-case comparison. The theoretical domains of ecology and ethnicity are shown to be compatible with the action-oriented approach, particularly through the work of John Bennett and Fredrik Barth. Ethnohistory and frontier colonization are shown to be substantive domains where it makes sense to consider ecology and ethnicity despite the characteristic lack of hard data. Two-case comparison is shown to be a valuable methodology for making generalizations regarding clear similarities and differences between contiguous cases.

ECOLOGY AND ETHNICITY

A review of ecological anthropology is given by Orlove (1980). He defines the field as "the study of the relations among population dynamics, social organization, and culture of human populations and the environment in which they live" (1980: 235). He advocates the processual approach, which considers decision-making, adaptive strategies, and historical change.

John W. Bennett, a processualist, argues for a policy-oriented

cultural ecology, pertaining to "survival at reasonable levels of security, implemented by a policy of sustained yield of natural resources" (1976a: 26).

Adaptation is Bennett's key concept. He views it flexibly as coping behaviour involving human decision. Successful coping leads to sustained yield, whereas unsuccessful coping, or maladaptation, does not. Tradition, symbolic values, and social wants define and shape resource practises.

Bennett (1976b) rejects material causation in social life. He perceives culture to be an epiphenomenal construction representing the normative precedents for cognitive anticipation and behavioural adaptation.

Bennett (1980) is interested in adaptations evident in everyday life. Adaptive solutions involve a combination of precedent and innovation. People choose between alternative goals, and implement strategies to achieve them. These choices and strategies change as circumstances change, and in turn change circumstances.

Bennett (1982) distinguishes between long-term and short-term instrumental activity. Long-term activity includes adaptation, adaptive processes, strategies, and management style. Short-term activity includes adjustment, coping, techniques, and decisions.

Bennett (1967) conceives of the macrocosm as the national society of government and business, and the microcosm as rural communities of ranchers and farmers. The macrocosm limits, conditions, takes action, imposes penalties, and provides opportunities; while the microcosm

accepts, follows, modifies customs, manipulates, and pressures. The interplay between macrocosm and microcosm may be viewed as a game, a game of adjustment and re-adjustment played in, and even diagnostic of, complex societies.

A prominent reference item in Bennett's recent works is Whitten and Whitten's (1972) review of the anthropological literature on transaction and exchange.

The Whittens maintain that the notion of adaptive strategies is especially appropriate at the aggregate level of human behaviour. Such strategies entail "individual and group maneuver within cultural, ecological, and social structural constraints, and the coalescing of multiple maneuvers into strategies as plans of action" (Whitten and Whitten 1972: 250). Reciprocity and interaction are the key ideas, with Marcel Mauss' prestation, or gift with implied contingency, being the theoretical touchstone.

Bennett suggests that the new ethnicity is something newly noticed by anthropologists, namely:

the proclivity of people to seize on traditional cultural symbols as a definition of their own identity—either to assert the Self over and above the impersonal State, or to obtain the resources one needs to survive and to consume. (Bennett 1975: 3)

According to Bennett, this new anthropological awareness is indicative of a theoretical shift toward the interactionist frame of reference exemplified by Fredrik Barth.

Reviews of portions of the vast literature on ethnicity are provided by Cohen (1978), Moodley (1982), and Muga (1984). Cohen,

trying to resolve problems of definition, stipulates that an ethnic group is an actual set of individuals, that ethnic identity is part of the process whereby individuals become group members, and that ethnic categories are based on real or supposed features of individuals and groups. Moodley argues for an historically-informed, interpretative sociology, having noted a depoliticization of ethnicity in Canada, and an underestimation of racism. Muga advocates an interdisciplinary and non-tautological approach to ethnicity, which considers modes of production in specific historical situations.

Despres (1975) attempts to construct a neo-Barthian theory of ethnicity on an explicitly ecological basis, but he goes far beyond Barth in emphasizing the objective nature of resource competition in the context of ethnic pluralism. Abruzzi (1982) tries to link ecology and ethnicity by way of ecosystemicism and biological reductionism. His reasoning rests on a spurious analogy between biological speciation and ethnic differentiation.

Barth (1981) looks retrospectively at his Models (see Barth 1966). His aim was, and still is, to stimulate a generative way of thinking about sociocultural regularities. He realizes that "real people perform social acts, they do not 'generate social action'" (Barth 1981: 78-79).

According to Barth, the forms and styles of social life are built around values, which are amenable to observation:

They appear as persistencies and consistencies in behaviour as between different contexts and opportunity situations, they are told by actors in explanation of choices made, and are heard

advanced in sessions of collective planning. Values are depicted in tales and histories and affirmed in rituals. They are acknowledged in the admiration and condemnation expressed for the achievements of others; they provide the justification for exultation, self-pity, appeals, etc.: they are referred to in quarrels, litigation, arbitration and judgement. No single one of these sources is adequate. We shall want to discover the different modalities in which different values are communicated in a particular culture; and we want to use such expressions as evidence for the values that are embraced and practised. (Barth 1981: 93)

Barth (1956) finds that in Swat several ethnic groups correside but exploit different ecological niches—niche is defined as a group's relations to resources and competitors in the total environment. The mosaic situation in Swat regarding Pathans, Kohistanis, and Gujars, having dimensions of symbiosis, accomodation, and exclusion, implies "analysis of specific detailed distributions in an ecologic framework, rather than by speculation on a larger geographical scale" (Barth 1956: 1089).

Barth (1969a) considers the values upon which Pathan identity is founded. These include patrilineal descent, Islam, and the Pashto language and custom; and custom itself involves hospitality, alliance, the leader-follower complex, council, and seclusion.

Barth (1969b) conceives of ethnic groups in terms of actors' categories of ascription. Ethnic boundaries are the values which comprise the criteria for determining group membership. Boundaries enclose cultural stuff, focus social life, and tend to persist despite a flow of people across them. Important interactions occur across boundaries, and are even based on them. Boundary maintenance is to be considered problematical, and ideal-type definitions of ethnicity are to be avoided.

ETHNOHISTORY

Ethnohistory may be defined as "the study of the history of the peoples usually studied by anthropologists" (Sturtevant 1966: 6).

According to Hudson (1966), ethnohistory is etic-oriented research, whereas folk history is emic. Fenton (1966) believes that ethnohistorical research entails the testing of concepts arrived at through fieldwork with library, archival, and museum data.

Ethnohistorians have tended to ignore linguistics, demography, ecology, ideology, and symbolism (Schwerin 1976).

In Trigger's view, historians and ethnohistorians share the goal of explaining "specific historical developments and the processes of cultural change that have transformed individual cultures" (1982: 10). Description and interpretation in the context of significant narrative should lead to generalizations concerning cultural organization and social change.

Gadaczi (1982) argues for concept definition and development in ethnohistorical research.

Cole and Wolf (1974) and Schrire (1980) take on the challenging task of attempting to pry information on ecology and ethnicity from ethnohistorical sources.

Cole and Wolf, using ethnohistorical sources going back hundreds of years and their own ethnographic observations, show that two Tyrolese communities, German-speaking St. Felix and Romance-speaking Tret, have differing and opposed ethnic identities and differing ideologies of farming, but a similar ecological adaptation to a

marginal Alpine environment. Schrire convincingly demonstrates that during the past few hundred years various San groups of the Kalahari Desert, including the ostensibly pure hunting-and-gathering !Kung, have been observed practising a diverse, successfully-coping lifestyle based on a combination of hunting, gathering, foraging, herding, and more recently, farming.

Cole and Wolf's and Schrire's works are substantive, rather than theoretical. They document and pattern ethnohistorical phenomena in a plausible, testable manner.

FRONTIER COLONIZATION

Kristof distinguishes between a frontier—"the frons of the imperium mundi which expands to the only limits it can acknowledge, namely, the limits of the world"—and a boundary, a jurisdictional line between states (1959: 270-271).

Mikesell (1960) maintains that the frontier is not an objective phenomenon, but a research theme focusing on the link between people and land. In geographical terms, a frontier is the outer edge of settlement within a given area.

Gough views 19th-century British Columbia frontier processes as "the methods by which Europeans extended their jurisdiction, occupied land, managed a resource base, developed an Indian policy, and established sites for the exploitation of the sea coast and the interior land mass" (1976: 29).

Schlichtmann (1977) reviews the geographical research on ethnicity

in western Canada. Such research shows that ethnicity contributes to the spatial differentiation of the earth's surface.

Gerlach (1976) maps past and present ethnic populations in the Ozark region of Missouri, finding significant variation in settlement and land use, rather than a melting-pot cultural landscape.

Hughes (1975) points out that the terms colony, colonization, and colonialism have pejorative connotations, because there has often been a dual process of extinction of local peoples and occupation of allegedly empty regions.

Thompson (1973) reviews the literature on frontier colonization, and is unable to find anthropological comparative works. He discusses F.J. Turner's frontier thesis of 1893—Turner held that the westward advance of settlement in the United States during the 19th century was the nexus of individualism and democracy. Thompson refers to the sociologist Leyburn's typology of small farm, settlement plantation, exploitative plantation, and camp frontiers.

It is Thompson's view that large tracts of land and inadequate transportation facilities leads to a dispersed settlement pattern in frontier regions. There is often factionalism in pioneer communities, conflict with the government, and chronic labour shortage. Future orientation is evident among many pioneers, and those with low levels of expectation are likely to adjust more satisfactorily.

In a recent review, Thompson (1981) is still not able to find anthropological comparative research (see also Savage and Thompson 1979). The several case studies of contemporary Latin-American

frontiers consider the impact of colonization on native inhabitants, or the adaptations of colonists.

Casagrande, Thompson, and Young view frontier colonization as a creative process, "since colonists must accommodate themselves to a new ecological situation, and to novel sociopolitical and economic arrangements" (1964: 282). They perceive regularities in frontier colonization, and they offer a provisional model based on data from the Oriente region of Ecuador. Their model, termed "the colonization gradient," is that of a settlement pattern encompassing several kinds of sites.

The entrepot is the terminus of the transportation system. The frontier town is a regional supply center. A nucleated settlement is a cluster of households. A semi-nucleated settlement is a center for provisioning. A dispersed settlement consists of widely scattered households. Temporally, the model embraces a process of graded stages going from the national to the local levels.

Hudson (1977) supports such core/periphery models. He perceives time, location, and population as major variables. A given location is on the frontier for a limited time, and the frontier is an unstable zone subject to considerable inflow and outflow of people.

Thompson (1975) suggests that success and failure in colonization is best assessed in terms of relative deprivation theory, which takes into account colonists' aims and standards of evaluation. In South America there have been more failures in directed colonizations than in spontaneous ones. The successful attempts have involved colonists

with capital, who were innovative and market-oriented.

According to Thompson, spontaneous frontier colonization has been criticized by economists and geographers:

The difficulties which disturb these writers include the absence of any scientific process for the selection of spontaneous colonists and the fact that the necessary economic infrastructure is seldom provided, rendering it virtually impossible for the colonists to progress very far beyond the level of subsistence agriculture.
(Thompson 1975: 3)

Hess (1979) models the ecology of pioneering. He ignores ethnic factors, preferring to consider cross-species and species-specific dispersion. He argues for an isomorphism between human and plant or animal phenomena, while at the same time maintaining that humans make use of goal-oriented cognitive processes.

Green (1979) provides a model of the agricultural colonization of temperate forests, utilizing historical data from Upper Canada and Finland. His model predicts that the realized habitat (the actual settlement pattern) follows the rank ordering established for the fundamental niche (an area bounded by variables such as temperature and rainfall), and that extensive agriculture is practised. The assumptions of the model are least effort, closed system, and no limit on available land; but these unrealistic assumptions may be qualified.

TWO-CASE COMPARISON

In terms of anthropological theory, then, this thesis has a human-decision, transaction orientation. Ecology is taken to

entail adaptation, as strategic coping behaviour, after Bennett; and ethnicity is taken to entail boundaries, as the expression of heritage values, after Barth.

Taken together, these phenomena may be described and compared across cases. Ethnohistorically, the Quatsino and Cape Scott / San Josef Valley Scandinavian colonizations involved groups of people normally studied by anthropologists.

In describing and comparing these colonizations, coping behaviour is considered to be evident in settlement patterns, subsistence activities, and transportation facilities; while the expression of heritage values is considered to be evident in the ideas and actions of people regarding group membership.

The frontier is taken to be the outer edge of settlement, a geographical and sociocultural periphery. Northern Vancouver Island was a frontier region during the study period, the core of which was Victoria. The anthropological literature reviewed on frontier colonization suggests the need for comparative studies.

A periodization design is used in this thesis to convey the emic and etic aspects of the colonizations. In the following chapters the emic aspect is presented in terms of narrative which emphasizes the temporal and spatial dimensions. The narrative also embodies "thick description" (Geertz 1973). The overviews at the end of the chapters present the etic, comparative aspect, in terms of perceived pattern on the part of the researcher.

The replacement or modification of social patterns is a crucial

component of the process of historical change (Smith 1976).

Two-Case comparison is a viable form of research in the social sciences (Eggan 1954; Grimshaw 1973; Pelto and Pelto 1978; Simon 1978). It allows for substantive generalizations to be made in regard to similarities and differences between two cases, which may be found useful in coming to understand a broader range of cases, by a process of "progressive contextualization" (Vayda 1983).

This thesis is rooted in primary sources, ranging from letters to documents. A diversity of sources allows for the cross-checking of ethnohistorical information, so that reliable generalizations may be made and a plausible picture of developments constructed.

In general, it is shown in this thesis that there was a greater articulation of coping behaviour and the expression of heritage values among the Danes at Cape Scott / San Josef Valley than among the Norwegians at Quatsino.

RESEARCH NOTES

PABC refers to the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, and GR refers to the government records located there.

The English system of measurement is used in this thesis, as in the sources. The monetary amounts given should be multiplied by at least 20 times to arrive at today's equivalent.

The Alberni Advocate, Alberni Pioneer News, and Victoria Daily Colonists were inspected for information, and major Colonist articles were cross-checked with the Victoria Daily Times.

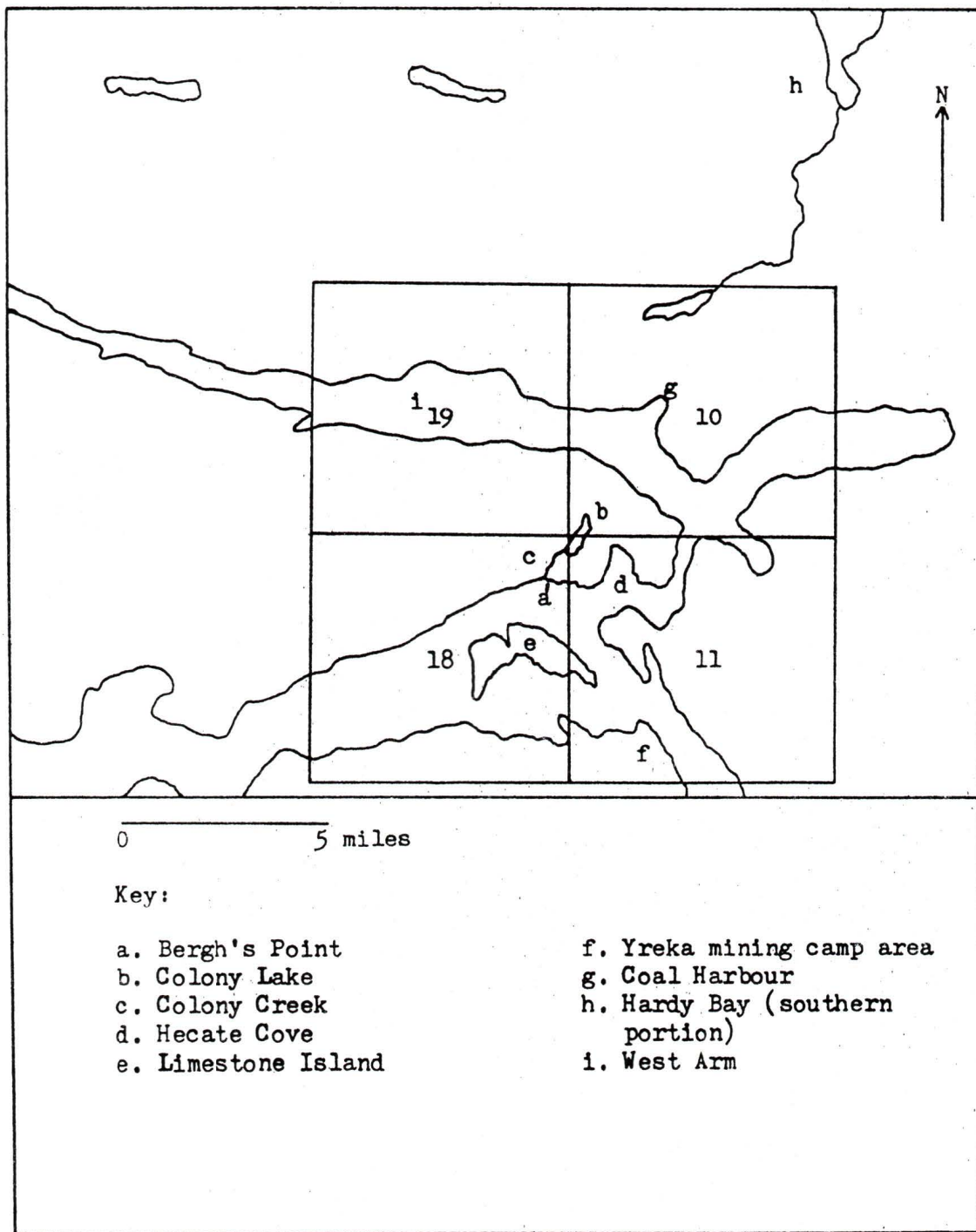
In inspecting these and all other sources, Quatsino and Cape Scott / San Josef Valley were given equal treatment.

Information was taken from the Township Registers, seven volumes for Rupert District, regarding the names, locations, and dates of land transactions and dispositions. Quatsino was defined as Townships 10, 11, 18, and 19; Cape Scott as Townships 42, 42a, 43, and 44; and the San Josef Valley as Townships 37 and 41 (see Maps 3 and 4 for townships and local place names).

Nationalities (Scandinavian, Other, and British) were estimated from first, middle, and last names, and known information. The Scandinavians at Quatsino were largely Norwegians, and those at Cape Scott / San Josef Valley were largely Danes, but some Scandinavian admixture cannot be ruled out at these places.

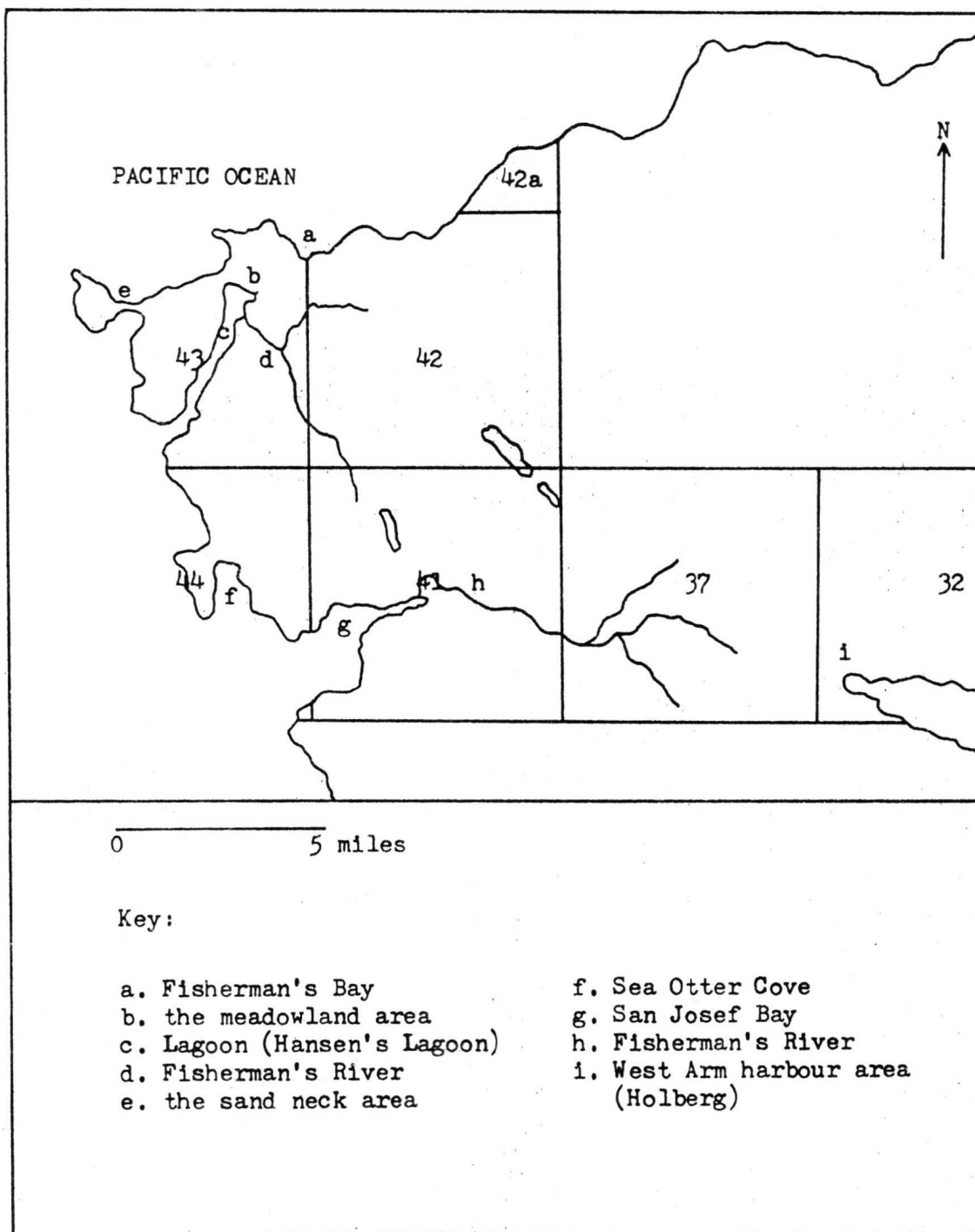
The occupations listed in directories and voting registers are taken to be emic categories.

The real population of men, women, and children is systematically under-represented in most of the sources, as the bias at the turn of the century was toward males. A colonist or settler was almost always the male head of the family (or single man) who signed the lease or pre-emption forms; and only males were registered to vote.



Map 3 Quatsino: Townships and Place Names

Source: primary sources as listed in the references.



Map 4 Cape Scott / San Josef Valley: Townships and Place Names
 Source: primary sources as listed in the references.

III

RAW BEGINNINGS

QUATSINO 1894

In the fall of 1894 the Colonist reports the arrival in Victoria of the first mid-coast Scandinavian colonists:

A party of very desirable immigrants arrived in Victoria by the steamer Charmer last evening. They number 80 persons, and are the advance guard of over 300 Norwegians, who are taking advantage of the settlement terms offered by the Provincial Government to emigrate from Crookston, Minnesota, to Bella Coola, where a good tract of land, already surveyed by the government, is available. The intention of the government is to establish colonies of desirable immigrants on the available lands on the coast of the island and mainland. The general terms are:

Not less than thirty families shall form a settlement, each family to possess at least \$300 in cash on arrival.

The government will grant a lease of 160 acres to each family, rent free, for five years.

At the end of five years, if improvements are made to the amount of \$5 per acre on the property, the government will give the colonists a free crown grant.

The government also engage to construct in each settlement of not less than thirty families a wagon road through the colony. (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 Oct. 1894)

The terms of settlement, adequately summarized above, are given in full legal detail on the indenture forms, which were approved by Order-in-Council on 25 October (B.C., Provincial Secretary 1894).

Bella Coola, Quatsino, and Cape Scott indentures now exist heaped together in a wire basket at the Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, Surveys Branch, in Victoria.

The terms of settlement are also summarized by H.O. Bergh in an article of 10 November appearing in the Decorah-Posten, a Scandinavian newspaper published in Iowa (in Bjork 1972: 82). Bergh had left North

Dakota in search of a west coast location for a settlement. He advises intending colonists to organize, and to send one or two pathfinders.

In mid-November there appears a Colonist article entitled "Desirable Immigrants," and "Large Numbers of Scandinavians in the United States Seeking a Home in This Province" (Victoria Daily Colonist 16 Nov. 1894). Representatives of Dakota and Minnesota Scandinavians are in Victoria. They have spoken with Col. Baker, Minister of Immigration, and they have been shown indenture forms. Some of the immigrants will be located on northern Vancouver Island. They are desirable because they are "thrifty" and "well-to-do."

Later in the month it is reported that the Mischief, under Capt. Foote, is bound for Quatsino Sound with a party of Norwegian colonists aboard (Victoria Daily Colonist 25 Nov. 1894). There are two non-Norwegians present, Mr. Huson, who is in charge of the party, and Mr. Leeson, a storekeeper on the sound.

The colonists are apparently optimistic (Victoria Daily Colonist 4 Dec. 1894). They are writing promotional letters to their families and friends, and they are planning to erect a portable sawmill.

On 15 December H.O. Bergh and C. Nordstrom write letters to Col. Baker. First Bergh, writing from somewhere on Quatsino Sound:

As representative of the Nova Co-operative Society of Minneapolis, Minn., I hereby ask your Honour to set aside part of the Peninsula terminating at Quatsino Narrows, including part of Townships 10, 11, 18 and 19, and part of the other shore opposite Limestone Island, as a site for said colony, provided they conclude to settle on said land. All of said land is timbered by spruce and hemlock except

two small meadows opposite and below Limestone Island.

I have recommended the colonists, in case they should settle on said land, to bring a small saw-mill and a bark mill to utilise as much as possible of the timber while clearing the land. In that case they would want a stream sufficiently strong for mill power. It is doubtful if the creeks on the Peninsula is strong enough and permanent, so they would probably have to look to one of the streams on the opposite shore, for instance, the one emptying into or near Kultus Cove. All the land I have seen thus far is heavily timbered, but the soil seems to be good, but I would not think of settling upon it if it was not for the advantage of a water front, and the possible chance of manufacturing the timber into some useful article of trade while clearing the land, as I consider the cost of clearing \$100 an acre or more. (Bergh 1894)

Now Nordstrom, writing from Coal Harbour:

We have not yet been able to find enough suitable land for our purpose; the weather has been unfavourable for travelling; it will be hard to find a tract of land in a body big enough for us all, so we have to spread out, which I suppose makes no difference to the Government. Mr. Huson has done well and given us all the information he can. The first and most necessary step to take is to get a road cut to Fort Rupert from the most favourable place on the bay. We can get cattle from that side easier than any other way. Our only hope is to look to you for assistance in this measure. (Nordstrom 1894)

Baker's replies are favourable. He wants Bergh to specify the names and numbers of colonists so that land can be reserved for them, and he wants delegates appointed to deal with the government (Baker 1894a). He informs Bergh that money has been appropriated for a wagon road to Fort Rupert, which is what he succinctly informs Nordstrom (Baker 1894b).

At year's end there is fine weather at Quatsino, and the colonists are engaged in prospecting (Victoria Daily Colonist 29 Dec. 1894). They are confident of government assistance in road building. One of

the colonists got lost on the trail to Fort Rupert and was missing for over two days. Bituminous coal, silver quartz, and fir trees of good quality have been discovered. A sawmill is being built in order to process the fir for market.

An assessment of farming potential on Quatsino Sound is provided for the Department of Agriculture by B.W. Leeson (1894), who has lived there for three years. Leeson notes the influx of large numbers of Scandinavians.

There was little rain last winter. The lowest temperature was 10 degrees F. Most of the arable land is near the shore, and the clearing required is variable:

The land is rolling, some high hills in places. I should judge about one-half of the coast line of Quatsino Sound is arable to the water's edge, the balance is bluffs and rocks. The soil runs from one and a half to two feet of black soil; on top of that again is about a foot of decayed vegetation. The subsoil is clay and gravel in places. The land would be expensive to clear the timber off in places; in others again it would not. There are flats and alder bottoms at the mouth of small rivers that could easily be cleared. The labour, so far, has been Indians, cheap, but very unreliable. There is an abundance of water, small streams coming in to the salt water every few hundred yards. The means of communication are at present once a month by steamer "Mischief" from Victoria. There is to be a road out to the east side, Fort Rupert, this summer promised by the government. (Leeson 1894)

CAPE SCOTT 1896

The beginning of the Cape Scott colonization is marked by a letter written from Victoria in the spring of 1896 by Y.C. Jensen, P. Thomsen, R. Hansen, and N.C. Nelson to Col. Baker:

We, the undersigned intending settlers, who have been at Cape Scott looking for land suitable to start a colony on,

promise to form a colony of at least 75 settlers in townships 41, 42, 43 and 44 Rupert District, Vancouver Island, on the terms given page 76 "Official Handbook of Information relating to the Dominion of Canada, January, 1896," provided the Government will build:-

1. A road from Fisherman's Cove to Sea Otter Cove, with branches to Goose Harbour and the mouth of San Josef River. The latter to be extended along same river to eastern line of township 41.

2. A dyke at Goose Harbour to protect the lowlands in township 43 from the tidewater.

3. Two schools for the colony and provide teachers for same. The work to be carried out this way:

The land to be opened for settlement when at least 15 settlers are ready to go and settle on it, and at least 15 more have signed the agreement (each signature to be accompanied by a \$50 cheque. This money is to be used for transportation purposes and will be forfeited in case the man do not settle until May 1st, 1897.)

1st year. If at least 30 bona fide settlers are on the land May 1st, 1897, then township 43 and the western row of sections in township 42 are to be leased to the colony. And work is to be commenced on the road at Fisherman's Cove. At least six miles of road is to be built during the summer of 1897 (supposed to be from 1 to 2 main road and to 3 branch road—see plot.)

2nd year. If there is at least 50 bona fide settlers May 1st, 1898, then township 44 and the two western rows of sections in township 41 is to be leased to the colony. During the summer of 1898 the road is to be finished to Sea Otter Cove and Goose Harbour, and the dyke at Goose Harbour is to be built.

3rd year. If there is at least 65 settlers May 1st, 1899, then balance of township 41 is to be leased to the colony. A school is to be erected and teacher provided, and the branch road to the mouth of San Josef River built.

4th year. If there is at least 75 bona fide settlers May 1st, 1900, then balance of township 42 is to be leased to the colony, a school to be erected and teacher provided, and the road along San Josef River completed.

The colony will develop the resources of the country, especially farming and fishing. The farming will be what generally is termed "mixed farming." The fishing will be principally deep sea fishing, halibut and cod.

We consider the fishing industry as the part that must carry the colony through the first years until the farm can be able to produce and pay. It is with this in view that we intend to start at Fisherman's Cove, which gives shelter for small fishing crafts and is near the fishing banks.

We consider the marshy land in township 43 form the backbone of the colony and, therefore, it is we ask the Government to build the dyke for to protect the land, because we have learned

by experience and investigation that to start a colony in heavy timbered land, even with the best of soil, is almost an impossibility.

We are well aware of the necessity of co-operation for the small farmer and intend, from the start, to have a small steamer or steam schooner of our own to carry the colonists, their goods and provisions into the country, and fish and farm products of the country to the market. (Y.C. Jensen et al. 1896)

It is clear that the organizers of the Cape Scott Colony have made ambitious plans for its development over four years. The Danes are to fish and farm in the vicinity of Fisherman's Bay, and increase their population. A dyke, schools, local roads, a branch road to the San Josef Valley, and the marketing of products are envisaged.

The passage referred to in the Dominion Handbook illustrates a national and provincial coincidence of efforts to attract moneyed farmers (Dominion of Canada, Department of the Interior 1896: 76-77). The Bella Coola and Quatsino colonizations are mentioned, and the indenture-based terms of settlement outlined.

Baker (1896a) replies favourably, and precisely, to the collective letter. If there are 30 settlers by 1 May 1897, the government will build a road from Fisherman's Bay to Sea Otter Cove. If there are 75 settlers by 1 May 1898, it will extend the road from the cove to a central point in the settlement. The government will employ settlers on these roads, and it will spend no more than \$600 per mile. Thirty "bona fide settlers" are required in order to secure free grants. A bona fide settler is a man in sound health over 18 years old who occupies and improves his land. Townships 41, 42, 43, and 44 are reserved for colonization.

In an early-July letter written from Enumclaw, Washington, the Danes have more information and questions for Baker (Jensen 1896). Meetings have been held in Seattle and Tacoma. R. Hansen has been elected president and Rev. J. Jensen secretary and treasurer. The grassland in Township 43 is perceived to be crucial to the success of the colony. This land is to be subdivided into 10-acre lots available to those working on the dyke at Goose Harbour. Dyke work is to begin on 1 May 1898, if 30 lots have been taken.

The colonists ask Baker whether a settler can take 80 acres and have another 80 reserved. They also want to know how many additional acres a lot-holder may obtain, and if surveying can begin when 15 settlers go to select land in the fall or winter.

The provisional rules of the colony are included in the letter. An elected board of directors handles the colony's affairs. Those who have taken the trouble to view land are given priority in making their selection, if a \$1.00 fee has been paid and a \$50.00 deposit put in a Victoria bank. The deposit is to be used for communal enterprises. It is refundable to anyone who does not take land, but not to a land-holder who leaves the colony. The deposit is returned with $\frac{5}{8}$ interest when an individual has obtained title. A belt of timber at least 20 rods wide (110 yards) along the coast is reserved from settlement.

In reply, Baker (1896b) states that the government cannot reserve land unless there are 30 colonists by 1 May 1897. If this condition is met, the government will subdivide the grassland in Township 43

into 10-acre lots, granting one such lot plus 80 additional acres in the township to each colonist who works on the dyke. Baker notes that the government has no objection to the provisional rules.

At this time the Colonist is reporting on "one of the largest colonization projects of the year" (Victoria Daily Colonist 12 July 1896). Several "influential Norsemen" from Washington State are planning to colonize 60,000 acres at Cape Scott. They are sending pamphlets and maps to Danish farmers in the state. Prospective colonists, who are "sturdy Danish families," will benefit from the "very liberal terms" offered by Col. Baker. It is stated that further information may be obtained from George Amorsen of Victoria.

Amorsen, "one of the best Danish writers on the coast," in the opinion of the Tacoma News, is in charge of the Victoria office of the Tacoma Tidende, a major Scandinavian-American newspaper (all of which is reported in the Victoria Daily Times 15 Oct. 1895). In August Amorsen writes a letter to the Colonist saying that the Cape Scott "movement" would find many followers in the eastern United States if the opposition press would not publish discouraging stories about the Bella Coola Colony (Amorsen 1896).

In a mid-September editorial the Colonist warns against "coddled colonies," which produce "shiftless and dependent" colonists (Victoria Daily Colonist 16 Sept. 1896). It is maintained that settlers should be taught to be self-reliant.

The next day it is reported that the first eight Danish colonists have left Victoria for Cape Scott aboard the Mischief (Victoria Daily

Colonist 17 Sept. 1896). These Danes came from southern California, and another group, of 30, is expected from California. Also aboard the steamer is Mr. Fregon, with considerable supplies for his store on Quatsino Sound, and some prospectors bound for northern Vancouver Island.

OVERVIEW

The Quatsino and Cape Scott colonizations were planned and initiated by Scandinavian-Americans. In both cases letters were sent to a powerful British Columbia cabinet minister, Col. Baker, asking for aid and encouragement.

Both endeavors articulated with the government scheme for Scandinavian colonization which was first formulated for the Norwegian colony at Bella Coola. The scheme was given full legal definition on indenture forms drawn up by Col. Baker and approved by the cabinet in the fall of 1894.

The indentures were to be filled out and signed by colonists and government officials. A free grant of up to 160 acres of land was to be given to each of at least 30 colonists on conditions of occupation and improvement.

The Victoria Daily Colonist, the major newspaper of the province and pro-government in orientation, publicized the colonization scheme and sought to legitimize it. Scandinavian immigrants were portrayed as desirable, and the possible influx of Scandinavians to the province

was exaggerated.

The Norwegian colonization at Quatsino originated from the American mid-west. In the fall of 1894 there were less than 30 Norwegians on Quatsino Sound searching in an ad hoc manner for a place to settle and start a colony.

The Danish colonization at Cape Scott originated from the American Pacific coast. In the fall of 1896 there were less than 30 Danes at the cape seeking to activate their highly-specific, rule-governed plans for settling and colonizing the meadowland area at the head of Hansen's Lagoon.

Quatsino Sound in 1894 was somewhat more socioculturally complex and less isolated than Cape Scott in 1896. On the sound there was a store somewhere, a small population of Indians and non-Scandinavian whites, and a minimal west coast steamship connection with Victoria. The cape had none of these.

Presumably, the Norwegians were less accustomed to the rainy and rugged northern Vancouver Island environment than were the Danes.

IV
SETTLING IN

QUATSINO 1895-1896

Early in 1895 Col. Baker (1895a) sends C. Nordstrom a letter inquiring as to the land wanted by the Norwegians, the names and numbers of colonists, and the delegates appointed by them. When he has this information he will send a surveyor.

Nordstrom (1895a) says that he cannot give definite answers to Baker's questions. Bad weather has hampered the search for land; and lack of mail service has blocked communication with the outside world. He reports that there are 10 colonists.

In February there are a number of Norwegians from North Dakota in Victoria waiting for the Mischief to take them to Quatsino Sound (Victoria Daily Colonist 5 Feb. 1895).

On 13 March a collective letter (Bergh et al. 1895) is sent to Col. Baker notifying him that C. Nordstrom has been chosen as the delegate to deal with the government.

The names on the letter are as follows: H.O. Bergh, B.C. Loken, Eddyus Evanson, J. Ingersol, Hannah Nordstrom, Alex H. Finlaison, H.P. Nordby, G.T. Sanners, Wm. Thompson, Nelson McDonald, Edward McDonald, Julieus Udby, C.F. Nordstrom, Harold Stranwold, W. Hunt, H.R. Foote, Louise Nordstrom, Telesphore Labimiere, Ole Akre, T.O. Sanners, Charles J. McDonald, James McDonald, and Charles McDonald. Eleven of these 23 names appear to be non-Scandinavian,

including the name of the British captain of the Mischief, H.R. Foote.

Several articles in the Colonist over the next three months give favourable publicity to the Quatsino Colony and to colonization in general.

The Quatsino Colony is "prospering famously" (Victoria Daily Colonist 22 Mar. 1895). The colonists have selected land and are waiting for it to be surveyed. More colonists are going to Quatsino on the next trip of the Mischief.

Mr. Nordstrom has had a meeting in Victoria with Col. Baker (Victoria Daily Colonist 2 Apr. 1895). He has been on Quatsino Sound all winter looking things over and is pleased with what he has seen. He expects to establish shortly a colony of about 200 people, who are well-to-do farmers from Minnesota. They will settle on the same terms as the Bella Coola Colony. An advance party is locating land. A sawmill is to be erected at once. The colonists will engage in fishing.

The Mischief leaves for Quatsino tomorrow carrying a dozen people "to swell the population of the prosperous little colony established by Mr. Nordstrom" (Victoria Daily Colonist 7 Apr. 1895). Surveyor Burnet is going to complete his work, and constable Leeson is returning to his post. The steamer has a heavy cargo of lumber and general settlers' supplies.

Most of the Mischief's big load of freight and passengers is going to Quatsino, the new Norwegian settlement (Victoria Daily Colonist 9 Apr. 1895).

Rev. Ellisen of Minnesota is a passenger on the Mischief (Victoria Daily Colonist 8 May 1895). He is going to Quatsino to look over the land for 30 prospective colonists.

The Mischief has completed a fast round-trip of eight days to Quatsino (Victoria Daily Colonist 17 May 1895). Rev. Ellisen is pleased with Quatsino and is planning to take a party of 30 colonists there.

Premier Turner concluded his review of the prospects of the province with a brief account of Norwegians from Minnesota and Dakota who have chosen to settle on the western coast of the mainland and Vancouver Island (Victoria Daily Colonist 19 May 1895).

On 9 June surveyor Burnet (1895a) reports to Baker that 30 of the 35 lots he has surveyed are in the vicinity of Hecate Cove. There are 15 claims taken, and six settlers have built houses. Colonists have been employed on the survey work. Most colonists are content with 80 acres. The settlement site has fairly good soil and numerous small creeks.

A month later Burnet (1895b) sends Baker the indentures of 15 colonists. Since 2 July he has been constructing a 9-mile long, ungraded road to Hardy Bay. Between 15 and 20 men are employed on the road, which should reach the bay by September. Only a few of the colonists have the requisite amount of \$300, but most colonists have declared that they have property worth more than this amount. More indenture forms are needed.

Baker (1895b, 1895c) fully approves of the steps Burnet has taken,

and he sends the blank indentures.

In a July letter to the British Columbia Board of Trade, published in the Colonist, Baker (1895d) outlines the government's colonization policy. What is wanted are small farmers with capital. Settlement in colonies facilitates access to markets, as steamships call to take farm produce to Victoria and other cities. Colonies have a better chance than other settlements of obtaining schools, churches, and roads. Bella Coola and Quatsino are successful colonies.

Baker says that intending colonists must first correspond with himself as Minister of Immigration to find out what lands are open. They then choose pathfinders and delegates. At least 30 colonists are required. The government sends a surveyor, and when the lands have been laid out colonists come in and are employed on roads. Coastal colonies can develop the fishing industry. There is heavily-timbered land as well as fairly clear land with rich soil. Water power for mills is often available. Farming consists of dairying, and the growing of grain, roots, fruit, and hops.

In mid-August H.O. Bergh writes a letter to the Decorah-Posten drawing favourable attention to the Quatsino Colony (in Bjork 1972: 82-83). Thirty colonists are present. The soil is rich, but covered with forest. The climate is rainy and mild. There are many streams having salmon runs; and lakes full of trout. There is room for up to 40 farms. The government is building a pack trail to Hardy Bay on the east coast of the Island. Colonists are working for good wages on the trail.

At the end of the summer Nordstrom (1895b) writes to Baker from the "Scandia Settlement," Quatsino Sound, requesting a post office and the resumption of boat service. Baker (1895e), concerned about the matter, says that the wagon road now being built to Hardy Bay should solve both problems. Nordstrom (1895c) points out that there is no one living at Hardy Bay to receive mail, which the colonists would prefer having sent via west coast steamship.

In October it is reported that A.S. Hallidie, a mining man from San Francisco, is impressed with what he has seen at Quatsino, particularly the great natural harbour and the deposits of bituminous coal and sulphuretted copper (Victoria Daily Colonist 12 Oct. 1895). He also liked the fish, game, and sunshine, the spruce, fir, and cedar, and the Norwegian colony.

At the end of the year surveyor Burnet (1895c) reports on the "Colonization Trail to Rupert Arm." About half the trail, extending for over two miles from both the Coal Harbour and Hardy Bay ends, will be passable for a wagon after bridges are built and obstructions removed. The central portion is only a pack trail. The colonization trail passes through rolling, well-watered country, timbered with hemlock, balsam, spruce, and cedar. The soil is clay loam. It is estimated that 15,000 acres are suitable for settlement.

At the beginning of 1896 the Colonist congratulates the government on its success in settling the lands of the province (Victoria Daily Colonist 1 Jan. 1896). This is in reference to the

progress made by the Quatsino Colony. The thousands of acres of land discovered by surveyor Burnet assures incoming settlers ample choice of location.

Some days later the paper publishes an account of the colony by C. Nordstrom, its representative, who is optimistic and diplomatic:

Through the medium of your valuable paper, I should like to let our friends in Dakota and Victoria know how our new colony is progressing. A year ago last November we landed in Coal Harbour, Quatsino Sound, after a very successful voyage in the steamer Mischief, Captain Foot, with Mr. Huson as land guide. Our party, through the kindness of Mr. William Hunt, were fortunate to get the use of his house for the winter months. During our first winter the weather was all that could be desired, the mildness of the climate being a very agreeable change from the severity of the Dakota frosts. We spent all the winter prospecting and selecting our locations, and found large areas of good arable land, beautifully situated on the waters of the sound, enough, I should think, to support two hundred families. During the summer we worked on the government road from Coal Harbour to Hardy Bay on the east coast of the island and this fall we have moved into our own houses and have commenced clearing land.

Fish of all kinds are plentiful, as also are ducks and geese. Deer and elk abound, and several bear have already been caught. The practice of trapping bears, however, is proving distinctly dangerous, one Indian having already been severely hurt in a trap. All that is needed now to make our colony a success is more settlers, an increase in population being certain to cause the development of local industries such as canneries and sawmills, for which there is a splendid opening. The December steamer brought Mr. Norger with a large stock of goods to open a general store.

I cannot close this letter without expressing the thanks of the settlers to Captain Foot for giving us a monthly steamboat service and bringing us our mail at his own expense since our arrival here. I am confident that not one of us would be here today had he not done so. On the arrival of his boat this month he started a subscription for a new wharf, which was heartily responded to. We shall be pleased to hear of his getting the mail contract for this place, and hope that next year the trade to our colony will so increase that he will see his way to putting a larger boat on the route. (Nordstrom 1896a)

The main problem mentioned by Nordstrom is lack of people, and

not just Norwegians. He is much in favour of the development of local industries.

Also in January, Burnet (1896) submits a Quatsino report to the Surveyor-General. The surveying was done in 1895, 19 April-16 June, 15 October-12 November. It involved the laying out of 80-acre blocks, most of which was done in Township 18:

Section 31, and parts of sections 30 and 32, Township 11; section 6, and parts of sections 5 and 7, Township 10; parts of sections 1 and 12, Township 19; part of section 5 and sections 8, 9 and 10, on the south side of Quatsino Sound; sections 14, 15, 22 and 23, Limestone Island; sections 20, 26, 36, and parts of sections 19, 21, 28 and 35, on the north side of Quatsino Sound, all in Township 18, were subdivided into half-quarter sections of eighty acres each, measuring twenty chains by forty chains; the water front lots, of course, vary in area, as the back lines are in all cases either section, quarter section, or quarter-quarter section lines. (Burnet 1896)

The surveyor goes on to describe the environment. Most of the surveyed area is rolling, and timbered with hemlock, balsam, spruce, fir, and cedar. Deer and black bears are common, while elk are found to the east and to the north. Salmon in the sound include sockeye, silver, spring, coho, dog, and humpback. Halibut are plentiful in winter, probably coming in from the banks six miles off the entrance to the sound. There are also cod, herring, smelt, and trout.

In February the Colonist presents a summary of Burnet's 1895 report on the colonization trail to Rupert Arm (Victoria Daily Colonist 13 Feb. 1896).

In late March the Mischief delivers the first mail to the new post office at Quatsino, where a wharf is under construction (Victoria Daily Colonist 22 Mar. 1896).

In a 7 April Return to the Legislative Assembly the number of immigrant settlers at Quatsino is given as 17 (B.C. Sessional Papers 1896). There are two non-immigrants "embraced in the settlement." The cost of surveys approaches \$2,300 and the cost of incidentals is almost \$200. Bella Coola has three times the number of immigrants and eight times the total cost. An indenture fascimile is included in the Return.

In mid-April Nordstrom, now president, and S.K. Float, secretary pro tem., write to Col. Baker, indicating a degree of interest in agricultural development:

We, the settlers of Quatsino, were assembled to-day in public meeting. A motion was made, seconded, decided upon, and unanimously carried, that we hereby most respectfully ask you to continue the road work up here this summer in order to get a passable road from Coal Harbour to Hardy Bay.

Several of us are anxious to get in some cattle, which we can buy reasonably at the East Coast, but the trail across is not passable even for cattle now, and to get stock in from the west side is impossible so long as only the little steamer calls in here, which does not meet our demands, also in several other respects.

As you are well aware that this road will open up an extensive area of good agricultural land, besides helping the colony in its present need, we trust that you will grant above request and favour us with an answer by the next mail, (Nordstrom and Float 1896)

In reply, Baker (1896c) says that an appropriation has been made for the road and that work will soon begin. He wants to know if more settlers are coming, to make up the required number of 30 for the colony.

Nordstrom (1896b) is sure that there will be more than 30 before the end of the summer, and he gives 21 as the present, late June, number. He wants the road work to continue through the summer. He

wonders what arrangements will be made regarding land title if the full number of colonists is not reached.

Baker (1896d) says that if the required number is not met, the government price of \$5.00 an acre for agricultural land would have to be paid. He trusts that the number will be met; moreover, work on the road to Hardy Bay should now be in progress.

This work is progressing by early August. In July W.S. Gore (1896), Deputy Commissioner of Lands and Works, had instructed W. Hassard to go to Quatsino and superintend the completion of the rough wagon road from Coal Harbour to Hardy Bay. Hassard's budget was \$2,000, and he was to pay settlers \$2.00 a day for their labour.

Hassard (1896?) reports that slow progress was made on the road, due to the heavy forest and rolling topography. A fairly passable road, 10 feet wide, was made for four miles out of Coal Harbour. The work involved clearing fallen trees, grubbing trees and stumps, grading hillocks, filling hollows, and building small bridges.

Inspection of the Public Accounts data in the B.C. Sessional Papers of 1897 reveals that six Norwegian colonists earned over \$100 for their 1896 summer road work. About 11 colonists were employed.

Improvements evident at Quatsino in early July include "a number of substantial dwelling houses and a couple of good-sized stores" (Victoria Daily Colonist 7 July 1896). Some people there were salting salmon and shipping it to Victoria on the Mischief (Victoria Daily Colonist 8 Aug. 1896).

In the autumn the first marriage is to take place at Quatsino,

an interethnic marriage foreshadowed by an atmosphere of fog and smoke:

Captain Foot is not in the habit of making matrimonial engagements when he embarks on a voyage to the West Coast, but his next trip will mean much for two young people at Quatsino. These are Mr. Fred Speck and Miss Nordstrom, the daughter of the leader of the Norwegian colonists; Capt. Foot on his return to Quatsino has been commissioned to carry minister and license and sundry other essentials to the first marriage solemnized at Quatsino. Thick fog and smoke, with an atmosphere illuminated at times by great forest fires, marked the trip of the *Mischief* just completed. (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 Sept. 1896)

In October Mr. Allardt of the West Coast Commercial Company of San Francisco, Mr. Silver of the same city, and Mr. Dobbs, a British coal expert, visited the sound to examine mineral properties near Coal Harbour (Victoria Daily Colonist 20 Oct. 1896). They were favourably impressed, and development of the properties is expected.

At the end of the year Col. Baker (1896e) writes to inform Nordstrom that he will give the colony another six months to reach the required number of colonists. Baker had been handed a letter by Premier Turner in which the colonists had requested the extension.

In an 1896 Department of Agriculture report Quatsino is described as well-watered and heavily-timbered, and suitable for the production of the usual cereals, vegetables, and fruit (B.C. Sessional Papers 1897). The fisheries have potential, and a steamer calls monthly.

CAPE SCOTT 1897-1898

In February of 1897 J. Jensen (1897) writes to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works from Enumclaw, Washington, to inform

him that on approximately 10 March at least 15 Danish colonists will be leaving Victoria for Cape Scott. He hopes that a surveyor will go with the colonists.

Deputy Commissioner Gore's (1897) response is that the government will send a surveyor as soon as 30 bona fide settlers have located at the place in question.

In mid-March Hans and Claus Nelson, two "sturdy wide-awake young Danes" from Iowa, are in Victoria awaiting the arrival of 70 more Danes bound for Cape Scott (Victoria Daily Colonist 11 Mar. 1897). It is expected that far more than 75 families will be comfortably established in the colony before the 1 May 1898 deadline.

A week later it is reported that the Tees will carry to the cape "the Danish delegation who are going to test the fertility of the soil and report upon its adaptability for colonization purposes" (Victoria Daily Colonist 18 Mar. 1897). The delegation of 15 colonists leaves Victoria on the evening of 20 March (Victoria Daily Times 20 Mar. 1897).

The Saturday night departure was exciting (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 Mar. 1897, p. 2). The horses being loaded were wild, and when they felt the slings tightening "frantic capers" ensued, scattering the crowd.

This sheer animal excitement was enveloped in an atmosphere of human warmth and conviviality:

Prior to embarking on the steamer Tess the new settlers of the Danish colony from Minnesota and bound for Cape Scott were banqueted by their Victoria friends last evening at the Occidental hotel. Captain Christensen was in the chair and after an excellent repast a very social evening was spent. Regret was expressed at the steamer Tees leaving so early, which rather shortened their enjoyment. During the evening

the colonists were presented with Dannebrog (the national flag) from their Victoria friends, and they appreciated the gift very much. About fifty sat down to dinner. They were escorted to the boats afterwards by numerous well wishers. Just before the steamer sailed Mr. Anton Henderson made a rattling speech, wishing the colonists every success. The colonists, he said, were leaving the principal city of the Island, but he hoped that before long a city that would rival and surpass Victoria would be built up at the Northern end of the Island as a result of their venture. When the cheers given his remarks had about died away and as the boat was pulling out from the wharf, Mr. Thomas, of Thomas Bros. and Grant, sang "Farewell," in a fine robust voice. (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 Mar. 1897, p. 5)

On that same Saturday Rasmus Hansen writes a letter to the Colonist in appreciation of the people of Victoria:

If you will give us space in your valuable paper, before leaving we wish to thank the citizens of Victoria and in particular Mr. Stephen Jones of the Dominion hotel for the kindness shown the members of the Cape Scott Danish colony during their stay here.

From every quarter we have received encouragement, and found the officers of the government untiring in their efforts to give us all the help and information in their power.

We feel deeply indebted to the Valhalla Society and our countrymen who so loyally received us Thursday evening, as well as to Captain Christiansen, who hospitably entertained the entire party last night. (Hansen 1897a)

Hansen leaves Victoria on 23 March on his own little schooner, the Floyburg, which has been newly sparred and re-decked (Victoria Daily Colonist 24 Mar. 1897).

When the Tees arrived at Cape Scott the livestock "had to swim ashore, as no regular landing has yet been provided for vessels at that point" (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 Mar. 1897).

When the Tees leaves Victoria in May she will again go to Cape Scott, taking four new colonists, as well as the mail and some freight (Victoria Daily Colonist 1 May 1897).

In May it is reported that Mr. Swan is planning a trip to Cape Scott to get the gold he had discovered when shipwrecked while seal hunting some years ago (Victoria Daily Colonist 12 May 1897). In early July the Tees returns from the cape and "reports the colonists there as faring well" (Victoria Daily Colonist 8 July 1897).

On 23 July surveyor E.A. Cleveland (1897) presents a substantial Cape Scott report. He had arrived at Fisherman's Bay on 25 March with about 10 colonists. His work mainly involved the laying out of 80-acre blocks, most of which were in Township 43:

Sections 19, 30 and 31, in Township 42, and sections 23, 24, 25, 26, 35 and 36, in Township 43, were wholly or partly subdivided into eighty-acre blocks; and section 18, Township 42, and section 13, Township 43, laid out and subdivided into quarter sections, thereby providing surveyed lots for settlers to the number of about fifty, while thirty more could locate on the sections outlined to the eastward of those mentioned, and also on the unsurveyed sections to the south and west. (Cleveland 1897: 732)

According to Cleveland, the meadowland was found to be smaller than anticipated. There would not be enough 10-acre lots in it for every colonist. The area of meadowland flooded only at very high tides is 124 acres. The area of tidal lands, known as the Lagoon, is 510 acres. The meadowland has light loam soil, while the Lagoon has silt, sand, and coarse gravel. At ordinary high tide the Lagoon is covered with up to 10 feet of water. During the high tides of January and June the Lagoon is covered with up to 15 feet of water, and the meadowland is also flooded.

The dyking of the entire Lagoon would be too big and costly a task for the colonists. But a dyke about 2,000 feet long crossing the

Lagoon just above the mouth of the main river is feasible. Such a dyke would reclaim about 180 acres now flooded at every tide.

Besides the main river (presumably Fisherman's River), several streams flow through the settlement. The surveyed area is hilly, and covered with hemlock, red and yellow cedar, and pine. There are also open areas having scrub timber. The salal is nearly impenetrable along the shore.

There are halibut banks off Fisherman's Bay. Indians caught halibut in May and June; they would go out early in the morning and return by noon with as many as 15 halibut per canoe. Salmon run up the Lagoon during the summer.

Fisherman's Bay is to be the steamship call, though it is exposed to northerly and northwesterly winds. The nearest harbour is 20 miles to the east at Shushartie Bay. A trail to Shushartie Bay is desirable in order to give the colonists access to the inside channel. The road which was surveyed runs south from Fisherman's Bay for three miles, and it is to be connected to the meadowland via a branch road a mile and a quarter long.

From September on, Cape Scott is to be a monthly steamship call on the west coast route (Victoria Daily Colonist 10 Sept. 1897).

At the end of September Rev. Jensen and half a dozen other Danish-Americans are in Victoria—the Colonist quotes Jensen:

"I have never been up the coast yet," he said yesterday, "but I have been posted on it by those already there. They seem to like the place and on the whole are well satisfied. What we want to do is give you a little butter and eggs. I know the

new soil is not the best, but two or three years working it will make it all right." (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 Sept. 1897)

The Times characterizes Jensen as a colonizing missionary, saying that he has returned to Washington State to continue his good work (Victoria Daily Times 30 Sept. 1897).

In mid-November president Hansen (1897b) writes to Col. Baker indicating that the colonists want local roads to center on the meadowland. They want a road to run south from Fisherman's River for one and a half miles toward Sea Otter Cove, and a branch road to run for almost two miles from the river to the Lagoon. To improve local roads, \$500 is requested. They also would like a road running east from the center of section 18, Township 42, toward Shushartle Bay.

At this time it is reported that Captain R. Hansen has brought 10 cases of smoked halibut from Cape Scott on the Tees, "as samples to see what market offered for this kind of fish" (Victoria Daily Colonist 12 Nov. 1897).

At the end of December T. Thomsen (1897), vice-president of the Hardauger Cooperative Association, writes to Col. Baker from Minneapolis wanting to know how to start a colony. He says that he has some information from his friend R. Hansen. He includes the by-laws of his association.

On the last day of the year it is reported that a party of Danes from the east went to Cape Scott on the Willapa the previous evening (Victoria Daily Colonist 31 Dec. 1897).

On 2 January 1898 Hansen (1898a) writes to Col. Baker reporting that his trip east in search of prospective colonists was a success. The letter is written aboard the Willapa, and Hansen apologizes for not having the time to see Baker while in Victoria. With Hansen are seven new colonists. Altogether there are 40 new colonists at the cape. More will come on every steamer, and the required number of 75 will be secured by 1 May.

The "75" is a reference by Hansen to the collective letter and agreement of 1896 in which the achievement of this number is tied to the colony receiving land rights in all four townships, a school and teacher, and a road along the San Josef River.

Baker (1898a) is glad to hear of Hansen's successful endeavor, and he gratuitously extends the time for the colony to fulfill the agreement.

The day after Hansen's letter, N.C. Nelson (1898), secretary of the colony, writes to inform Baker that the minimum required number of 30 colonists has been secured. Some colonists are having difficulty in picking their claims:

One man who is going to put up a sawmill here desires to see Mr. R. Hansen before he chooses his land, another wants to see his father about his, he is expecting his father on the boat this time, and a third is going to get 80 acres from one of the settlers living here. Will you please inform us whether the occupant of the land can part with half of his claim without getting new papers or how can it be done. (Nelson 1898)

Nelson says that the people are busy clearing land and building houses. Most are satisfied. He asks if a trader's license is required for the cooperative store and if it would be possible to

get an inexpensive copy of the laws of the province.

Baker (1898b) is glad to hear of the colony's progress. Half of a land claim may be disposed of, but new papers have to be signed. A license is necessary for the store, and all license fees and taxes must be paid by colonists. A free copy of the Statutes is being sent.

In February J. Jacobsen (1898) sends a nearly illegible letter to Baker. It seems that Jacobsen cannot participate in the planned road work, though he badly needs his share of the money. His wife is sick, and he has paid \$160 for a cure that didn't work. He has lost two cows. He has taken the trouble to publicize the colony in the United States and Denmark.

Baker (1898c) offers Jacobsen a leave of absence from his lease obligations. He is sorry to hear about the many misfortunes, saying that this is often the case in a new settlement.

On 4 February president Hansen writes a letter to Baker in which he describes conditions in the Cape Scott Colony and calls attention to the need for roads:

At a general meeting of all the colonists January 8th Board of Directors for this year was elected and Bylaws and Rules for the guidance of the colony were adopted. A copy of which is enclosed in this letter for your approval and sanction.

It is the colonists wishes to get surveyed and subdivided sections 22-14 and 12 in township 43 and sections 7-8 and 17 in township 42 (see enclosed map). And we hope to get the surveyor up as soon as possible in the Spring, because some of the Settlers could file on their leased claim before it is surveyed, especially those who wish the fractions adjoining the Lagoon and Beach.

I hope the surveyor will get instructions about the Roadwork for this Summer and about the erection of a schoolhouse. The material for same can be had here, as there will be a small

sawmill in operation by May, and hardware, nails and windows can be bought in the colony's Store. It is also very important to have the roadlines run as early as possible because the settler wants to have his House at the most convenient place for to get access to the road. One man had to abandon one House and build another on account of the road did not come where he first expected it last Summer.

I must again urge to get some of the road built last Summer improved (cord-uroyed) in some low places. The sooner this can be done the better, because when the new settlers come and find the road almost impassable for them to get their goods moved over, they get discouraged right at the beginning.

There has been some sickness in the colony this Winter. 2 children have died. A doctor is very much needed. Will the government in any way assist us on this part or offer inducements for a doctor to come? Any information we can get about this will be very welcome.

The colonists are now busy building houses and clearing land. The colony is improving and increasing right along. Settlers come in with every Steamer, quite a number is expected this Spring, some has gone back usually for to convey their families up now after having built houses and prepared the place for them. The outlook for the long is very good, although the start is hard, but I hope the Government will assist us especially in building a good Road. The want of good Roads is the worst drawback to this place. (Hansen 1898b)

Included in Hansen's letter are the "Rules for Cape Scott Colony 'Danevike'." These were adopted on 18 January. Danevike may be translated as Danish Cove or Danish Bay.

The Fundamental Laws consist of four articles, each having several sections. The laws deal largely with the administration of the colony. Danes can become members if they obey the requirements of the land laws of B.C. and the rules of the colony. Non-Danes must be voted in by a majority of colonists.

A board of seven trustees is elected at the annual general meeting, held on the second Saturday of January. The trustees remain in office for one year. A vice-president, treasurer, secretary, and auditors are also elected. A general meeting is able to transact

business when $2\frac{2}{3}$ of the colonists are present. The rules of the colony can be changed only when two-thirds of the colonists agree to it.

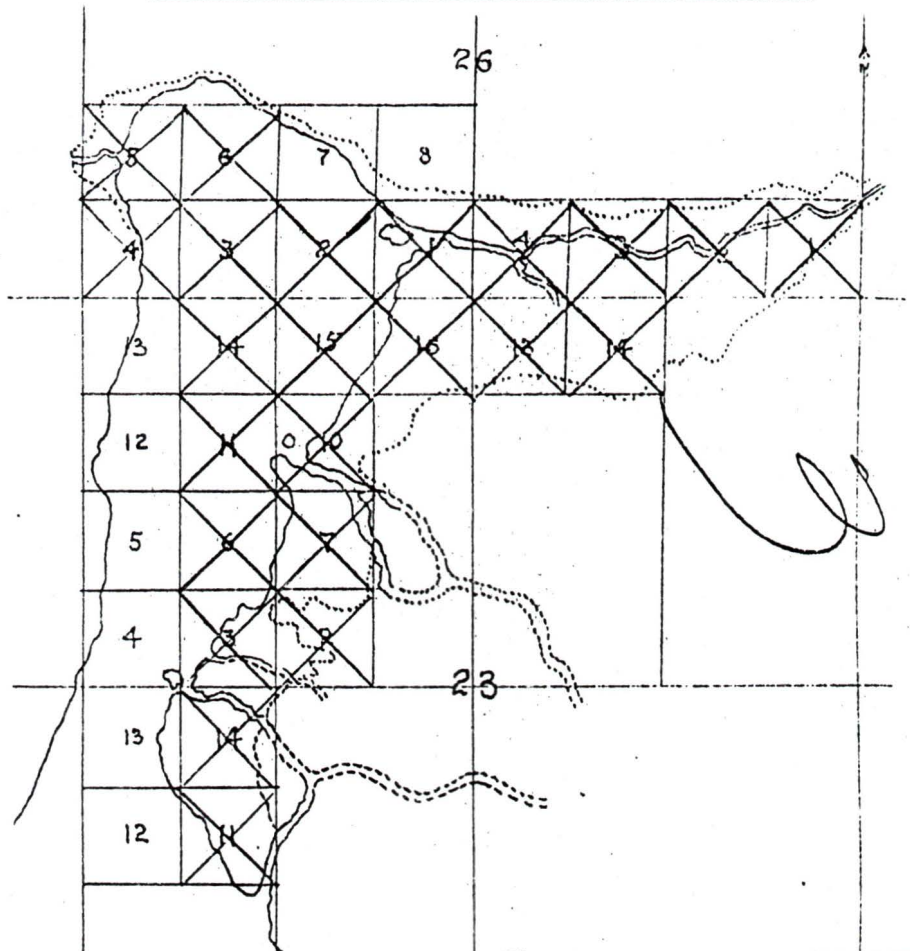
The By-Laws have 15 sections, dealing largely, and somewhat obsessively, with the payment of the initiation fee of \$50.00. All intending colonists must pay a small fee of \$1.00 to the secretary.

The initiation fee is paid to the treasurer. Everyone paying the fee is a member of the colony. Only those paying the fee are entitled to vote at general meetings. The fee is invested in communal enterprises, as decided upon at a general meeting. Interest of $\frac{5}{8}$ a year is paid on the fee, and the fee is refunded when a colonist obtains title to land.

The time for paying the initiation fee may be extended by the trustees, but \$1.00 a day of a colonist's government pay for road work is held back until the fee is paid in full. A colonist is exempt from paying the fee if a majority of colonists so vote, but the colonist can then take only 90 acres of land. Five acres may be taken without paying the fee if a majority of colonists so vote. Land may be held for a colonist for up to two years if the initiation fee is paid, but improvements of \$100 a year must subsequently be made, and the colonist won't get his refund until five years after title is obtained.

There is a tax of \$2.00 or a day's labour per each 20 acres of land taken. This money is used for the local surveying and road work decided upon at a general meeting. Two road inspectors are elected annually. Colonists within reasonable distance of main roads are

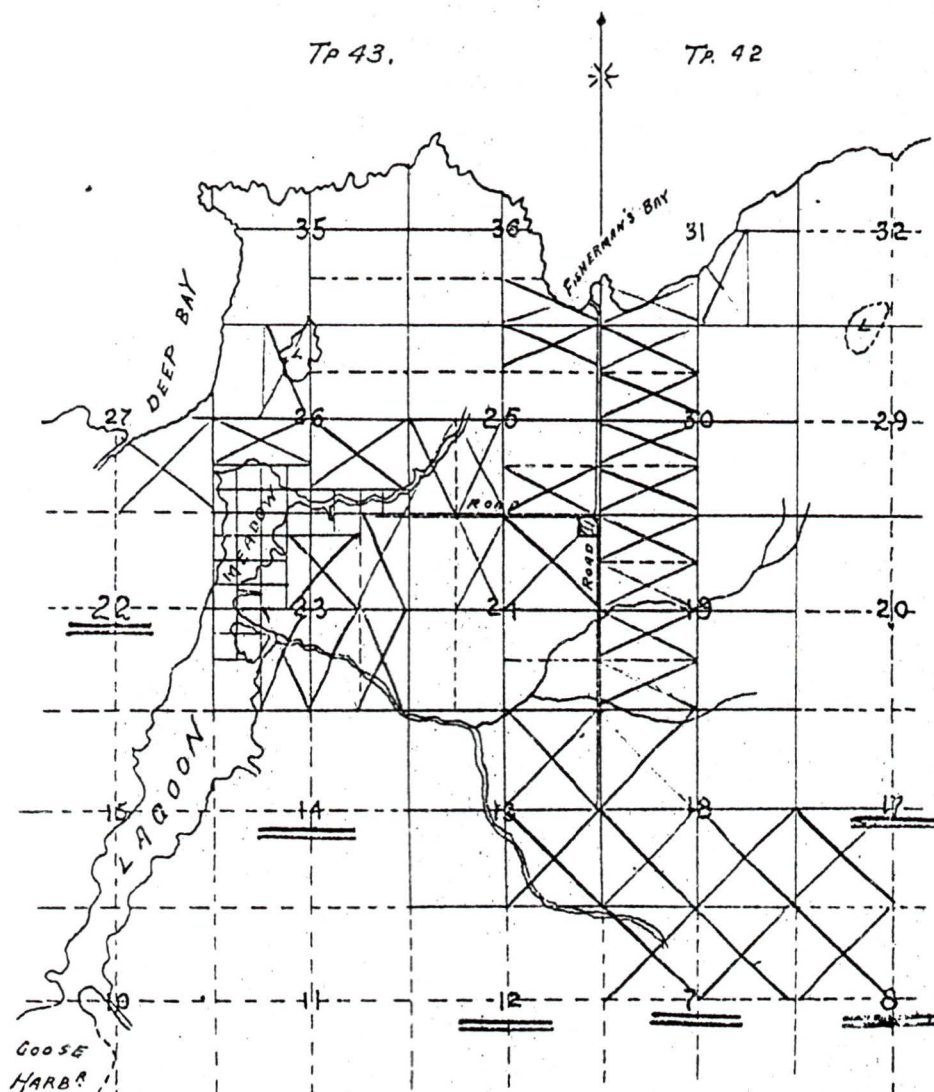
SKETCH SHOWING SUBDIVISION OF MEADOW.



"indicates land taken" \times
 "indicates land wanted to be surveyed" $=$

Map 5 "Sketch Showing Subdivision of Meadow"
 Source: map enclosed in Hansen (1898b), photocopy courtesy of PABC.

SKETCH SHOWING SUBDIVISION OF SECTIONS.



"indicates land taken" X

"indicates land wanting to be surveyed" =

Map 6 "Sketch Showing Subdivision of Sections"

Source: map enclosed in Hansen (1898b), photocopy courtesy of PABC.

entitled to have a trail built to their land.

No one may take a 160-acre block in the central portion of the colony, from the head of the Lagoon to Fisherman's Bay. A belt of land 110 feet wide along the coast is reserved from settlement.

A board of arbitration settles disputes between colonists. The trustees choose one member, and the disputants each choose one.

The first map enclosed in Hansen's letter shows 23 occupied and seven unoccupied lots in the meadowland (see Map 5). From lot 10 it is less than a mile in any direction to the farthest occupied lots and less than three miles along the roads to Fisherman's Bay.

The second map shows 13 160-acre and 22 80-acre blocks of occupied land in the northern portions of Townships 42 and 43 (see Map 6). The number of apparent occupants, then, is 35, which exceeds the magic number of 30 for a colony to legally exist. It is clear that the meadowland has been subdivided into 10-acre lots.

The 80-acre blocks are generally closer to the meadowland than are the 160-acre blocks. From the junction of the two main roads, the central place of the colony, it is just over a mile to the anchorage at Fisherman's Bay and less than three miles in any direction to the farthest occupied blocks. It is evident that the colony will expand south to fill the two townships.

In mid-February there are six new colonists bound for Cape Scott on the Willapa, with their cattle, mules, and dogs (Victoria Daily Times 11 Feb. 1898).

In the spring the colonists are doing road work, as is evident

from Hansen's (1898c) May letter, which was handed to Col. Baker by Mr. Rasmussen, who has come to Victoria to buy a sawmill. Of the \$1,000 appropriation for roads, \$700 is being spent corduroying last year's road to make it more suitable for hauling hay. The colonists want a trail cut eastward from the southern end of the Fisherman's Bay road. Such a trail would allow them to explore land to the south in the San Josef Valley. Hansen did not realize that colonists had to pay a fee of \$5.00 per indenture, and he is receiving protests.

The population is given as follows: "I count about 40 bona fide settlers of whom 12 have their families residing here as we are 68 people all told" (Hansen 1898c).

In early June Hansen (1898d) reports to Baker a population of 85. The letter is optimistic. Half a mile of new road has been built, and half of it corduroyed. About half a mile of corduroy has been laid on the old road. Butter and eggs are being shipped to Victoria.

This progress is noted with satisfaction by Deputy Provincial Secretary Reddie (1898a).

In mid-June L. Stamberg, M.D. (1898), writes to the "Minister of the Interior" from Kimbalton, Iowa, asking for a position at a modest salary in the Cape Scott Colony. He has heard that the government was going to assist the colony by providing a competent physician. He is a native of Denmark, and his letters of recommendation include one from the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Reddie (1898b) says that the government has no intention of providing a doctor for Cape Scott. But the province would welcome Stamberg, and a copy of the Medical Act of 1898 is forwarded.

At the end of June P. Glerup (1898), secretary of the colony, writes to Baker asking if three colonists absent for several months have received leaves of absence. They each hold 80-acre blocks plus meadowland lots.

Reddie (1898c) says that no leaves were granted in these cases.

In August it is reported that the Cape Scott settlers are in good spirits, and preparing to build a sawmill (Victoria Daily Colonist 7 Aug. 1898).

A month later preparations for building the sawmill are still being made (Victoria Daily Colonist 8 Sept. 1898). Mr. Hansen, a passenger on the Willapa, took up six head of cattle.

Two weeks later part of the sawmill reaches the colony (Victoria Daily Colonist 20 Sept. 1898).

A month later 14 Scandinavians from Minnesota and Wisconsin and their six cows and other freight are bound for the cape aboard the Willapa "to join the thrifty colony of Swedes at that point" (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 Oct. 1898, p. 3).

Some days later parts of the procrastinating sawmill are still in transit and the ostensibly thrifty Swedes profligately transformed into equally unlikely Norwegians:

On her outward trip the Willapa took a sawmill plant for the Norwegian settlers at Cape Scott. This was successfully landed and will be put together at once. The settlement is in a prosperous condition and although a few discontented men have left others have gone to take their places. Rev. Mr. Jensen, the minister of the colony, came down by the Willapa to purchase cattle and farming implements for the settlers, a good sign of the success with which they are meeting. Naturally the men take to fishing in season and have found

that salmon and halibut abound in the vicinity of the Cape. A cannery and a schooner on which to ship the fish to market are in prospect. (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 Oct. 1898)

Inspection of the Public Accounts data for the year in the B.C. Sessional Papers of 1899 reveals that 21 colonists were employed on the road from Fisherman's Bay to the Lagoon, 10 of them earning over \$100 for their springtime work. In the Department of Lands and Works correspondence files at the Provincial Archives there are many brief letters dealing with the technicalities of leasing land.

OVERVIEW

In the winter of 1895 Norwegian-Americans were present on Quatsino Sound looking for a place to build their colony. Two years later, in the spring of 1897, a group of Danish-Americans went to Cape Scott, less than 40 miles from the sound, for the same purpose. By the end of 1896 the Norwegians had established themselves along the northern shore of the sound south of Colony Lake. By the end of 1898 the Danes had established themselves at the cape south of Fisherman's Bay. These two years' worth of Scandinavian colonization constitute the "Settling In" periods.

Both the Norwegians and the Danes negotiated in person and through letters with Col. J. Baker, Provincial Secretary, for surveys, lands, roads, mail service, and steamship service. They received these. The Honourable Colonel was their patron. C. Nordstrom was the chief spokesman for the Quatsino Colony. R. Hansen was the chief spokesman and president of the Cape Scott Colony.

Table 1 Land Tenure and Ethnicity, the "Settling In" Periods

	<u>Indenture Forms</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Scand.</u>	<u>Other</u>
QUATSINO	25	44%	56%
CAPE SCOTT	40	95%	5%

	<u>Indentures Registered as Leases</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Scand.</u>	<u>Other</u>
QUATSINO	13	69%	31%
CAPE SCOTT	29	97%	3%

	<u>Scandinavian Leases</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Grants</u>	<u>Cancel.</u>
QUATSINO	9	89%	11%
CAPE SCOTT	28	36%	64%

Source: "Indenture Basket" and Township Registers (Rupert District), Registers Vault, Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, Surveys Branch, Victoria.

Table 2 Government Expenditures, the "Settling In" Periods

QUATSINO	<u>Description</u>	<u>Cost (\$)</u>
	Surveys	2272.80
	Incidentals	189.00
	Fort Rupert to Rupert Arm Road	3071.34
	Rupert District Survey	2097.80
	Road to Rupert Arm	<u>1967.50</u>
	<u>Total</u>	9598.44
CAPE SCOTT	<u>Description</u>	<u>Cost (\$)</u>
	Danish Settlement Survey	255.00
	Fisherman's Cove to Lagoon Road	3494.12
	Danish Settlement Survey	<u>694.10</u>
	<u>Total</u>	4443.22

Source: Public Accounts and Public Works reports in the B.C.

Sessional Papers 1896-1898.

The Colonist favourably publicized the progress of the colonies, and played up the potential for Scandinavian colonization on northern Vancouver Island. This amounted to an explicit legitimization of the Turner government's policy of "settling the lands" of the province with well-to-do farmers. Many of the readers of the newspaper were leading government officials and capitalists. The Danes received a lot of favourable publicity in March 1897 when their colonization was getting under way.

The Scandinavians promoted the progress of their colonies in the United States, soliciting members from among relatives and friends, and from among readers of Scandinavian-American newspapers. In this effort the colonists were optimistic and future-oriented, the Danes more so than the Norwegians, as some Danes went in person to secure colonists.

Only slightly more than half the names on the collective letter of 1895 sent to Col. Baker by the Quatsino colonists appear to be Scandinavian. Evidently, the Quatsino Norwegians were inclined to share their colony with non-Scandinavians.

More than half the indenture forms in existence for the Quatsino Colony were signed by non-Scandinavians (see Table 1). The indenture forms for the Cape Scott Colony are almost entirely Scandinavian. The Quatsino indentures registered as leases have a fairly large percentage of Scandinavian names, while the Cape Scott indentures registered as leases are almost entirely Scandinavian. Thus, the Cape Scott Colony was markedly more Scandinavian in constitution than the Quatsino Colony. Most of the Scandinavian lease holders at Quatsino eventually

received crown grants, whereas most of the Scandinavian lease holders at Cape Scott did not. This indicates that a small, persistent group in both colonies eventually received crown grants. It also implies that the Quatsino Colony was "inflated" with non-Scandinavians, while the Danes were more "transient."

During the Settling In period the Quatsino Colony never reached the legally required number of 30 colonists, but the Cape Scott Colony did. The largest population reported for Quatsino is 21, in 1896, and for Cape Scott it is 68, in 1898.

The Norwegians settled in a surveyed, rectangular block of land roughly four miles east-west by two miles north-south, along the northern shore of the sound south of Colony Lake. The Danes had a square settlement area, three miles by three miles, at the cape south of Fisherman's Bay. In both cases, 80-acre land holdings predominated.

The outstanding difference between these spread-out settlement patterns is that the Danes had about half a section of land (320 acres) laid out in 10-acre lots. The Norwegians had nothing of the sort. The Danes' lots were in the meadowland at the head of the Lagoon, an area selected by them as a center for mixed farming, which was largely "dairying," and as a base for fishing activity.

The rules of the Danish colony, legalistic in scope and democratic in tenor, reflected a serious concern for communal enterprise at Danevike ("Danish Cove"). No such rules were forthcoming from the Norwegian colony, referred to as Scandia Settlement in only one letter by C. Nordstrom.

At Quatsino—not a village, but a broad location south of Colony Lake—the Norwegians were "prospecting;" and they were hoping to bring in cattle. At the meadowland the Danes were bringing in cattle and making hay; and they were sending, in an experimental way, "butter and eggs" and dried halibut to Victoria. There was no market for farm or fish products on or near northern Vancouver Island.

It is probable that the Danes were going to Rivers Inlet to fish for sockeye salmon in the summer, as workers. The Norwegians were probably fishing in the sound and elsewhere. Both groups of colonists were earning money working on government surveys and roads, some making as much as \$100 in the spring and summer. Presumably, the colonists had savings to help them settle in, having disposed of their property in the United States.

Quatsino received more government money for surveys and roads than Cape Scott (see Table 2). But a large proportion of the Quatsino expenditure was for work outside the colony area. Cape Scott had more money allotted for work within the colony area.

Both colonies had a steamship connection with Victoria. A wharf was planned at Quatsino, whereas a wharf was not feasible at the Cape Scott anchorage at Fisherman's Bay. A dyke, a halibut schooner, and a cannery were planned for Cape Scott. A sawmill was planned for Quatsino. Cape Scott had a sawmill. Quatsino had two stores, one of which was probably the post office. Cape Scott had a cooperative store, which was probably also the post office. The Norwegians and the Danes were clearing land and building houses. Capitalist mining

men were viewing Quatsino Sound, and assessing its potential for economic development. They weren't viewing the more remote cape in this light.

Overall, the Cape Scott Colony, 1896-1898, manifested a closer and more viable articulation of ecology and ethnicity than the Quatsino Colony, 1894-1896, as documented and discussed in this and the previous chapters. The Danes had explicit, rule-governed plans for farming and fishing at the cape, and they were acting on these plans. The Danes were thoroughly Scandinavian, demographically. They were a legal colony of at least 30 members. They were Danish "dairying" in world view, at the meadowland. The Norwegians were improvising, in a sense "prospecting" a colony into existence near the center of a vast and rugged fjord, at Quatsino. They were not exclusively Scandinavian, demographically; and their colony was not yet a minimal legal entity. Both Scandinavian colonizations were viewed as progressive by the government, and its organ, the Colonist. The Norwegian and Danish colonists viewed themselves as progressive, even as they were adapting to frontier isolation and working raw nature into palpable culture.

V

LIMITED PROGRESS

QUATSINO 1897-1898

At the beginning of 1897 the Colonist publicizes the success of the government Scandinavian colonization scheme (Victoria Daily Colonist 1 Jan. 1897). At Bella Coola there are a large number of settlers, while at the northern end of Vancouver Island "preliminary negotiations are going on for settling a Norwegian colony and a Danish one."

In various Colonist articles throughout the year Cape Scott is emphasized over Quatsino, and information on both colonizations is often given together.

H.O. Bergh seems to have replaced C. Nordstrom as spokesman for the Quatsino colonists. In a letter received by Col. Baker in the middle of January, Bergh, who is secretary pro tem., describes the far from prosperous conditions in the colony and asks for an extension of time to obtain the requisite number of colonists:

We have in meeting assembled on the 28th December, 1896, concluded to write to you concerning our situation at present, hoping you will return a favourable answer.

We are all so far contented with the location, although as pioneers we have to endure many kinds of hardships, as you surely know, therefore we think it would be nothing but right to let us have the land free, the same as the rest of the colonies in the Province. It would hardly be necessary to mention the fact that the land is so hard to clear, that people with small means have all they can do to make a living and doing the required improvements, without paying for the land; and of course we all know that it takes the labouring class to go into the forest to make homes and build up the country, as

moneyed men will never do it.

There has been little report from Quatsino, so it may be thought lax, but we are not ashamed to show what has been done so far. Those who came first have good houses, some built of timber, others of logs, valued at least from 150 to 250 dollars, and each one from one to two acres slashed and partly cleared.

We have so far been unsuccessful in getting the required number of settlers, but have had a few families join us during the past summer and fall, and have now 20. We have lately received quite a number of letters enquiring about the Quatsino Colony, but as it is now running to the end of time allow us to fill the number of 30, we are now afraid to advise anybody to come and get free land, as long as the possibilities are that the Government will charge for it. There are people here now who would not have come if they had thought they would have to pay for the land.

We therefore earnestly pray that the time for filling the required number of colonists be extended another year as we no doubt will have the required number by that time.

The colony at present number 43 people, of whom nine are children of school age. There are heads of families here now who hesitate to take their families out here as long as the present uncertainty lasts with regard to the colonists' lands, otherwise we would have enough children of school age to form a school.

We have also in this meeting decided to start a fund for advertising the colony in the Scandinavian newspapers, and appointed a man to attend to the correspondence and work for the immigration to this place, in case we receive a favourable answer.

We suggest that the Government send up a trusted man to investigate matters concerning the colony, if that is thought necessary.

We like to get some definite answer so as to be able to go ahead without fear of the future attitude of the Government towards the colony.

This in answer to your favour of last summer, and your verbal communication with the undersigned last spring.

Thanking you in the name of the Colony for past favours, and hoping to receive a favourable answer by return mail.
(Bergh 1897)

Baker's (1897) answer is not unfavourable, but it is brief. He gives the colony an extension until 30 June, and warns that title to lands cannot be given until the required number of 30 colonists is reached.

In mid-February Baker is questioned in the Legislative Assembly regarding the settlers on northern Vancouver Island:

Mr. Irving asked the Hon. the Provincial Secretary the following questions:-

What has been promised to the people who propose to settle on the north end of Vancouver Island? Will the Government send down to this House a copy of all correspondence relating to the above subject?

The Hon. Colonel Baker replied as follows:-

"1. The same as to the colonists at Bella Coola, viz.:- A lease for five years, rent free, and a free grant of 160 acres at end of that time, provided \$5 per acre improvements are made upon the lands, and not less than 30 settlers to commence the colony; each settler to have \$300 cash (or its equivalent) of his own.

"2. Yes."

(B.C. Journals 1897a)

A week later a Return is ordered:

On the motion of Mr. Irving, seconded by Mr. Walken, it was Resolved,—

That an Order of the House be granted for a full Return of all papers and reports from any person or persons, and correspondence between any member of the Government and any other member of the Government, and between any member of the Government and any other person; also a detailed statement of money expended by the Government in connection with the Quatsino and Cape Scott colonization scheme.

(B.C. Journals 1897b)

In this Return, dated 15 March, is found all the correspondence between the Quatsino and Cape Scott colonists cited in this thesis up until this date (B.C. Sessional Papers 1897). Also in the Return is Col. Baker's correspondence with Dominion postal officials, evidence of his efforts to obtain service for northern Vancouver Island.

In the Return the expenditure on the Quatsino Colony, 1895-1896, is given as \$7,239.08. Of this, \$3,071.34 is the cost of road

construction from Fort Rupert to Rupert Arm, \$2,097.41 the cost of surveying in Rupert District, \$1,430.72 the cost of colonist labour, and \$2.50 the cost of 50 copies of the Tacoma Tidende. It is stated that there has been no expenditure on the Cape Scott Colony.

During the first half of the year H.O. Bergh was writing letters to the Tacoma Tidende promoting Quatsino and soliciting settlers (in Bjork 1972: 93-98). In general, the sound is portrayed as a pleasant fjord destined to become a commercial center. The colonists are awaiting developments in mining, fishing, and logging, which will in turn stimulate farming. There are two stores, a post office, and houses built in the Norwegian manner. A cannery is planned. A school will be opened as soon as the required number of 15 pupils is obtained. The steamer Tees has replaced the inadequate Mischief.

The soil is good, producing juicy green plants. Clearing land is all but impossible. Some colonists participate in the seal hunt, going as far north as the Bering Sea. Herring fishing is a major source of income. The government pays \$2.00 a day for road work. Settlers with capital are needed. Land is really free, if settlers come as colonists. They should not bring farm equipment, but buy what they need at Quatsino. The local Indians are friendly.

In August there is on the steamer Willapa "one who will complete the new government road leading from Quatsino to the north end of the Island" (Victoria Daily Colonist 28 Aug. 1897).

In September the Willapa brings to Victoria from Quatsino samples

of unspecified ore and 85 kegs of salted salmon (Victoria Daily Colonist 8 Sept. 1897). The ore samples were obtained by people doing development work on claims for a Seattle company.

In early November the Tees carries a considerable quantity of lumber from Chemainus for building operations at Quatsino and other west coast settlements (Victoria Daily Colonist 3 Nov. 1897).

In mid-November, dateline Quatsino 4 Nov., it is reported that "the settlers want to know how they are going to vote. There is no place north of Comox and there are lots of voters at Quatsino, Cape Scott, etc." (Victoria Daily Times 11 Nov. 1897, p. 7). And, the Tees brought to Victoria "some kegs of salmon from Quatsino" (Victoria Daily Times 11 Nov. 1897, P. 8).

The Colonist notes a general increase in the prosperity of the west coast during 1897, including that of Quatsino and Cape Scott, but incorrectly reports Danes and Swedes on their way to the Quatsino Colony (Victoria Daily Colonist 1 Dec. 1897).

The colonists of Quatsino and Cape Scott are prosperous, and have "plenty to do on the new government road between the two places, now in the course of construction" (Victoria Daily Colonist 11 Dec. 1897). In order to further prosper, the Quatsino colonists are going to petition the government for local roads.

In February 1898 the Colonist incorrectly reports six Norwegians bound for Cape Scott "to join the Scandinavian colony there established by the provincial government" (Victoria Daily Colonist 11 Feb. 1898).

The six were most probably Danes; moreover, both Quatsino and Cape Scott were established by the Scandinavians themselves—with government encouragement and assistance.

Later in the month there appears an article entitled "Quatsino Mines" (Victoria Daily Colonist 23 Feb. 1898). No mining activity or mines are described, only the magnificent natural harbour of the sound and the mild climate. The Scandinavian colonies are said to embody the farming potential of the district.

In late May Quatsino School District is established, extending outward in a radius of three miles from the unspecified site of the school (B.C. Sessional Papers 1900).

On 1 April F.G. Norgar (1898), a Norwegian storekeeper and the postmaster, writes a letter to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works asking that the government wharf be located at his place. At a meeting of the colony on 19 March it was voted to locate the wharf at Bergh's Point, where most of the colonists live. Norgar argues that his place is the best location in regard to wind, water depth, cost, and accessibility. His place is less than a mile from Bergh's Point.

Included in Norgar's letter is a map with colonists' names on it showing the settlement pattern at Quatsino (see Map 7). There are 17 rectangular, 80-acre blocks of land to the south and to the east of Colony Lake. The southern portion of the lake marks the approximate geographical center of the settlement pattern, at the junction of Townships 10, 11, 18, and 19. From the proposed colony wharf site at Bergh's Point it is roughly three miles in any direction to the

farthest occupied blocks. All of these blocks except one have water frontage on the sound. The two proposed roads seem to provide maximum east-west and north-south connectivity. Two of the 17 names on the map, S. Roland and J. Satre, appear to be non-Scandinavian.

The day after Norgar's private letter, an official one is sent by J. Johnson (1898), secretary of the colony, to Deputy Commissioner W.S. Gore, in which is enclosed a list of tools needed for road work, a petition for a wagon road and a wharf, and a map showing a road running due north of Bergh's Point. Johnson notes that the colonists want to work only eight hours a day, like the Bella Coola colonists.

Johnson's list of tools gives a good indication of the labour-intensive nature of frontier colonization and settlement during the 19th century:

2 Doz. axes, 3 to 4 lbs.
 3 " axe handles
 1 " mattocks with handles
 1 " " extra
 1 " peevees - heavy. - $\frac{1}{2}$ Dozen extra handles
 2 - 7 ft. cross-cut saws with handles
 $\frac{1}{2}$ Doz. picks, No. 4
 " " wheelbarrows
 " " shovels - short handles
 " " " long
 1 " whet stones
 $\frac{1}{2}$ " saw files - 9 inches long
 2 - 5# steel wedges
 2 - 8# splitting mauls
 4 " " handles
 2 Grindstones, with mountings
 (in Johnson 1898)

The petition is dated 19 March:

We the undersigned, members of Quatsino Colony, at Quatsino, B.C., hereby apply for an appropriation for the purpose of building a wagon road through the colony. Said road to start at the beach on the S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ th of Sec. thirty-five (35) Twp. eighteen (18) and running in a north easterly direction to the

middle of the west boundary line of Sec. thirty-six (36); thence due east following the quarter line to the Twp. line between Twp.'s eighteen (18) and eleven (11); from here one branch is to continue east along the quarter line to the center of Sec. thirty-one (31), Twp. eleven (11); thence due north along the quarter lines of Sec.'s thirty-one (31) and six (6) as far as the Colony's land.

The road shall follow as closely as possible to the survey lines as the lay of the country will permit.

We also ask that the usual annual appropriation for the Hardy Bay road for 1898 will be transferred to the Colony road fund, and that no work be done on the Hardy Bay road during the season.

We also ask that the colonists be permitted to elect one of their own member to supervise the building of the road—or any other public work that may be awarded by the Government. Mr. Varney, the present road supervisor, is without any experience in this line, and utterly incapable of supervising the building of a road; surveying a line, etc., but the most aggravating of it all is that he seems to think he knows all about it, and disregards the wishes of the Colonists and their officers, who are vitally interested in seeing any permanent improvement made in the Colony not being misapplied and perverted as they undoubtedly has been lately by the present road supervisor. (in Johnson 1898)

The petition is signed by John J. Satre, Oscar Satre, Julian Johnson, Sam Roland, B.C. Lokken, Torwald Strakland, O.A. Skjarberg, G. Sorenson, T. Sorenson, H.O. Bergh, Safus G. Lynn, Albert M. Lynn, Peter V. Larsen, Edjus Evanson, August Skedin, Ole Aakre, Chris Nordstrom, and F.G. Norgar.

Twelve of these 18 names, or 66% of them, appear to be Scandinavian. This is an increase from the 50% apparent in the collective letter of 1895. Aakre, Bergh, Evanson, Lokken, and Nordstrom appear in both the petition and the 1895 letter, and would seem to constitute a relatively persistent core of Norwegian colonists at Quatsino. Thirteen names are common to the petition and Norgar's map, an indication of clustering in the Colony Lake area.

It is notable that the petition features highly specific plans for the development of roads within the Colony Lake-Bergh's Point settlement area—the road to Hardy Bay is not given priority. Henry Varney, a settler of British origin, is resented not only for his putative incompetence as road superintendent, but also because of his outsider's unsympathetic attitude.

In early May Varney (1898) writes a lengthy letter to Deputy Commissioner Gore reporting on colony road work and social conditions. Over four miles of trail have been made, opening up surveyed land beyond the settled area. A bridge has been built over the main creek (presumably Colony Creek), and this trail has been staked for a road. The colonists have decided to make Bergh's place their focal point instead of Norgar's, which is detrimental to opening up the entire area for settlement.

Bergh has become president as the result of some unspecified reorganization of the colony. Norgar is resented by most colonists. Varney goes on to criticize the interest shown in mining speculation, and the leadership:

Some of the subscribers, although having been here since last fall, have not yet shown any sign of becoming actual settlers; others who have been here for some years have practically nothing in the shape of improvements to show for their residence, and are well known to be doubtful, and only likely to stay should the mining speculations on the part of other members turn successful. I am informed that some young lads have been induced to sign as Colonists who have no intention of taking up land "to be replaced when better men turn up"—the leader's own statement. (Varney 1898)

Also in early May, Bergh (1898a) writes to Col. Baker to say that

the "outlook for the future of the colony is very encouraging." Settlers are continuing to come in, though not in large numbers. Recent arrivals want to locate on unsurveyed land on the Southeast Arm, and a surveyor is required. There is more potential for a nearby market for farm products.

In reply, Baker (1898d) says that he is "glad to have such a good account of the colony," and that he is sending a surveyor, who is now at Cape Scott.

At the beginning of May the Willapa had left Victoria with "some twenty or thirty tons of mining machinery" for the development of the coal properties at Quatsino (Victoria Daily Colonist 1 May 1898). Ten days later the Willapa is replaced by the Tees in order to accommodate the heavy machinery being shipped to west coast points (Victoria Daily Colonist 11 May 1898).

In early June Bergh (1898b) writes to Baker wondering where the promised surveyor is. There are about 10 new colonists who want land surveyed. Frontage on Quatsino Sound should be restricted to 80 rods (a quarter of a mile). It is vital for colonists to be employed on road work, as there are few local industries. Bergh, clearly aware of the current provincial election campaign, points out to the Provincial Secretary that there are many votes for the government in the colony, if the colonists can be registered to vote.

In mid-June a Return is presented in the Legislative Assembly, giving the approximate population and the total cost to the government of the Scandinavian colonies (B.C. Sessional Papers 1898). Bella Coola

has a population of 250 and a cost of \$26,368, Quatsino has 100 people and a cost of \$4,670, and Cape Scott has 50 people and a cost of \$2,850.

But Quatsino does not have anywhere near 100 Norwegians, as implied in the Return.

On 1 July B.W. Leeson (1898), an entrepreneur at Winter Harbour, writes to Col. Baker requesting a government survey. This is needed because there are two or three intending Quatsino colonists who would like to settle on the harbour in order to fish the open Pacific.

The Alberni results of the 9 July provincial election are given as follows: "Alberni town, Neill 86, Huff 58; Clayoquot, Neill 22, Huff 5; Ucluelet, Neill 3, Huff 4; Quatsino, Huff 3. Opposition majority, 41" (Victoria Daily Times 18 July 1898). Probably, the Opposition majority would have been reduced had the colonists at Quatsino been registered to vote. In August the Turner government is dismissed by the Lt.-Governor and the Scandinavian colonists of the mid-coast lose their patron, Col. Baker.

In early August Bergh writes a strongly-worded letter to Baker complaining about the possible curtailment of colony road work:

I understand the Lands and Works Department refuses to continue the road work in the colony as promised and expected.

As there is not a day's work to be had whereby to earn anything within 100 miles or more one might just as well be on the moon as at Quatsino and as there are families in straightened circumstances I do not see how they can manage to live through the winter unless something is done to provide work. We are all convinced that the resources of the country are good but as nobody seems willing to assist us in opening them up it would be better to get out as soon as possible if there was a way to raise money enough to pay the fare back to the States, if we

are not wanted here. It is not defensible to have women and children suffering want in an out of the way place like this. We are all willing and able to provide for ourselves if put in a country where conditions are such that it is possible, but here it is out of the question at present. Personally I do not ask for aid but for those with large families. I would be willing to help them if I had the means God knows. I have also the honor to be or dishonor to be the president of this colony unasked for. If I as such is not agreeable to the Gov. I shall resign as soon as notified. Hoping that some way will be found out of the present difficulty to tide the colony over this, as is hoped, last pinch. (Bergh 1898c)

Writing to Baker a week later, president Bergh (1898d) softens his tone. His preceding "rash" letter was stimulated by the actions of an unnamed "secret enemy" who has been misrepresenting the colony to the government. Bergh's emphasis is on the development of local roads and other public works in conjunction with mining and farming. He wants encouragement from Baker; however, by this time the Colonel was in no position to officially offer it.

In August good progress is reported concerning the installation of a coal mine plant at Quatsino (Victoria Daily Colonist 7 Aug. 1898).

In October some of Henry Varney's farm products are on display in the capital city:

Over in the immigration office there is an exhibit of Quatsino products that would be hard to surpass in a much better known agricultural district. There are samples of cabbage, squash, corn, beans, tobacco leaf, cucumbers, onions, apples, and tomatoes in the display that would do credit to a Cedar Hill, Metchosin, or Saanich farm. The exhibit was forwarded to Victoria by Mr. Harry Varney, J.P., an English farmer, who a few years ago, settled at Quatsino. To see the products is to convince one of the splendid adaptability of soil and climate at Quatsino for agricultural purposes. (Victoria Daily Colonist 1 Oct. 1898)

In the same month the Hardy Bay Tramway Company is organized by Victoria businessmen (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 Oct. 1898, p. 5). The company will build a rail line from Hardy Bay to Coal Harbour in order to service the coal mines being developed by a San Francisco syndicate.

At the end of the month it is reported that no minerals have been found recently at Quatsino (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 Oct. 1898). A number of mining men are going to Alberni where the prospects are brighter.

In the Department of Lands and Works correspondence files there are letters between Deputy Commissioner Gore and various Quatsino colonists, particularly Bergh, having to do with the technicalities of land disposition and the dispensing of Free Miners' Certificates.

In the 1898 Public Accounts and Public Works reports in the B.C. Sessional Papers of 1900 it is recorded that \$400 was spent on a school, and \$300 on a floating wharf at Norgar's. H.O. Bergh was in charge of both projects.

QUATSINO 1899

In late January the reformist and somewhat xenophobic government of C.A. Semlin, which had replaced the excessive "Turnerism" six months before, orders a Return detailing the population of and the expenditure on each of the mid-coast Scandinavian colonies (Victoria Daily Colonist 24 Jan. 1899).

There is a lively verbal exchange in the Legislative Assembly

following the motion for the Returns:

Col. Baker was pleased at Mr. Helgesen's remarks, and took Mr. Higgins to task for his sneering reference to the settlers as foreigners. The placing of these settlements on the Coast enabled lands to be occupied that had formerly been lying idle. The scheme was not confined to what Mr. Higgins had sneeringly referred to as foreigners, but could be availed of by Canadians or British subjects just as well as anybody else. The colonies had no money given to them except in the way of roads and schools, and in what way was that treating them different than other people? Would Mr. Higgins deny to agriculturalists what was granted to miners?

Mr. Neill represented a district in which two of these colonies were situated, and he understood that neither was contented or satisfied. He understood that at Quatsino there had been an agreement with the government that the settlers were to get their land free whenever there was a colony of 30.

Col. Baker replied that there was no such agreement, and the member could see his ignorance by referring to the agreements.

Mr. Eberts rose to speak when Mr. Speaker ruled that the debate had travelled outside the resolution.

Mr. Eberts remarked that all he wished to say was that at the last general election Mr. Neill had not received a vote in Quatsino.

Hon. Mr. Martin— There were only four votes.

Mr. Eberts— And we got them all.

Mr. Clifford spoke about his personal knowledge of the Bella Coola colony being in a prosperous condition with a good wagon road for seventeen miles through a country with comfortable homes every half mile or so. The land was hard to clear but the settlers had made good progress and said that when it was cleared the land was very fertile. The settlers had a library with 300 volumes in it and they were intelligent, contented and doing well. It was a burning shame that Mr. Higgins should make such remarks as he had about them in speaking on the speech from the throne. The settlers, too, were displacing the Chinese in the Northern canneries and were very industrious people. He only hoped that in placing settlements the present government would do as well as the old one.

Mr. Higgins did not think it was an insult to call a man a foreigner. He had only wanted to say that it was not right to bring in foreigners and help them when such places as San Juan with a resident population could not get roads.

(Victoria Daily Colonist 24 Jan. 1899)

The Return is presented in late February, and the figures, to 30 June 1898, are as follows: Bella Coola, 250 people and \$27,644.58 cost; Quatsino, 125 and \$2,206; and Cape Scott, 90 and \$3,494.12 (B.C. Sessional Papers 1899). Clearly, by this measure Bella Coola has made the most progress, while Quatsino and Cape Scott cannot be differentiated.

Also in late February, A. Pederson and N.T. Nilson of South Dakota are in Victoria to begin a search for coast land "on which men, tired of the rough weather and uncertain crops of Dakota, can make homes for their families" (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 Feb. 1899).

At the beginning of March two Scandinavians have arrived at Quatsino, where they are to look for farm lands for 15 families (Victoria Daily Colonist 1 Mar. 1899). From Quatsino to Victoria come 30 kits of salmon and some sample potatoes grown by Mr. Ker. One of the potatoes is 11 inches long and 11 inches around.

At the end of March H.O. Bergh, still president of Quatsino Colony, writes a letter to C.A. Semlin, Premier and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, explaining the slow progress of the colony and asking for an extension of time to obtain colonists:

In view of the fact that the outlook for the progress of our colony at Quatsino is more encouraging now than has been the case for the last year, I venture to ask that the time be extended for at least another year, so that the free grant privilege will not be altered or terminated before that time.

Now, that we are well established, and have got things in such a shape, that we can recommend people to come here and settle without having to ask government aid to live while clearing land, we are confident that it will be easier to get people to come up and stay. Our experience in the past has been, that people, who came in here got discouraged and left

after a while, when they found that it would take them years to clear a farm sufficiently to make a living off it, and saw that chances for employment at other work meanwhile was very remote. We had more than the sufficient number to fill the colony last spring, but the majority of the later arrivals left. They are most willing and anxious to return, however, as soon as prospects brighten up a little, and I think the time has come, if we can hold out the same inducements in regard to land that the colony has had from the start and a good deal can be done through the Norwegian papers in the states. This is not, strictly speaking, an agricultural country, and visitors often wonder why we chose this wild country for a settlement, when there was cheap and good land to be had nearer civilization. The only answer is that we had faith in the future of the country and its possibilities and were willing to undergo hardship and privation to succeed in our undertaking. Though the progress has necessarily been slow, we hope that the present government will appreciate our efforts and grant us the requested favor, which will I hope redound to the benefit of this our adopted country in time. (Bergh 1899)

A reply comes four months later from F. Carter-Cotton, who is now Chief Commissioner:

Alluding to a conversation I have had with Mr. Neill, M.P.P., to-day, concerning the Norwegian settlement at Quatsino, in which he referred to a letter you had addressed to the Honourable Mr. Semlin asking for an extension of time to bring your colony up to its full quota of thirty families, Mr. Neill has made such representations that it has been decided to allow the present members of your colony, even though the number is below thirty, who have bona fide fulfilled the obligations imposed by their leases, to have all the privileges agreed to be accorded with under said leases after the term of five years has elapsed. (Carter-Cotton 1899a)

On 6 June Bergh had received a one-sentence letter from Deputy Commissioner Gore:

I am to inform you that the Government has decided not to grant any more immigration leases and that all future applications for land must be made under the conditions provided by the Land Act. (Gore 1899a)

Thus, by mid-1899 the government has decided to terminate the special status, as colony, of the 5-year old Quatsino Colony, which had never reached the required number of 30 colonists.

Several subsequent Colonist articles deal with the subject of mining development at Quatsino, and the Norwegian colony is not mentioned.

In late June samples of coal are to be brought to Victoria, and "the development of the mine goes slowly but steadily on" (Victoria Daily Colonist 28 June 1899). A month later, "it is stated that five copper ledges have recently been discovered by the farmers living in the locality" (Victoria Daily Colonist 29 July 1899, p. 5).

The companies involved in the mining activity are the West Vancouver Commercial Company and the Quatsino Mining and Milling Company (Victoria Daily Colonist 29 July 1899, p. 2).

At the end of September a mining mule is landed at Quatsino, where the shaft is 140 feet deep in the coal mine (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 Sept. 1899).

In a December editorial it is argued that a road from Quatsino to Hardy Bay would greatly aid mining and pulp development, which in turn would create a local market for farmers (Victoria Daily Colonist 8 Dec. 1899). Hardy Bay, with a road terminus and a wharf, would become an important stop on the busy east coast steamship route.

In late December H.O. Bergh is appointed a Quatsino Justice of the Peace (B.C. Gazette 11 Jan. 1900).

CAPE SCOTT 1899

The Cape Scott Colony is given little Colonist publicity during the year.

In April the arrival of a colonist is noted:

B.M.B. Bekker, wife and family arrived by the Rithet last night, direct from Copenhagen, Denmark. They are on their way to Cape Scott to join the Danish colony at that point, and during their stay in the city will make the Dominion their home. (Victoria Daily Colonist 25 Apr. 1899)

In October it is reported that the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Company will ask the government for authority to build a railroad from Comox to Cape Scott (Victoria Daily Colonist 13 Oct. 1899).

The correspondence between colony leaders and government officials reveals the progress made during the year.

In January president Hansen (1899a) sends a report to the Minister of Immigration, in which is included a revised version of the rules of the colony. Lack of roads and trails is still the problem, and development of mixed farming and fishing the goal:

It was decided to increase the road tax from \$2.00 or one days work for each 20 acres to the same amount for each 15 acres as last years road tax proved insufficient. We had to exceed the tax granted with about \$100.00 or 30 days work and still we were hardly able to make the needed improvements of the main road built by the Government, besides building the necessary trails to give settlers with their effects access to their places.

I beg your Honour notice this considerable attention for public work. It indicates that the most important needs of a new settlement here are roads and trails, and it seems to prove that we are not afraid to face these difficulties but take hold and try to overcome them together with others connected with pioneer life in such districts.

It is in the conviction, based on two years permanent settlement, that the country is worth the trouble that we last ourselves and stake our welfare in the enterprise. Our

still limited but never the less well founded experience has proved to our satisfaction that farming with butter, beef, and pork as principal market products, and to some extent horticulture, the export of lumber, the manufacture of our woods especially yellow cedar and spruce into marketable products besides the fishing and export of salmon, halibut, and cod are industries in which we will profit and engage in the near future. (Hansen 1899a)

The rules, adopted at the general meeting held on 14 January, are largely similar to the previous year's. Danevike is no longer part of the name of the colony. A section has been added having to do with the orderly disposal of lots in the prized meadowland:

Any colonist who, at a time when none of the ten acre blocks of meadow in the "lagoon" is vacant, takes only eighty acres of bush land, and who in his declaration makes a claim to that effect, shall have preference to the first block of meadow which thereafter may become vacant. Should he fail to make use of the privilege at the proper time, then he shall not be preferred claimant to any block of meadow that may later become open to settlement. (By-Laws, Article 2, Section 4, in Hansen 1899a)

In March Hansen writes to the Minister of Immigration suggesting an early start to road work, and reporting on dyke construction:

The most beneficial time for us to do the work will be in the month of May before the fishing season commences at Rivers Inlet, because most of us are intending to go there fishing and for the sake of new arrivals it is important to get the roads built as soon as possible.

We are now fast advancing with the dike work and expect to have the meadow lands saved from the action of the tide inside of a month's time. I beg leave to mention as my opinion that it is an undertaking which the colony can proudly show as a proof that we mean business in settling the land, and we are not afraid of the difficulties we confront but take hold and try to overcome them. (Hansen 1899b)

In April Hansen is given news that he has been waiting for, that he is to be appointed Justice of the Peace (Reddie 1899).

In the same month N.T. Nielsen (1899) writes to Premier Semlin

from California saying that he would be aided in his efforts to secure new colonists if Semlin would acknowledge the promise made to provide a doctor when there is a population of 200 at Cape Scott.

Semlin (1899) sends a terse acknowledgement.

On 6 June secretary M. Jensen is sent the same brief bad news that is also sent to Bergh at Quatsino—the government will no longer be issuing colonist leases (Gore 1899b).

On 5 August secretary Jensen sends the colony's well-considered reply, which is delivered to Deputy Commissioner Gore by president Hansen:

In receipt of your communication dated June 1899 with enclosed four leases, I notice your advice concerning the government's decision not to grant any more leases under the contract between the Government of B.C. and the Board of Trustees of this colony.

This contract was made for an indefinite period, and as we are not aware of not having fulfilled our part of the contract this decision came very unexpected. Permit me to state that it is also a great disappointment to the settlers who in good faith came to British Columbia as home-seekers and having staked their welfare in the enterprise have spent considerable money and much labour in developing the country. Besides we think that any competent party will consider the work of clearing the land ample return for a crown grant. There is no doubt in our minds but this resolution of the government will tend to check our efforts to induce immigration to our locality.

For the satisfactory arrangement of the affairs of the colony on this new basis, however, we ask information with respect to the following points, viz.:

1. Is, for the remainder of the five years term and with respect to the present lease-holders the Board of Trustees still recognized as intermediate between the government and the colonists and are the regulations approved by the government—with the same limitations—still binding?
2. So recorded in the Lands and Works Department a tract of tide flats, described as the Lagoon, Sec. 23 and 26, Twshp. 43 has been divided into ten acre blocks to be granted to colonists who should co-operate in the construction of a dike

to reclaim this tract from the action of the tide. At present we are building this dike, which will be about 2300 ft. long 13 ft. high, and will be completed this fall. We therefore desire to know whether the government upon the completion of this dike will issue free Crown Grants to these flats to the colonists concerned.

3. In case some of the present lease-holders should give up their lands before the expiration of the term, and since the colony in consequence of the government's resolution, would be hindered in maintaining the required number of colonists by new immigration, will the government grant the colonists who individually fulfilled the terms of their contract, a free Crown Grant? If contrarily decided, what amount will these colonists be requested to pay and at what terms?

4. Should a colonist so desire at the present time will he be allowed to have his lease to the lands he now holds changed to a pre-emption claim; and if so, will any allowance be made for the time he has occupied his land before such change?

5. Will the division line between the 80 acre claims and the 160 acre claims still be maintained? Or will it be permitted to pre-empt 160 acres inside the 80 acre line?

6. Under the regulations for the colony as approved by the government, the trustees were permitted to reserve land for a person who had fulfilled certain conditions, principally the payment of the initiation fee of fifty dollars. There are three claimants that have complied with this regulation, and whom therefore we consider entitled to receive a colonist lease. Will the government grant these leases?

7. Under the approved regulations of the colony certain lands have been reserved for public purposes. Will the government authorize these reservations?

8. To expedite the business connected with the settlement it is thought desirable that the government appoint a land commissioner for this locality. It is the desire of the settlers that Mr. Rasmus Hansen be selected for this work.

9. Finally we desire to be advised under what procedure our community may organize a legal organization under the laws of British Columbia for the purpose of building bridges, repairing roads etc. and with power to enforce local taxation.

Considering these items of vital importance to the continuation and further development of our settlement we beg favorable consideration of these inquiries. (Jensen 1899)

The colony is not satisfied with a vague response from Gore, and in late October secretary P. Thomsen (1899) requests specific answers

to the questions posed by the colony.

Chief Commissioner Carter-Cotton (1899b) provides answers to most of the questions. The trustees are still recognized. The rules of the colony are binding until leases expire. The agreement made by the previous government regarding the reclamation of "certain swamp lands" and the granting of 10-acre lots will be fully respected. The tide flats around the Lagoon cannot be taken by settlers, as all foreshore lands in the province are reserved. Settlers wanting to change land or new settlers wanting to take land must do so by pre-emption only. It is not considered advisable to appoint a local land commissioner.

In August C.B. Christensen had inquired about the narrow piece of land connecting the meadowland with the cape itself:

By common consent the colonists had reserved a piece of land of from 20-40 acres at Cape Scott, locally known as the "sand neck," for common use for newcomers and while the cleared land would give a crop it was deemed indispensable, that each settler could temporarily be provided with a limited area where he could raise potatoes & other vegetables.

Since the government has decided not to continue the colony it is not supposed that this land can be so reserved for the future and as its importance to the whole settlement is unquestionable, it is desired to know whether there exists any provision under which the colonists (or some of us) may in the interest of all—both present and future—settlers, acquire the same by lease for a limited period.

Will you kindly inform me whether this can be done and if so on what conditions, also how we shall proceed in this matter.

If the land cannot be acquired by lease, is there any other way by which the desired land may be secured for the purpose mentioned? (Christensen 1899)

Deputy Commissioner Gore (1899c) had replied that the Sand Neck would be reserved for newcomers' use.

Christensen is the recently-arrived schoolteacher. Originally from Copenhagen, he came to Cape Scott from Chicago, where there was

a large and active Danish community. Within two years Christensen replaces Hansen as leader of the Cape Scott Colony, and directs its expansion into the San Josef Valley.

QUATSINO AND CAPE SCOTT 1900

In late January secretary Thomsen (1900) of the Cape Scott Colony writes to the Deputy Commissioner in an effort to clear up some unfinished business. Before the government cancelled its contract with the colony in June 1899, land had been reserved for N.T. Nelson and N. Nelson of Ferndale, California. They had paid their initiation fees of \$50.00, and are now at Cape Scott wanting their free colonist leases. Thomsen requests these.

But, "the Government regrets that it is impossible to reconsider the decision which has been made not to grant any more leases" (Gore 1900a).

In early March there is news of a "big quartz find on Quatsino Sound, the quartz assaying \$416.55 to the ton" (Victoria Daily Colonist 2 Mar. 1900). The find was made on the New Comstock group of properties and is sure to make Quatsino one of the richest mining districts in the province.

In late March some Victorians are on their way to Hardy Bay to turn it into a town:

They will survey a townsite, and select sites for an hotel, wharf and stores. Even before the construction of the railway, Hardy Bay is destined to be the site of a town of some importance, it having a good harbour and being the most convenient place for the handling of freight to and from

Quatsino Sound, seven miles distant across the Island, where some very promising coal and other mines are being developed. There is now a good trail from Hardy Bay to Quatsino Sound and efforts are being made to have a wagon road constructed. By crossing the Island at this point, freight to and from Quatsino can reach Victoria by a shorter water route and at the same time escape the rough trip down the West Coast. (Victoria Daily Colonist 25 Mar. 1900)

Two weeks later any capitalist or humanist interested in progress on northern Vancouver Island would be startled to read the page-two Colonist headlines "Danes in Trouble" and "Little Colony at Cape Scott Reported in Destitute Condition and Migrating," then the article itself:

From Our Own Correspondent. Vancouver, April 10—
D. Crockett, who carries on the halibut fishing business at Cape Scott, said to-day that the Danish colony in the vicinity of Cape Scott are in an almost destitute condition, being without the bare necessities of life. Ten of the colonists have returned home, but 25 are still there. They are going to ask the government to aid them in reclaiming land, as they cannot raise provisions on the land they have. (Victoria Daily Colonist 11 Apr. 1900)

At the end of April president Bergh (1900a) of the Quatsino Colony writes to Deputy Commissioner Gore with a less dramatic, but perhaps more authentic tale of hardship. John J. Satre, a first-rate colonist from Spokane, Washington, had to abandon his lease because his daughter and mother were seriously ill. His son then pre-empted the land, but now wants to give it back to his father. Bergh asks that Satre's colonist lease be re-instated.

Gore (1900b) accedes.

At the end of May Rev. Mylund irreverently leaves the Cape Scott Colony, giving changed politics, a sick wife, and no money as reasons:

Up at the far north end of Vancouver Island there are some twenty or thirty ranches of the regulation pre-emption of 160 acres, with as many log cabins, rough timbered shacks, pine board shanties, standing on four stumps of sawn down trees, a few frame cottages and other dwellings. Each with the exception of the little shack marked "Post Office," and the store at Fisherman's Cove, where the Willapa calls once every month, and gives the inhabitants twelve glimpses of the world each year, are hidden from the others in the shades of spruce thickets. This is Cape Scott, the Scandinavian colony—the residence of about seventy people. The casual visitor going up on the Willapa would hardly know there was a colony there, for all he sees, until he gets into the spruce trees, is the post office and the store at Fisherman's Cove. For the rest, there is the rocky shoreline and the thick woods which run in from a little distance back of the shoreline. The settlement is beyond, where there are many spaces of good farming lands.

Rev. Mr. Mylund, erstwhile pastor of the colony, arrived with his family by the Willapa yesterday, and in an interview last night, said:

"When the colonists went up to the Island, under the leadership of Mr. Hansen, three years ago, the then government gave them promises that roads would be built, and enacted special legislation for the encouragement of the colony. Now the government is changed, and a new one is in which is not inclined to carry out the promises to the colonists.

"I did not like to leave the settlement, but what was there left but to do so? I did not leave because I did not like it, for there is good farming land there. There were two reasons for my return, first, the health of my wife was bad, and another thing, I had not money enough to stay. I may or may not go back, but I shall certainly not go back for a tear or so anyway. I intend holding on to my land there though, and paying the taxes, for it is good land.

"Yes," he said, "the colony has good prospects, but the politics changed. Even now, if they had a little money, which they have not, for I doubt if there is a thousand dollars in the settlement, they could start some industry, say a cannery or salting factory for salmon, halibut or cod, with which the waters at the end of the Island teem. There is an abundant supply of fish there. But a short time before I came down, two Indians with a canoe took as many as forty halibut, many of them weighing two hundred pounds. Such an industry would furnish employment and make good returns. It takes money, though, to start anything, and there are seventy people there with very little of it.

"The fact that the colonists have no surplus money retards them from improving their lands, for they have to go to any employment they can get to earn money. When I left, a large

number, if not the greater part of the males, were preparing to leave for Rivers Inlet, where they have been promised employment during the salmon season.

"The breaking of the dyke, on the building of which they spent all last summer, was a sad blow to the settlers. They had it all but completed, when, after some storms last fall, a heavy sea swept in and carried away their work. There was a saw mill in operation last winter, but the owner shut it down and is now working on the Mainland. He will perhaps go up again this summer, though.

"However, although things ran against the colonists, they will pull through all right yet, if hard work and grit count for anything. There are about forty milk cows there and many chickens, and it is expected that they will be able to send down butter, eggs and farm produce on the next trip of the Willapa. There is lots of grass at the tree roots for the cattle, and in the lagoon, around which the dyke which failed was being built, there are many good acres of pasture land, which will give a good hay harvest.

"Yes," said the minister from the northern settlement, "there will be a colony at Cape Scott. Many may have to leave, but those who stick it out will be well paid for their work." (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 May 1900)

In a letter appearing right beside the article about Mylund, C.B. Christensen denies destitution and government dependence at Cape Scott, and in doing so he aims a devlish dart at dissatisfied settlers:

In an issue of the Colonist a month ago there appeared a correspondence from Vancouver City, the burden of which was a tale of destitution at Cape Scott. For climax the tale wound up by declaring that the settlers were about to ask government aid in reclaiming new lands. While, of course, I do not intend to say that your correspondent may not have thought himself justified in propagating this story, I do intend emphatically to deny its truth. What foundation there may be for the tale I know not: maybe some remarks from a dissatisfied settler. But anybody having the least experience in a new country knows what reliance to give the tales of dissatisfied settlers. I have lived two years in the colony, and can say that there has never been any destitution, and that never has a single individual suffered for the lack of the necessaries of life. It seems self-evident that none can be as sanguine as expect to make a living on land where three years ago a single tree had not been cut down. But we are gradually approaching that time. As for asking government aid, I have yet to learn of any such proposal. The settlers have come here prepared to help themselves, and as long as British

Columbia offers a working man the opportunities it does, no such proposal will come from this settlement.

Whoever will, let them ridicule our attempt to colonize this part of the Island. We who have been here during nearly three years think that the end will justify our faith in Vancouver Island as a future dairying country. Let me add that on land cleared a little over a year ago, and sowed with clover last year, there was in the middle of May this year Clover measuring 16 inches. (Christensen 1900)

In the June provincial election the government of Joseph Martin is defeated. Martin had been designated premier by the Lt.-Governor when Semlin was dismissed in February. At Quatsino all 13 votes are for A.W. Neill (Victoria Daily Times 14 June 1900). Neill is the Alberni member who had helped the Quatsino colonists secure their full lease conditions in mid-1899.

James Dunsmuir, a famous Vancouver Island capitalist and reputed strong man, is now premier. Dunsmuir is supposed to bring confidence to a province torn by factional non-party politics. In this political climate, which lasts until 1903, the Quatsino and Cape Scott colonists can hardly expect a stable frontier settlement policy to emerge. Yet it was during the Dunsmuir administration that the Finnish colony at Sointula was established, and the Cape Scott expansion into the San Josef Valley planned.

In July lumber is being shipped to Quatsino (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 July 1900).

And Cape Scott is shipping butter and fish to Victoria:

At Cape Scott all was quiet. The Scandinavian colony shipped some butter and kits of fish by the steamer. Quatsino had nothing more than the steady development of near-by mines to report. There had been no new finds. (Victoria Daily Colonist 24 July 1900)

Also in late July, H.O. Bergh writes a brief letter to the Deputy Commissioner:

The following named settlers at Quatsino are now prepared to make final proof on their leaseholds & hereby apply for same: C.F. Nordstrom, Chr. Nordstrom, Ole Aakre, Aug. Skedin, H.O. Bergh, Ed. Evenson. Please send up blanks by next mail. (Bergh 1900b)

Gore (1900c) complies.

In August it is reported that two families went up to the Danish settlement at Cape Scott (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 Aug. 1900).

In September the Quatsino and Cape Scott schools were inspected, and these reports made:

Quatsino.— Inspected, September 25th, 1900. The school was not in session at the time of visit, but from what I could learn the work was progressing very favourably.

Cape Scott.— Inspected, September 25th, 1900. The work is very neatly executed by the pupils; progress seems very satisfactory. All the settlers of Cape Scott colony take a deep interest in the welfare of their school. (B.C. Sessional Papers 1902a)

The Quatsino Mining and Reduction Company is incorporated in September, capitalized at \$300,000 (B.C. Gazette 20 Sept. 1900).

At the end of October heavy coal deposits and natural gas have been discovered at Coal Harbour (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 Oct. 1900).

OVERVIEW

The number of land transactions in the Quatsino Colony, 1897-1900, and in the Cape Scott Colony, 1899-1900, was much smaller than in the previous two years of each colonization (see Table 3). These transactions included pre-emptions because the government stopped

Table 3 Land Tenure and Ethnicity, the "Limited Progress" Periods

	<u>Indenture Forms</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Scand.</u>	<u>Other</u>
QUATSINO	11	64%	36%
CAPE SCOTT	3	100%	0%

	<u>Leases and Pre-emptions Registered</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Scand.</u>	<u>Other</u>
QUATSINO	7	71%	29%
CAPE SCOTT	9	100%	0%

	<u>Scandinavian Leases and Pre-emptions</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Grants</u>	<u>Cancel.</u>
QUATSINO	5	40%	60%
CAPE SCOTT	9	78%	22%

Source: "Indenture Basket" and Township Registers (Rupert District), Registers Vault, Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, Surveys Branch, Victoria.

Table 4 Government Expenditures, the "Limited Progress" Periods

QUATSINO	<u>Description</u>	<u>Cost (\$)</u>
	Road to Rupert Arm	1871.70
	Public School	400.00
	Floating Wharf at Norgar's	300.00
	Coal Harbour to Hardy Bay Trail	<u>506.50</u>
	<u>Total</u>	3078.20
CAPE SCOTT	<u>Description</u>	<u>Cost (\$)</u>
	Cape Scott to West Arm Trail	<u>500.00</u>
	<u>Total</u>	500.00

Source: Public Accounts and Public Works reports in the B.C.

Sessional Papers 1898-1901.

Table 5 Voters and Their Occupations, 1900

QUATSINO

Ole Aakre	farmer
Halvar Olafson Bergh	farmer
Claud Henry Butler	farmer
Eddijus Evenson	farmer
Peter Vilhelm Larsen	farmer
Bernhardt Christianson Lokken	farmer
Christian Nordstrom	farmer
Charles Frederick Nordstrom	farmer
Thos. Gunderson Norgar	farmer
August Skedin	farmer
Gunder Sorenson	farmer
Carl Ekman	miner
Albert Edward Newell	miner
Olaf Werner	miner
Ben William Leeson	storekeeper

CAPE SCOTT

Rasmus Hansen	farmer
---------------	--------

Source: B.C. Voters List, 1900, Alberni District, Provincial Library.

issuing leases after mid-1899. The Quatsino Colony still had a relatively large percentage of non-Scandinavians. The percentage of Quatsino colonists who eventually received crown grants decreased. The Cape Scott Colony was still thoroughly Scandinavian in personnel, and its percentage of eventual crown grants increased.

Government expenditures in both colonies decreased (see Table 4). Quatsino had a school and a wharf financed by the government, but no local roads and trails. Cape Scott had a small amount of government money spent on a trail leading out of the colony settlement area to the San Josef Valley. The Cape Scott school was financed and built by the Danes themselves.

By the end of 1898 the Quatsino Colony was two full years older than the Cape Scott Colony, yet it still had less than the 30 required colonists. H.O. Bergh had become the chief promoter and reluctant president of the Quatsino Colony.

In letters to the Scandinavian-American press Bergh emphasized the potential of the sound for economic developments in fishing, mining, and logging, which would stimulate agricultural development. Bergh's letters to Col. Baker were hopeful, yet anxious. The land would be cleared, farming would be established, and the population of the colony would increase—in time, and if the government gave more time for new colonists to be secured. Meanwhile, some of the colonists were destitute, and there was little income from government road work.

Under Bergh's leadership the Quatsino colonists formulated plans for building a wagon road, under their own supervision, through the

heartland of the colony, south of Colony Lake. They also formulated plans for a wharf at president Bergh's place. The wagon road was not built; moreover, the non-Scandinavian road superintendent, Varney, had submitted an unfavourable report on the intentions of the Norwegian colonists. The wharf was built at Norgar's place. Norgar, the Norwegian postmaster and storekeeper, had surreptitiously lobbied the government for the wharf to be located at his place.

Such social tensions, involving an unsympathetic outsider and a dissident colonist, were not apparent in the Cape Scott Colony. The Danes supervised their own local roads and trails, and they seem to have kept individualism in check through effective communalism.

In June of 1899 the Quatsino colonists were awaiting a further extension of time and the Cape Scott colonists were busy building a dyke when the news came from the government that no further leases would be issued. There was no protest from Quatsino, and the colony was soon assured that all colonists who fulfilled their lease obligations would be given free crown grants. There was an expression of moral indignation from Cape Scott, and detailed queries for the government to answer, which the government only perfunctorily answered.

Clearly, the Semlin government wanted to put an end to the special status of the colonies, though the reasons for the government's decision were never given. It was a direct repudiation of the Turner government's, and of Col. Baker's, highly-publicized Scandinavian colonization scheme. It appears that the Semlin government regarded

the Scandinavian colonists, never large in absolute numbers, as pampered "foreigners," who should be treated as ordinary settlers. The decision meant that no further free grants of crown land would be given to colonists. They could pre-empt land, and pay the usual price of \$1.00 an acre. The colonies, therefore, could not seek to attract people by offering free land.

The dyke being built by the Cape Scott colonists when the demoralizing decision came was 13 feet high and almost half a mile long. It was built of earth and grass sods, and ran in an east-west direction across the Lagoon near the mouth of Fisherman's River. It was entirely a colony project. Those who took part in dyke work were entitled to receive a 10-acre lot in the meadowland. The dyke was evidence of the serious intention of the Danes to practise mixed farming. Unfortunately, the dyke was destroyed by a high tide in late 1899, shortly after it was completed. No such communal project was undertaken by the Norwegians of the Quatsino Colony.

In the winter of 1899-1900 the Cape Scott Colony's sawmill was shut down. In 1900 the minister abandoned the colony, as did others. No Cape Scott colonists voted in the provincial election of 1900. At Quatsino 13 of the 15 registered voters voted for A.W. Neill, the pro-Semlin member from Alberni who had helped the Quatsino colonists secure their legitimate lease rights. On the voters list "farmer" is recorded as the occupation of all the Scandinavians registered at Quatsino (see Table 5).

Thus, following the initial two full years of colonization only

"Limited Progress" was made by the Quatsino and Cape Scott colonies. Only a few new colonists had been secured. Quatsino had less than 30 colonists, and less than 50 Norwegians in all. Cape Scott had more than 30 colonists, and less than 100 Danes. Quatsino had a floating wharf. Cape Scott had a broken dyke, and an inoperative sawmill. Both colonies had schools. The first two school teachers at Quatsino were non-Scandinavians, though the trustees were Norwegians. Cape Scott had a Danish teacher, C.B. Christensen, and Danish trustees. Both colonies were being phased out by the Semlin government. But the Cape Scott Colony was less willing to be phased out than the Quatsino Colony.

The Quatsino colonists were clearing land, hoping to farm, maybe going seal hunting and fishing for herring, and prospecting. Samples of ore and vegetables were being sent from Quatsino to Victoria, and lumber was being sent the other way. There were at least two companies developing coal and copper properties at Quatsino. The Cape Scott Colonists were farming and improving the meadowland, raising about 40 head of cattle, shipping some butter and fish to Victoria, and working at the Rivers Inlet fishery. There was no mining development at Cape Scott. Both colonies had little income from government road work, and they suffered from a general lack of cash. The presidents of both colonies received appointments as Justices of the Peace. The Colonist publicized the Cape Scott Colony somewhat more than the Quatsino Colony, it publicized the mining developments at Quatsino, and it promoted the development of Hardy Bay.

VI

EBB AND FLOW

QUATSINO 1901-1903

In 1901 there is no evidence of viable Norwegian colonization going on at Quatsino. The Colonist does not find newsworthy, or worthy of legitimization, what is not happening, and correspondence between colonists and government officials is not generated out of lapsed concerns.

H.O. Bergh still lives at Quatsino, probably in non-presidential capacity. He was foreman of the \$468.38 worth of local roads undertaken during the year, itemized as follows:

Forest cleared	25,650 feet by	8 feet wide
Graded	25,650 feet by	3½ feet wide
Corduroyed	15 feet by	8 feet wide
Made 4 culverts	10 feet by	3 feet by 15 feet
Built 3 bridges	313 feet by	7 feet by 25 feet
(B.C. <u>Sessional Papers</u> 1902b)		

Henry Varney (1901) files a Quatsino report for the Department of Agriculture. There are less than 30 landholders, and only a couple of cows. The population is about 60, mostly Scandinavians. Due to the heavy timber, agriculture has not made much progress. But the soil is generally very fertile. Varney is impressed with the Scandinavian ranchers' reluctance to pluck out roots, cast aside boulders, and delve into manure:

Coming from a prairie country, almost destitute of timber, where the soil simply needed to be scratched on the surface and drawn up into hills to produce heavy crops, the majority of the ranchers here bitterly bemoan their lot, and do not

appear to understand the necessity of grubbing the soil for a foot or more to get out the roots and boulders in order to raise a crop. Not only does this seem to me to be a sine qua non to successful cultivation, but manuring to some extent seems also necessary on some soils here. It may be that lime, in many instances, is the only needful element. There is limestone in abundance here, but no knowledge as to burning it. In others, potash is wanting, as proved by the marvellous effect a sowing of dry wood ashes has had. The writer's experience, however, has been that nothing equals the affect of an application of barn-yard manure, along with deep and thorough cultivation of the soil. Unfortunately, however, only one or two settlers possess even a cow, so that other means of fertilizing the soil have to be sought for. Now, seaweed can be obtained here in unlimited quantities, and as all the locations at present have been on salt water, this can be obtained quite easily. There are very few ranchers who have not a large bed of kelp outside their doors. (Varney 1901)

Mining was not productive during the year:

A serious attempt was made on the Superior Group of claims, at Quatsino Sound, to prove the ore indepth by tunnelling below the outcrops, but without success. The work proved costly on account of the extreme hardness of the country rock. (B.C. Sessional Papers 1902c)

There is no 1902 evidence pointing to the existence or the non-existence of the Quatsino Colony. What is evident, however, is an increasing government and capitalist interest shown in the economic affairs of Quatsino Sound.

Several Colonist articles report the progress made by the Yreka Copper Company (Victoria Daily Colonist 27 Apr., 29 Apr., 22 May, 18 July 1902). The company is conveying a lot of freight from Victoria to Yreka (which is on the Southeast Arm a few miles from Quatsino), including horses, bricks, lumber, machinery, and a steam launch. There are about 60 men at work. The floating dock is

completed, and an aerial tramway over half a mile long is being constructed.

In August it is reported that a Tacoma company is looking for, and finding, pulp, timber, and iron ore:

After a three months' still hunt through the wilds of the northern portion of Vancouver Island, West Huson, the veteran timber cruiser and all-round prospector, returned to town last week. Mr. Huson has been exploring the lands about Quatsino Sound in the interests of the Tacoma Steel Company who are looking for pulp, timber and iron ore, and according to the just returned Victorian that company have found what they wanted. (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 Aug. 1902)

It was Huson who had assisted the first contingent of Quatsino colonists back in 1894. He is impressed with the Finns now colonizing Malcolm Island at Sointula, about 20 miles west of the sound:

Mr. Huson visited Malcolm Island and is enthusiastic over the progress made by the Finlanders at that place. "In five years they will overrun the whole country up there," said Mr. Huson. "You never saw such men to work, and there are all trades represented among them. Why, they even eat raw fish—I have seen them take a piece of bread and a slice of raw salmon for lunch and they work like beavers." (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 Aug. 1902)

In September Justice of the Peace Bergh (1902) forwards \$75.00 worth of fines and fees to the Provincial Secretary. J. Sharpe has been fined for selling whiskey to Indians, and J. Culletson fined for possessing an intoxicant. Sharpe later becomes newsworthy, as he is thought to be a famous Civil War rebel, and is found beaten to death in his cabin at Coal Harbour.

In October the Quatsino Mining Division is established, with the head office at Quatsino (B.C. Gazette 22 Oct. 1902). Also, the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company is incorporated (B.C. Gazette 23 Oct. 1902). It has a capital stock of \$200,000.

This company then receives from the provincial government a reserve amounting to at least 220,160 acres (B.C. Sessional Papers 1903a). The reserve is for two years, to enable the company to select pulp lands. It completely circumscribes Quatsino Sound, rendering further legitimate settling or re-settling by Norwegians and others on crown land impossible (B.C. Gazette 30 Oct. 1902). The reserve is large enough to contain over 1300 standard 160-acre pre-emptions.

In November "Skittles" writes the Times to protest the granting of the reserve (Victoria Daily Times 12 Nov. 1902); and "One of the Promoters" writes to defend it (Victoria Daily Times 13 Nov. 1902). Both individuals are pro-development, but their letters serve to mark the beginning of protracted controversy over the big land grab.

Skittles feels that the 400 square miles of land given to foreigners will block the expansion of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway to the north end of Vancouver Island. The Promoter says that the reserve was obtained by Victorians, and that pulp development on northern Vancouver Island will greatly benefit the economy of the entire Island.

Once again, the Colonist promotes Hardy Bay as a harbour and railway terminus (Victoria Daily Colonist 14 Nov. 1902). The federal government has appropriated \$3,000 for a wharf. Even H.O. Bergh and his associates, portrayed as small-scale capitalists, are said to prefer Hardy Bay over Quatsino when the weather is rough:

H.O. Bergh and eight others who are interested in storekeeping and mining enterprises on Quatsino Sound, had

a quantity of goods which they were desirous of shipping to the last named port. Under ordinary circumstances, they would have liked to have arranged matters so as to have accompanied the goods to their destination, but knowing that the outside passage was a very rough one, and at times attended with great danger, they preferred allowing the goods going by the outside route; and they themselves took passage on the Boscowitz to Hardy Bay, whence they will cross to Quatsino Sound.

Instances of this sort are numerous. Quatsino harbour is much exposed to the gales of the Pacific, but Hardy Bay, in its sheltered position on the Easterly corner of the Northern end of the Island, affords at all times a safe anchorage. The harbour is very deep and is thoroughly sheltered at all seasons of the year, and as a trail—part of which is a good wagon road—leads to Quatsino harbour and other West Coast adjacent points, it is certain that once a wharf is erected it will be very largely utilized and prove a very great convenience, not only to all settlers on the Northern part of the Island, but to all seafaring men.
(Victoria Daily Colonist 14 Nov. 1902)

Besides the Yreka Copper Company, other mining operations on Quatsino Sound in 1902 include the Copper Mountain Mining and Development Company, the Edison Mining Company, the West Group, the Blue Grouse claims, and several smaller groups of claims (B.C. Sessional Papers 1903b). The Yreka Copper Company has a fine wharf and a fully-functioning aerial tramway.

Varney's (1902) Quatsino report for the Department of Agriculture is detailed, and experimental in tone. He appears to be one of a small number of settlers engaged in farming, despite the heavy timber, many rocks, and prevalent mining mood. He says that there are less than 20 persons actually farming, out of a population of 60 men, women, and children.

Several varieties of beans, potatoes, mangolds (a large kind of beet, often used as cattle feed), carrots, and turnips are grown

successfully, as are parsnips, onions (mildew is a problem), and cabbages. Black and red currants, blackberries, and strawberries (mildew is a problem) grow well. An attempt is being made to grow apples, plums, pears, and grapes.

Wild grasses and clovers include Perennial Rye Grass, Orchard Grass, Timothy, Red Top, and White Clover. Much hay is made from the wild grasses growing on tide flats. Hay is difficult to store, due to the wet conditions; and careful ensilage is necessary. The summer feed for dairy cattle is cow cabbage. Recommended cattle are Jerseys and Holsteins. It is hard to raise sheep because of the wolves and the rain. Poultry doesn't pay, as it costs too much to clear land and grow the feed. Domestic bees do not thrive. Cut-worms have been a major problem in the past.

There is no land available in the vicinity of Quatsino. It has all been reserved for the pulp company. White labour costs \$2.50 a day, while some Indians work for half as much.

In the 1903 edition of the Yearbook of British Columbia, put out by the Bureau of Provincial Information, Quatsino Sound is publicized as a kind of sporting place for capitalists:

The largest inlet after passing Cape Cook is named Quatsino—a paradise for the sportsman. Here large flats extend for miles on the north shore of the Sound—known as Forward Inlet and Winter Harbour—which flats are crowded with waterfowl of all descriptions.

From this point westward the characteristics of the country completely change: we lose the heavily-wooded coast-line and precipitous mountain peaks, together with the Douglas fir, and

the land is comparatively level and covered with spruce, hemlock and cedar.

Quatsino has a splendid harbour, which extends inland for miles, and has long been looked upon as the coming commercial entrepot, and is one of the proposed Pacific termini. Coal is found in the formation here, and the miners are also engaged in the development of metalliferous deposits. (Gosnell 1903a: 19)

And, two separate colonies are lumped into one, for the good of northern Vancouver Island:

Quatsino and Cape Scott include all the country in the northernmost part of Vancouver Island. A colony of Danish and Norwegian settlers have recently been established there, and it is hoped that with the assistance of other settlers, the section will become a place of importance. The soil is described as productive, well watered, timbered with fir, cedar and hemlock. The climate is well suited to the production of all the usual cereals, vegetables and fruits. Although the fisheries are, so far, wholly undeveloped, enough is known regarding them to justify the belief that they are of immense value, and will form a valuable adjunct to the resources of that section, and contribute largely to the means of livelihood. (Gosnell 1903a: 86)

In early 1903 the Quatsino Land and Improvement Company is incorporated (B.C. Gazette 5 Feb. 1903). It has a capital stock of \$100,000.

It is also reported that the financial backers of the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company propose building a railway from Hardy Bay to Quatsino Sound (Victoria Daily Colonist 13 Feb. 1903).

Throughout the year H.O. Bergh is sending letters to Deputy Commissioner Gore dealing with the land-use plans and problems of Quatsino settlers. Two February letters serve as examples:

Enclosed please find cheque for \$50 to pay for a license to prospect for coal for Emmanuel Lawson. (Bergh 1903a)

I hereby enclose application to record S. $\frac{1}{2}$ of N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 6 Tp. 10 by Mr. Louis Larson. The land was held some

years ago by Mr. Fred Speck but has been abandoned by him several years ago. (Bergh 1903b)

Gore's replies are usually officiously favourable, such as this April reply to Bergh:

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th inst. enclosing draft for \$300.00 in payment of fees for licences to prospect for coal as per advertisements in the British Columbia Gazette of February 26th 1903, in the names of W.H. Haegerman, John Harris, W.M. Dean, W.F. Morrison, W.F. Draper and John Brown respectively.

Kindly furnish me with a sketch plan in duplicate showing approximately the position of the land covered by the applications, also the best practicable written description thereof. (Gore 1903a)

In mid-April a petition is presented to the Legislative Assembly from Victoria businessmen concerning a railway from Hardy Bay to Quatsino Sound (B.C. Journals 1903).

The provincial election of October is the first to be fought along party lines. Richard McBride becomes the Conservative premier of a province caught up in economic recession. A Liberal, W. McInnes, is returned in Alberni constituency. At Quatsino there were two votes for the Conservatives and 26 for the Liberals, while at Cape Scott there were no votes for the Conservatives and 10 for the Liberals (Gosnell 1903a: 352). There was an over-representation of Liberal votes at the Quatsino and Cape Scott polling places.

B.W. Leeson's report on the Quatsino Mining Division shows that some of the Norwegian mining activity was on the Teta River:

Considerable work has been done on all the properties along this river, which comes into the South-east arm from the south, about five miles above Yreka. On the Paystreak claim 50 feet of tunnelling has been done, and the Teta Group, owned by

Messrs. Nordstrom, Sorenson and others, is being steadily developed by the owners, another 30 feet of drift being expected to tap the well-defined lead showing above. Substantial buildings have been put up and trails made, showing the owners' good faith in the future of the property. (Leeson 1903)

The full details on Nordstrom and Sorenson's White Quartz claim are given in the report of assayer Carmichael (1903). A tunnel 100 feet long has been constructed. The ore is mineralized quartz with some copper pyrites. The owners say that payable quantities of gold are obtained.

CAPE SCOTT / SAN JOSEF VALLEY 1901-1903

In February 1901 a petition is presented to the Legislative Assembly regarding the incorporation of the Comox and Cape Scott Railway Company (B.C. Journals 1901). The petitioners are Victorians, and they include Premier James Dunsmuir.

Railways mean, and have always meant, economic development—such is the message given to the Legislative Assembly by Mr. Hunter, as he moves the second reading of the Comox and Cape Scott Railway bill (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 Mar. 1901).

Cape Scott Colony is alive and well, unlike Quatsino Colony. In July a lengthy Colonist article reviews five years of actual, yet always potential, progress made by the progressive Danes at the cape (Victoria Daily Colonist 20 July 1901). The agreements shattered by the Semlin government and a dyke burst open by the tide did not break the spirit of the 80 or so aspiring dairymen and women.

Schoolteacher Christensen is now a leading man in the colony,

and he is negotiating with the government for an expansion of the colony south into the San Josef Valley:

The trail recently cut from near Cape Scott to St. Josef River gives access to a splendid tract of farming land, equal, it is said, to those of the Fraser Delta. The colonists have explored the country lying between St. Josef River and the head of the West Arm of Quatsino Sound and have found a large tract of excellent land. If navigation of the West Arm were continued from Coal Harbour, the present last port of call, this country would be made easily accessible. The valley of the St. Josef is well-wooded with a good class of spruce and other woods available for pulp making. There is a large area of grass lands immediately south of the river, and a lake which has been discovered—called Fisherman's Lake—north of and flowing into the river forms a natural reservoir which would supply power to operate a pulp mill.

The colonists are ambitious to extend their operations. They are a co-operative community, although with no socialistic tendencies, and desire to establish a salmon cannery at Sea Otter Cove, which is the most central point on their shoreline, and in time, if their means permit, a pulp mill at the outlet of the lake just mentioned.

They are anxious to encourage the immigration of their countrymen and are publishing accounts of the colony and its prospects in Denmark and in the Scandinavian papers published in the United States. They have had letters of inquiry from persons in 38 places in the States, many of them representing 10 or more families, desirous of casting their lot under the British flag, and they feel hopeful of securing a large number of desirable settlers next spring. They advise men with families not to come unless they can command at least \$500 on arrival at Cape Scott, as they want no paupers or persons likely to become a burden to the colony. "As for the young men," said Mr. Christensen, "they are welcome if they have health, for there is lots of work for them. I know several who arrived in the colony without a dollar and now, by working in the logging camps, fishing and trapping, they have houses of their own and 10 or 12 head of cattle. We have room for all the young men who are willing to work."

The colony has a co-operative store and a sawmill. Unfortunately the latter, which cost \$2,500 is not properly equipped, the saw being too small to cut the big timber, necessitating the purchase of another outfit which is now being negotiated. Mr. Hansen, who may be called the father of the colony, has built a boat, which is now in Victoria harbour, having a gasoline engine installed, which will be used as a supply boat for the cannery, and for other purposes. As soon as the dyke is completed, and the supply of hay

secure, a creamery will be started. Dairying is a specialty with the Danes, and as Mr. Christensen says, if they don't turn out good butter it will be their own fault for the country is all right.

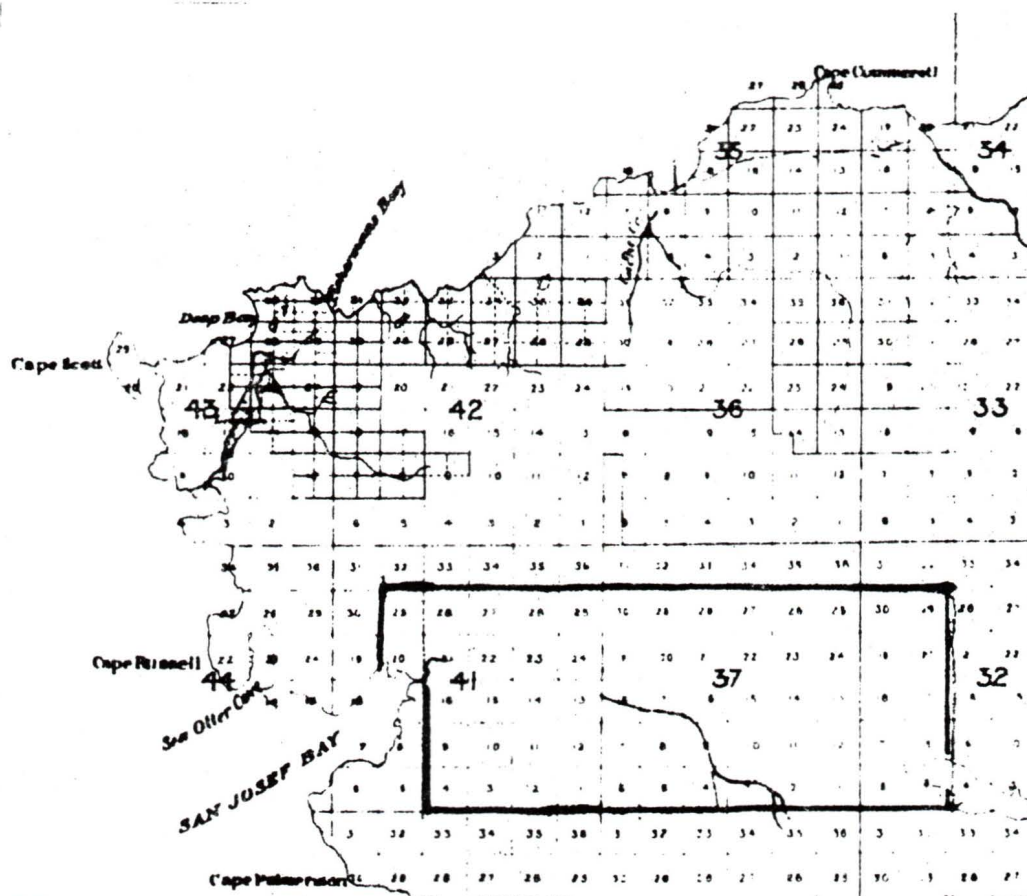
Game is abundant, and many of the settlers have added considerably to their incomes by trapping beaver, one man taking 60 during last season. Gold bearing sand has been discovered on the coast, and two or three claims staked, but the work has not been vigorously prosecuted. Mr. Christensen, however, brought down about \$70 worth of dust, just to test the possibilities in that line.

Mr. Christensen is very well pleased with his reception by the members of the government. They listened attentively to his representations, and evidenced a desire to meet the wishes of the settlers, chief of which is a survey extending to the St. Josef River and eastward to the West Arm. Mr. Gosnell, in charge of the immigration branch, gave him a great deal of valuable information and took a lively interest in the proposals submitted. Mr. Christensen leaves for home this morning feeling confident that the government will do everything possible to encourage the progressive and deserving settlers of Cape Scott. (Victoria Daily Colonist 20 July 1901)

The day after this article, an editorial appears, in which Christensen's relatively small-scale plans for the expansion of Danish colonization are directly tied in with large-scale capitalist dreams for the development of northern Vancouver Island and the attendant prosperity of all the Island (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 July 1901).

On 23 August C.B. Christensen (1901a) writes to R.E. Gosnell, Secretary of the Bureau of Provincial Information and Immigration, seeking his support in the San Josef Valley scheme. Enclosed in the letter is a petition to the Minister of Lands and Works and a map showing the tract of land wanted.

Christensen wants Gosnell to study the petition and deliver it to the minister. The petition asks "only what we find necessary in order to successfully promote our immigration plans." Meanwhile, everything looks hopeful at the cape. The Lagoon has more hay than ever, and an



Map 8 The Reserve Wanted in the San Josef Valley
 Source: map enclosed in Christensen (1901a), photocopy courtesy PABC.

accident with the dyke was only minor. President R. Hansen is in Seattle, but he will soon be conferring with Gosnell.

The petition makes reference to Christensen's July negotiations with government officials in Victoria, and his subsequent report to a meeting of all settlers. Christensen was secretary of the meeting.

"Whereas" R. Hansen's correspondence indicates that at least 60 settlers want to take land in the San Josef Valley; "whereas" the lands wanted are unsurveyed and front on the river; "whereas" the lands should be surveyed before settlers arrive; "whereas" the settlers of Cape Scott don't want the "colony plan" revived, but want to be able to offer free grants of land; "Be it therefore resolved:"

that the Secretary of this meeting petition the Government of British Columbia that a tract of land enclosed by a line running from N.W. corner of Sec. 29, Tshp. 41, Rupert District, due east to N.E. corner Sec. 29, Tshp. 32, from there south to S.E. corner Sec. 5, Tshp. 32 and proceeding west to S.W. corner Sec. 4, Tshp. 41, thence north to S.E. corner Sec. 21, west to S.E. corner Sec. 20, and north to the starting point, as further shown by the map accompanying this resolution, that this tract be reserved for a special survey to be based on the San Josef River;

That at least so much of this survey be performed this fall as will indicate the lines along the San Josef River and that the survey of the whole tract be completed the following February or March;

That we further petition the Government that the promises of free land grant to settlers of the San Josef Valley be made under conditions of occupation and improvement determined by the Government. (petition in Christensen 1901a)

The map shows that the area of land wanted by the Danes is a rectangular corridor connecting San Josef Bay with the head of the West Arm of Quatsino Sound (see Map 8). The block is approximately five miles north-south by 12 miles east-west, with the San Josef River flowing through the middle. There is room enough for over 250 standard

160-acre pre-emptions in the block, with about 40 fronting on the river.

The valley is dense with timber and undergrowth, and has pockets of arable, alluvial soil. The river, at times only a swampy stream, is cluttered with fallen trees. A safe but shallow harbour exists at the head of the West Arm—but it is here that the reserve presently wanted by the Danes comes right up against the reserve to be granted to the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company in 1902.

At the end of August it is reported that the Queen City was delayed for a long time at Cape Scott, due to fog (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 Aug. 1901). Also, the colonists were saddened to hear of the death of Capt. Foote, who went down with the Islander in northern waters. Capt. Foote had taken great pains to bring people, freight, and mail to the cape in the first months of colonization.

In September the Colonist editorializes in favour of colonization, as one of the "best means of bringing the advantages of this province as a home for farmers before the attention of the better class of European immigrants" (Victoria Daily Colonist 12 Sept. 1901).

On 13 September Christensen receives a moderately favourable reply from Deputy Commissioner Gore (1901) to the petition of 23 August. The Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works is discussing the San Josef Valley plan with his colleagues, and is not yet able to make a definite promise of free grants of land. The Chief Commissioner "has every wish for the welfare of your colony and will do anything in his power to aid its success." A surveyor will be sent to the valley next spring.

Christensen (1901b) is pleased with Gore's response, but he suggests that the surveyor should leave Victoria on the 20 February steamer, as February and March are the best months for surveying.

In early November a letter is sent to Gore from J.C. Bay (1901) of Ashland College, Grant, Michigan, who is president of the Danish Peoples' (Dansk Folkesamfund) of America. The society has been approached by Cape Scott colonists regarding the San Josef Valley plan, and it has a copy of Gore's 13 September reply to Christensen. It would like to send a delegate to the valley around survey time next spring.

In late November northern Vancouver Island is battered by wind and rain:

The trip of the Queen City was the roughest she ever made to and from the coast. All the way up the coast heavy weather with gales and high seas was encountered, and when the steamer anchored off Cape Scott at the northern limit of her trip on the 25th at 10 a.m. a living gale was blowing from the southeast. After the storm subsided but sufficiently to allow the landing to be made, the gale renewed its violence, and the steamer was obliged to lie with both anchors out under the lee of Cape Scott for 24 hours. On the 26th, the following day, she steamed against the gale for 11 hours before she reached Quatsino, where a tremendous southeast gale was encountered, with a constant torrent of rain, and the barometer was standing as low as 29.40. (Victoria Daily Colonist 4 Dec. 1901)

The San Josef Valley colonization scheme is given front-page coverage in December, but it is incorrectly reported that there will be a large immigration of Norwegians next spring (Victoria Daily Colonist 5 Dec. 1901).

N.T. Neilsen (1901) provides a Cape Scott report for the Department of Agriculture. There are about 70 people living at the

cape. There is a school. There is no harbour, but there are one or two good landings. The nearest market for farm produce is 300 miles away at Victoria. There is no mining activity, though coal, copper, and gold have been discovered. A trail to the West Arm of Quatsino Sound is half completed. There is not much valuable timber. Several thousand acres are open for pre-emption. The Comox and Cape Scott Railway Company is incorporated.

Some success has been had in growing oats, and barley is being tried. Potatoes grow well in some soils. Hay is made from Timothy, Red Top, Orchard Grass, and Red and Alsike clovers, which all grow well. Cut-worms destroyed everything last year.

The cape is an excellent dairying country, with "sallal soil" on the high ground and alluvial soil along the creeks and rivers; but land clearing is very hard work, and effective dyking costly:

DAIRYING.— The climate makes this country one of the best dairying countries in the world. The almost entire absence of snow and frost, and the warm, moist summers, pronounce this country to be one of the foremost in dairying.

SOILS.— The soil on the north end of Vancouver Island is of a peculiar kind, and if there is much of the same kind in this Province the expenditure would doubtless be justified, as it seems very difficult to make anything grow unless the soil is well manured. It consists principally of that known as sallal soil, and seems to be lacking in some constituents, as it is not willing to grow anything right away unless barn-yard manure is put on, the river bottoms excepted. Nitrate of soda has been tried; it costs about \$3 per 100 pounds here. Lime has been tried with apparently good results; price at the landing about \$12 per ton. No care has so far been bestowed on barn-yard manure, sea-weed or ashes, but considerable care will be taken of the barn-yard manure in future, so as to make as much as possible and keep it under cover.

CLEARING LAND.— Only two ways of clearing land have been tried here; one is the old way, with axe and grub-hoe; the

other, with a stump-puller. I am in possession of a Smith stump-pulling machine, and consider it a very handy implement. So far, I have used it nearly entirely with my own labour, having no team; but I am satisfied that with a team it is no trick to pull up stumps that are 3 to 4 feet in diameter, as I can pull them by hand after cutting one or two roots. It is very hard work, however; but if the cable is fastened to the trunk about 10 or 15 feet up, trees come down quite easily.

DYKING.— There are about 1,000 acres which might be reclaimed by dyking. It is principally peaty, but near the rivers there is some alluvial deposit. A dyke is being built now and is half done. The water has been shut out. The dyke is 6 feet high, 19 feet thick at the bottom, built of dirt with grass sods on the outside; cost in labour, about \$7 per rod. A dyke reclaiming 900 acres may be built at a cost of \$5,000, according to a surveyor's estimate. (Neilsen 1901)

The rainy and humid nature of Cape Scott is emphasized in the Yearbook of British Columbia Compendium (Gosnell 1901: 124-125).

Drainage is necessary, and the production of cereals and other crops requiring dry conditions to mature is not feasible. It may be inferred that the "sallal soil" referred to by Neilsen is the same as the Compendium's "glacial drift and rock detritus" of the pastoral upland. The cost of draining and clearing pastoral land is given as \$5.00 an acre, and the cost of bringing alluvial, agricultural land under cultivation may be as high as \$100 an acre.

During 1901 a total of \$575 was spent by the government on roads and trails at Cape Scott, which consisted of the following work:

Forest cleared	6,603 feet by 10 feet wide
Graded	605 feet by 10 feet wide
Graded	300 feet by 3 feet wide
Corduroyed	2,130 feet by 7 feet wide
Made 2 culverts	8 feet by 12 feet by 3 feet
Made 2 culverts	7 feet by 12 feet by 3 feet

(B.C. Sessional Papers 1902c)

On 30 January 1902 R.E. Gosnell writes C.B. Christensen saying that the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works has agreed to grant San Josef Valley settlers a free 80 acres each and the privilege of pre-empting 80 additional acres, under the following conditions:

1. That the 80 acre locations shall all be contiguous and face either one or both sides of a main road or roads that may be laid out by the government.
2. That a minimum settlement of one hundred settlers shall be made under the terms of the agreement.
3. That the settlers shall be located on or before the first of July 1903.
4. That all settlers shall become British subjects and agree to bear arms in defence of His Majesty and obey all other forms of Government without reservation whatsoever.
5. That the children shall be taught English in the Public Schools.
6. That improvements equal to the value of the land as determined under the Land Act shall be made and that an occupation of five years shall be conditions precedent to the issuance of a Crown Grant. (Gosnell 1902a)

Gosnell goes on to say that the Chief Commissioner has decided that the old settlers at Cape Scott are entitled to a similar concession; moreover, the government is prepared to encourage and assist the settlers as much as possible.

In late February the Colonist publishes Secretary Gosnell's First Annual Report of the Bureau of Provincial Information and Immigration, in which the new policy of directed colonization and settlement is highlighted (Victoria Daily Colonist 27 Feb. 1902). Settlements are to be "concentrated." This allows for an increased number of settlers, the lessening of administration costs, and more social intercourse among settlers. Four new colonies are being started by the government: a colony of Finns on Malcolm Island, a colony in the San Josef Valley, a dairying colony in the Queen Charlotte Islands, and a colony in the

Buckley Valley. These are to begin in the spring.

On 28 February Christensen (1902a) expresses the satisfaction of the Cape Scott colonists with the San Josef Valley terms. He has sent Gosnell's letter of 30 January to be published in a number of Danish newspapers. He wants a surveyor to come on the March boat.

In March a petition is sent from the Cape Scott colonists to the Provincial Secretary asking that Nels C. Nelson be appointed Justice of the Peace (Christensen and Nelson 1902). R. Hansen is a J.P., but he has been absent, attending to private business affairs. A J.P. is needed to naturalize the expected immigrants and record their land claims. N.C. Nelson, the postmaster, has lived at the cape for five years, and he is a British subject.

The petition marks the end of Rasmus Hansen's leadership of the Cape Scott Colony. It is clear that C.B. Christensen has already been filling the leadership gap most effectively.

Nels Christian Nelson, Esquire, of Cape Scott, is appointed Justice of the Peace in and for the Province of British Columbia on 29 March 1902 (B.C. Gazette 10 Apr. 1902).

In April it is reported that S. Jorgenson of Cape Scott has made an exciting discovery of gold, which was "extracted from black sand placers on a creek" (Victoria Daily Colonist 29 Apr. 1902). Also, the San Josef Valley surveyor has arrived at the cape.

Christensen is uneasy about the required number of 100 San Josef Valley settlers and the deadline set at 1 July 1903, as is evident from a reassuring May letter from Gosnell (1902b). Gosnell tells him

that the government is prepared to be quite flexible, so long as "a certain number of families within a given time" are settled.

In September Christensen (1902b) writes the Deputy Commissioner to protest any impingement of the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company's reserve upon the prior, tacitly promised reserve for San Josef Valley colonization. He is concerned about losing the harbour at the head of the West Arm:

If my informant should be correct, and the lands at the head of the W. Arm are leased to a Company, I have no doubt but a serious mistake, that will strike the new colony a severe blow, has been made, since it will deprive that tract of its natural outlet.

Hoping that this matter may be satisfactorily explained.
(Christensen 1902b)

N.T. Neilsen (1902) again provides a Cape Scott report for the Department of Agriculture. There is now a population of about 80. There are 26 ranchers, and only about 130 acres of cultivated land. The nearest market is now 20 miles to the east at Shushartie Bay, where "a commission man disposes of products." The mining camps at Quatsino also constitute a promising nearby market. There are five miles of roads in the settlement, and a government trail to the San Josef River.

Oats are grown for green fodder. Peas, carrots, onions, turnips, cabbages, and sugar beets grow well, as do the Early Sunrise and Early Rose varieties of potatoes. The climate is unsuitable for beans. Austrian Brome Grass has proven to be a failure. Apples, pears, plums, prunes, and cherries have been planted, but the trees are too young to bear fruit. Small fruits do well, but gooseberries are subject to

mildew.

Dairying is the main industry. But it is carried on separately by farmers. A cooperative creamery will be established when there are enough cattle. The winter feed for cattle is hay and turnips. The eggs of Brown Leghorn chickens are shipped to Victoria, where they bring a poor price, due to the infrequent steamship connection with the cape.

The soil is lacking in something, probably lime. The Department of Agriculture supplies tins for soil samples, which the settlers fill and send in. Perhaps by the end of the century the tins sent in five years ago will be analyzed. Nitrate of soda is the chief fertilizer. Barnyard manure is now used, and seaweed has been used with good results on a potato field.

The dyke was completed this year. About 600 acres remain to be reclaimed by dyking. The soil in the vicinity of the dyke is alluvial, with a gravel subsoil.

In the Yearbook of British Columbia C.B. Christensen (1903a) briefly describes Cape Scott / San Josef Valley, mentioning the healthful climate, dense trees, salal and alluvial soils, luxuriant growth of grass and clover, and the potential for dairying and a deep-sea fishery. According to Christensen, "there are about thirty ranches occupied at Cape Scott, well-built houses and well-cultivated gardens surrounding them."

In mid-January 1903 Christensen (1903b) writes to remind the

Provincial Secretary that the Cape Scott settlers have been waiting for a long time for a polling station.

Provincial Secretary McInnis (1903) assures Christensen that by the time of the next provincial election a polling station will exist at the cape.

In mid-February Deputy Commissioner Gore (1903b) responds in a blank, bureaucratic manner to Christensen's late-1902 concern about a reserve for a "Company" at the head of the West Arm of Quatsino Sound. Gore says that no direct action was ever taken regarding a reserve for settlers there. The land is now reserved for the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company.

The day after Gore's letter was sent the San Josef Valley survey is gazetted:

Township 41— Secs. 13, 14, S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ and N. $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sec. 15, N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ and N. $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sec. 16, N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ and N. $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sec. 17, E. $\frac{1}{2}$ of S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ and E. $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sec. 20, Sec. 21, S. $\frac{1}{2}$ and N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 22, S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 23, S. $\frac{1}{2}$ of S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28, S. $\frac{1}{2}$ of S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 29.
(B.C. Gazette 19 Feb. 1903)

This surveyed land is near San Josef Bay. It is roughly a rectangular block two miles north-south by six miles east-west, centering on the San Josef River. It has the potential to contain 68 80-acre free grants or pre-emptions.

In reply to Gore's February letter, Christensen (1903c) says that his concerns do not involve an old, out-dated agreement, but a contract entered into with the Chief Commissioner. The basis of the contract was the reservation of land for settlers in the San Josef Valley, land he had clearly indicated on a map. He will personally

lead an "expedition" through the United States this summer in search of settlers, and he must be assured that the valley will not be barred from its natural outlet on the sound.

Replying to this, Gore (1903c) refers to Christensen's letter of 23 August 1901 (with enclosed petition and map) as a "so-called agreement," reiterating that no land was reserved for settlement in the valley. But the desired land was duly surveyed, and is available —with the exception of sections 5, 6, 7, and 8, Township 32.

These four sections, right at the head of the West Arm of Quatsino Sound, encompass the precise harbour area that Christensen wants made accessible.

In June A.W. Neill (1903), the member of the Legislative Assembly for Alberni, writes to R.E. Gosnell asking his help in getting this small tract of land released from the pulp company's reserve.

On 23 June Christensen writes letters to both Deputy Commissioner Gore (Christensen 1903d) and Secretary Gosnell (Christensen 1903e), powerful rival mandarins accustomed to working for the shifting cliques of capitalists known as provincial governments.

He tells Gore that a definite agreement was reached on 23 August 1901 with the Chief Commissioner and Gosnell. The San Josef Valley was to be reserved for general pre-emption. In an effort to promote immigration to the valley, the Cape Scott settlers have written articles in 10 newspapers and they have corresponded with over 100 people, and Christensen himself has given illustrated lectures on British Columbia in the United States. A harbour on the sound is

crucial, and an actual agreement is not merely a so-called one.

He tells Gosnell that he does not want to continue corresponding with Gore, whose decisions are negative and questionable. The Land Office seems to "summarily set aside" sound decisions made by the Immigration Office. And, bureaucrats do not often consider the human consequences of their rulings.

In a 6 July memo to the Chief Commissioner, Gosnell (1903b) summarizes the deepening disagreement between Christensen and Gore.

In August Christensen writes a diplomatically threatening letter to the publicity-conscious Gosnell:

I beg leave to acquaint you with the fact that the letter to the Deputy Commissioner in which I expostulated against the summarily setting aside of the Chief Commissioner's pledge obtained by your mediation, and of which about two months ago I sent you a copy has been answered by Mr. Gore to the effect that noticing the expressions of which I make use, he does not find it necessary to return a reply.

Admitting that I feel very strongly upon the subject let me say that I retained the letter two months to further consider its terms before forwarding. It was my intention to fully express my own and the settlers' opinion re the constant violation of agreements entered into by the Chief Commissioner at the advice of the Immigration Office, and which has marked the entire history of this colony and tried our patience considerably. But I trust that I have expressed myself in language proper and adequate.

Since I have not learned that the case has been considered by the Hon. the Chief Commissioner, I infer that Mr. Gore's view has prevailed. My letter being thought unfit for consideration will therefore I suppose not go on file. Kindly return me the same as I intend to lay the matter before the public through the press. (Christensen 1903f)

Gosnell hands this letter to Gore. Gore (1903d) then writes a rather conciliatory letter to Christensen, saying that a copy of the 23 August 1901 agreement had never been filed in his office, and that

he had not heard about it until recently. He points out that it was the Chief Commissioner who had made the reserve for the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company.

Gosnell (1903c) then informs Gore that immigration policy does affect the administration of lands. He had introduced Christensen to Chief Commissioner Wells, but he had not played any great part in the negotiations between them. He is surprised that Gore was not aware of the agreement that had been entered into by the Chief Commissioner, and he will not accept responsibility for the present misunderstanding between Gore and Christensen.

OVERVIEW

There is no evidence to suggest that the Quatsino Colony existed from 1901 to 1903. Yet, there is no evidence of its formal cessation, or of an abandonment of Quatsino by the original Norwegian colonists. The Colonist did not publicize the colony, though it publicized the mining activity around Quatsino and promoted the development of Hardy Bay. There is no reference to the Quatsino Colony in other sources, such as letters and government reports.

It may be inferred, therefore, that the Semlin government's mid-1899 decision not to issue further leases was accepted by the Quatsino colonists as the end to their endeavour.

The Cape Scott Colony still existed. C.B. Christensen replaced Rasmus Hansen as de facto leader of the colony, and he led the attempt to expand it south into the San Josef Valley. A definite agreement

was reached with the government regarding the establishment of a Danish colony in the San Josef Valley. Each of 100 colonists, or settlers, was to receive a free grant of 80 acres and the option of pre-empting a further 80 acres.

The Cape Scott Colony had found a new patron in R.E. Gosnell, Secretary of the Bureau of Provincial Information and Immigration. The government he served was "Conservative" in orientation, in this respect similar to the Turner government of the mid-1890s. Gosnell shaped a colonization policy entailing directed settlement. The San Josef Valley colonization was one of four planned by the government. C.B. Christensen was a skilled lobbyist who did not hesitate to debate immigration and land matters with senior civil servants and cabinet ministers, and even play one official against the other for the benefit of the Danes.

At Quatsino, a reserve, or land grab, of over 200,000 acres was obtained by the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company of Victoria. This reserve completely circumscribed Quatsino Sound, closing the area for pre-emption for two years while the company selected its 21-year holdings. The reserve did not affect mining activity; and those who already held land probably found its value increased. No such land freeze existed at Cape Scott, where the Danes continued with their mixed farming and fishing. But the pulp company's reserve impinged on the reserve wanted by the Cape Scott Colony in the San Josef Valley.

The impingement came right at the head of the West Arm, in

Table 6 Scandinavian and Other Pre-emptions, 1901-1903

	<u>Pre-emptions Registered</u>				
	<u>N</u>	<u>Scandinavian</u>		<u>Other</u>	
		Grants	Cancel.	Grants	Cancel.
QUATSINO	10	20%	20%	10%	50%
CAPE SCOTT	14	43%	57%	0%	0%
SAN JOSEF V. (Tp. 41)	6	100%	0%	0%	0%

Source: Township Registers (Rupert District), Registers Vault, Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, Surveys Branch, Victoria.

Table 7 Government Expenditures, 1901-1903

	<u>Local Roads and Trails</u>	<u>Surveys</u>
QUATSINO	\$1607.91	
CAPE SCOTT	\$1802.00	
SAN JOSEF V.		\$2671.25

Source: Public Accounts and Public Works reports in the B.C. Sessional Papers 1902-1904.

Table 8 Ethnicity and Occupation, 1903

<u>Individuals: Directory and Voters List</u>				
	<u>N</u>	<u>Scand.</u>	<u>Other</u>	
QUATSINO	33	45%	55%	
CAPE SCOTT	23	83%	17%	

<u>Individuals: Voters List</u>			
	<u>N</u>	<u>Scand.</u>	<u>Other</u>
QUATSINO	22	59%	41%
CAPE SCOTT	14	93%	7%

<u>Occupations: Directory and Voters List</u>					
	<u>N</u>	<u>Rancher</u>	<u>Miner</u>	<u>Prospector</u>	<u>Other^a</u>
QUATSINO	41	32%	19%	17%	32%
(Scand.)		22%	7%	7%	14%
	<u>N</u>	<u>Farmer</u>	<u>Carpenter</u>	<u>Trapper</u>	<u>Other^b</u>
CAPE SCOTT	27	59%	15%	15%	11%
(Scand.)		56%	15%	0%	22%

Note: (a) includes postmaster, teacher, storekeeper, saloon keeper, trader, farmer, foreman, labourer, speculator, gentleman.

(b) includes postmaster, teacher, storekeeper, rancher, miner, fisherman, boatbuilder.

Source: Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory for 1903, Vol. 10 (Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Co.), PABC; and B.C. Voters List, 1903, Alberni District, Provincial Library.

Table 9 Some Education Data, 1899-1903

	<u>Teachers</u>			<u>Trustees</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Scand.</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Scand.</u>	<u>Other</u>
QUATSINO	5	20%	80%	4	100%	0%
CAPE SCOTT	1	100%	0%	9	100%	0%

	<u>Means Per Year</u>		
	<u>Students</u>	<u>School Days</u>	<u>Teachers' Salaries</u>
QUATSINO	11.8	179.8	\$547.46
CAPE SCOTT	14.0	207.8	\$630.00

Source: Public Schools reports in the B.C. Sessional Papers
1900-1904.

Township 32, an area later known as Holberg. C.B. Christensen then began his long fight to have this harbour area removed from the pulp company's reserve. The main reason the Cape Scott colonists wanted to expand into the San Josef Valley was to gain access to an adequate harbour.

From 1901 to 1903 few pre-emptions were taken by Scandinavians at Quatsino and Cape Scott (see Table 6). Two eventual crown grants were obtained at Quatsino, prior to the pulp company's reserve. Six eventual grants were obtained at Cape Scott, and six in the San Josef Valley. These valley pre-emptions and subsequent grants were secured by new Danish colonists—they had not come down from the cape.

Little money was expended by the government for roads and trails at Quatsino and Cape Scott (see Table 7). The expenditure averaged about \$600 a year for each place. The San Josef Valley survey was the largest single expenditure. The surveyed area had the potential for 68 80-acre land holdings.

Quatsino still had a large component of non-Scandinavians; while Cape Scott was more Scandinavian, as it always had been (see Table 8). The Scandinavians at both places took care to register to vote. The people of Quatsino were ranchers, miners, and prospectors, and the Scandinavians were represented in these occupations. The Cape Scott Scandinavians, Danish colonists, were farmers. But a rigorous nominal distinction cannot be made between "rancher" and "farmer," and between "miner" and "prospector." Rancher seems to imply less commitment to intensive agriculture than farmer, and miner implies more of a wage

orientation than prospector. Only one miner, a non-Scandinavian, lived in the Cape Scott area, and no prospectors lived there. There were few ostensible farmers at Quatsino. Multiple occupations were common among individuals, indicating a diversified rural lifestyle. For example, H.O. Bergh, onetime president of Quatsino Colony, was a Justice of the Peace, a road foreman, a storekeeper, a rancher, and a prospector; while N.C. Nelson, an original Cape Scott colonist, was a Justice of the Peace, a storekeeper, a farmer, and probably a road worker and a fisherman.

Quatsino, 1899-1903, had four different non-Scandinavian schoolteachers, whereas Cape Scott had the same Scandinavian teacher (see Table 9). The one Scandinavian teacher at Quatsino was George Nordstrom, an original Norwegian colonist. C.B. Christensen was the teacher at Cape Scott. The Cape Scott school had more students, more school days, and a larger government expenditure than the Quatsino school—a slight indication of more viable schooling among the Danes.

The reports on agriculture by Varney, a non-Scandinavian at Quatsino, and Neilsen, an original Danish colonist at Cape Scott, have underlying themes of experimentation. Varney was experimenting with fertilizers, silage techniques, cattle raising, poultry, fruit growing, and varieties of vegetables, grass, and clover. Neilsen and the Danes were experimenting with fertilizers, the capability of "sallal" and alluvial soils, dairying, raising chickens, dyking, a stump-pulling machine, fruit and berry growing, and varieties of vegetables and grass. Apparently, none of this experimentation produced outstanding,

successful results.

Varney doesn't appreciate the Scandinavians' reluctance to come to terms with farming. Many had come from the American mid-west, and were unaccustomed to coastal conditions; moreover, some seemed to prefer mining activity. There were less than 20 farmers, out of a general population of about 60. There were only two cows. Varney's maverick emphasis is on the possibility of subsistence farming.

Neilsen is serious, but not optimistic, about farming, conceived of as "dairying." There were about 26 farmers in the colony, farming individually, out of a general population of about 80. There were only 130 acres of cultivated land—this after five full years of Danish colonization at the cape. Neilsen is faintly hopeful about a market for farm products in the mining camps of Quatsino Sound. The major market was Victoria, 300 miles' worth of freight charges and unrefrigerated steamships away. There existed a commission agent at Shushartie Bay.

While the Danes farmed individually, they had shown communal enterprise in the construction of the second dyke. It was larger than the first, and it ran in a northwesterly direction across the Lagoon from above Fisherman's River. It had sluice gates to control the flow of water. The Norwegians at Quatsino did not engage in such communal reclamation of land.

The reports of Varney and Neilsen show that subsistence farming was possible, given the will to farm, and cumulative, successful experimentation in techniques of land clearing, fertilizer use,

preservation and storage, and land reclamation. The constraints on the development of an agricultural industry included the following: small population base, dense forest and undergrowth, axe-and-hoe level of technology, spotty occurrence of arable soils, rainy and moist conditions, scheduling conflicts with fishing and government road work, poor local transportation networks, absence of nearby markets, infrequent long-distance transportation service, and pervasive shortage of cash.

There was mining activity in the vicinity of Quatsino, in the Quatsino Mining Division. There were several companies involved, the most substantial being the Yreka Copper Company. There was no company mining activity at Cape Scott, and the incorporated Comox and Cape Scott Railway Company was not active in the area.

In the provincial election of 1903, the first election fought along party lines, the people of Quatsino and Cape Scott voted for the Liberals. This vote may be interpreted as a hope for equitable social policy, rather than the same old government of entrenched interest.

Thus, by 1903 the Quatsino Colony had apparently ebbed into non-existence, and the Cape Scott Colony had begun a flow of Danes into the San Josef Valley. Quatsino Sound was staked out by pulp and mining capitalists. Cape Scott was moderately domesticated, and left alone by capitalists. At least implicitly, the Danes wanted to get into the San Josef Valley before it was tied up by land speculators.

VII

STASIS

QUATSINO 1904-1908

In February 1904 the Queen City brings 50,000 feet of lumber to Victoria from Quatsino (Victoria Daily Colonist 20 Feb. 1904).

Other Colonist articles throughout the year tell of progress on the sound, none of it specifically Norwegian-colonist progress.

The Moore Investment Company of Seattle is to erect lumber and pulp mills employing 500 men (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 Apr. 1904). The Quatsino Power and Pulp Company is surveying 80,000 acres, and still planning to build a pulp mill (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 Aug. 1904).

The Idding brothers of Dayton, Ohio, are impressed with the scenery, mining, fishing, and Indians of the sound—and its "extraordinary" agricultural possibilities:

Fruits have been successfully grown, including apples of splendid proportions and flavor, plums, pears, and small fruits of all sorts. An old French-Canadian, Ed. Frigon, has had excellent results from his patient industry as a cultivator. He has all those fruits and also vegetables such as potatoes, turnips, parsnips, carrots and varieties of cabbage. In fact, it would be exceedingly hard to match anywhere in this province the magnificent spuds produced by Mr. Frigon. Peas, beans and other plants of that family flourish to perfection. The land is rich and well suited for the production of root crops. The Swedish and Norwegian settlers at Cape Scott are making a great success of their farms. They are also turning their attention to stock raising with marked success.
(Victoria Daily Colonist 29 Sept. 1904)

By October pulp surveying is over, and the people of Quatsino are apparently pleased with Mr. Moore's investments:

The residents around Quatsino are glad to see the company means business. The company has already expended \$20,000 at Quatsino and this, of course, is a small proportion of the expenditure to be made on the erection of mills, etc. (Victoria Daily Colonist 18 Oct. 1904).

At Hardy Bay there is a new post office, a hotel, and a regular C.P.R. steamship call (Victoria Daily Colonist 2 Nov. 1904). And arrangements are being made to carry the mail once every two weeks from Hardy Bay to Quatsino.

On 12 December the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company leases 46,628 acres for 21 years at an annual rental of \$932.56 (Quatsino Power and Pulp Company 1904). The company is required to erect a pulp mill, which must operate at least six months per year.

During the year a wharf costing nearly \$5,000 was built by the Dominion government at Quatsino:

In the immediate vicinity of Quatsino wharf there is a saw-mill, an Indian village and trading post, and the Yreka mines, with which considerable traffic is done. During the fiscal year, a wharf was built at this place to enable the regular bi-monthly steamer to discharge freight and mails. The wharf is a substantial structure, extending out to deep water by an approach 250 feet in length with a T of 100 by 40 feet, and a small warehouse for storage purposes was built thereon. (Dominion of Canada Sessional Papers 1905)

In March 1905 it is reported that timber cruisers have resumed work on the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company's reserve (Victoria Daily Colonist 18 Mar. 1905). Surveyors will follow the cruisers, and plans for the mill are being prepared.

In April the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company is the subject of elementary Opposition questioning in the Legislative Assembly (B.C. Journals 1905).

In June it is reported that the residents of Quatsino are in a "jubilant mood" because seven copper mines are on the verge of becoming commercially successful (Victoria Daily Colonist 28 June 1905).

The July by-election in Alberni is given much Colonist publicity, as it is perceived as a major test of the Conservative-Party government of Richard McBride, which is barely two years old.

All the Alberni settlements are interested in the campaign, and Conservative candidate W. Manson has visited Quatsino (Victoria Daily Colonist 14 July 1905).

The first returns show Manson a clear winner, but "owing to the distance, the returns from Quatsino and Cape Scott are not likely to be in before tomorrow" (Victoria Daily Colonist 23 July 1905).

The Colonist editorial writer feels certain that Quatsino and Cape Scott will vote Manson, though his win is already assured, which is highly satisfactory (Victoria Daily Colonist 24 July 1905).

When the northern Vancouver Island results finally arrive, having been delayed by fog, it is evident that there are absolutely no supporters of the government among the settlers at Quatsino or the miners at Yreka, though Cape Scott is pro-government:

From Our Own Correspondent. Nanaimo, B.C., July 27.— The Queen City arrived in Alberni this afternoon, having been fog bound for the past two days up the coast. She brings election

returns from west coast points as follows: Cape Scott
 — Manson, 12; Aitken, 4; Yreka— Manson, 0; Aitken, 8;
 Quatsino— Manson, 0; Aitken, 9.
 (Victoria Daily Colonist 28 July 1905)

Members of the government wouldn't have been too pleased seeing the "0" total from the sound.

On 29 July a Colonist article appears, entitled "Conditions at Quatsino" and "Visitor Tells of Progress of Promising Northern Island Point." The visitor is H.O. Bergh, onetime reluctant president of Quatsino Colony. The article is significant because there is no mention at all of the colony or former colony, or of Norwegians. It may be inferred that at this point in time there is no meaningful sociocultural distinction to be made between Norwegian and other settlers at Quatsino. If there was a viable colony, Bergh would have referred to it; and if Bergh had commented on it, the Colonist would have printed his comments, as the newspaper has always been interested in colonization phenomena.

The article is as follows:

H.O. Bergh of Quatsino is at the Brunswick hotel. He reports a remarkable increase in the activity of prospectors and miners in the district. Things generally are better than they have been for some time, and the outlook is distinctly promising. The summer has been remarkably dry and one of the finest experienced since the place was first settled.

The Copper Mountain Company has started work on the June group of mines on the Southeast Arm. These mines show some remarkably large outcrops of gold, copper ore and magnetite, and under development now progressing is expected to turn out a rich property. Capt. Grant of Victoria and Thos. Lippy of Seattle are at present furnishing the money to open up the property on a large scale. There are now ten white men working on the property. Harold Grant, son of Capt. Grant of Victoria, is manager of the works, and Mr. Alex Macaulay is foreman in charge.

In iron prospecting there has been much activity during the

summer and some very promising properties have been located and staked.

The settlers have all been busy haying, and with the propitious weather a good crop has been secured.

Messrs. Shelford and Burnett have started a stock ranch on the Rupert Arm and are doing remarkably well.

Game is very plentiful this year, the deer being so tame that they come up to the settlers' houses in broad daylight, and all gardens have to be carefully fenced. Wolves are also unpleasantly numerous in places, and it is the opinion of the inhabitants that the bounty on them ought to be increased as they hunt in large bands, destroying the deer wholesale.

Mr. Bergh is here on business and pleasure combined, and intends to visit Portland fair before returning.

The Indian trade in fur is not increasing.

The Indians are gradually becoming less numerous, and those who remain migrate to the fisheries during the summer.

The whole population, however, is gradually increasing, and there is every prospect that in the next few years Quatsino will become an important center.

(Victoria Daily Colonist 29 July 1905)

In February 1906 there are more questions in the Legislative Assembly about the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company. Two questions, and the answers to them, make it clear that settlement on the sound is still constrained:

(questions from Mr. Oliver):

6. Has the Government received any application for pre-emption within the areas of land reserved but not selected?

7. If so, have these applications been refused?

(answers from Mr. Green, Chief Commissioner):

6. Yes.

7. No application would be granted without consent of the Company, as the land within the reserve was not open to pre-emption.

(Victoria Daily Colonist 9 Feb. 1906)

In February the Times publishes two letters of protest from a "Settler" at Quatsino.

In the first letter the Settler strongly implies that the people of Quatsino, as Liberal voters, are being punished by the Conservative government through having their school closed and little money made available for public works. The Settler points to the constraining effects of the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company reserve on the development of agriculture:

We are so isolated at the present time that the balance of the province does not realize that what should be the rightful heritage of the people is being turned into the pockets of the few to give them riches without benefiting the province as a whole, as it should do. I mean that at least one-half of the land held as a "pulp concession" is comparatively level, and capable of supporting thousands of settlers, as the soil in most instances is of the best, and after the removal of the timber, crops unequalled on the south end of the Island can be raised. I saw potatoes grown on land that had been heavily timbered that produced at the rate of four hundred and fifty bushels to the acre. Vegetables of nearly all varieties are excellent, and apples and berries of all kinds are far above the average grown on the Island.

Statements have been made from time to time that settlers had never been prevented from filing on the lands of the said "concession," but I know to the contrary, as filing fees have been returned in a number of instances.
(Victoria Daily Times 2 Feb. 1906)

In the Settler's second letter the concession is characterized as a big land fraud (Victoria Daily Times 19 Feb. 1906).

Mr. Lugin, one of the principals in the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company, won't respond to the Settler's protests unless he or she dispels with anonymity (Victoria Daily Times 20 Feb. 1906). He views the pulp concession as a "legitimate business undertaking."

In May the management of the June group of copper-gold claims decides to replace its Chinese labour force with white labour—this is "a move which will be greatly appreciated by the settlers in

that locality" (Victoria Daily Colonist 5 May 1906).

O.A. Sherberg's (1906) Quatsino Mining Division report provides information on Norwegian mining activity on the sound. Sherberg is an original Quatsino colonist, who has changed his name from Skjarberg.

The Edison claim is owned by Evenson, Sorenson, Lokken, Bergh, and Sherberg. It is near the Yreka mine, and has gold, silver, and copper. Sherberg and Nordstrom own the King Edward. It is close to Yreka, and has copper pyrites containing gold and silver. The Quatsino King, Rubicond, Hill Side, and East Side claims are owned by Chris. Nordstrom and G. Sorenson. Julian Satre owns the Peerless, and Ed. Evanson and B.C. Lokken own the Louise. The Morning Glory, near the June Group, is owned by Sherberg and McDonell. Chris Jacobsen and J.W. Jackson own the Iron Meadow Group, of four claims, situated far up the West Arm.

It is evident that small groups of Norwegians and other settlers are cooperating in prospecting and mining activity at the same time as they are competing. Perhaps these hard-working partnerships are expecting to "strike it rich." Farmers seldom have this kind of thrilling expectation.

In the provincial election of February 1907 the McBride government is returned to power with a substantial majority. In the Alberni constituency W. Manson is defeated by the Liberal candidate, H.C. Brewster, but at the Quatsino and Cape Scott polling stations the vote is, halfheartedly, for Manson and for the government:

Returns received yesterday from the outlying polling places in the Alberni district place the majority of H.C. Brewster, the Liberal candidate, at a total of 32. The latest figures follow: Cape Scott: Brewster, Lib., 6; Manson, Con., 10; Cartwright, Soc., 1. Quatsino: Brewster, Lib., 4; Manson, Con., 5; Cartwright, Soc., 0. (Victoria Daily Colonist 15 Feb. 1907)

In May it is reported that there has been a one-week record of 1,000 applications for timber licenses (Victoria Daily Colonist 11 May 1907). Most of the applications entailed Vancouver Island land.

In July the entire townsite of Quatsino, including the wharf, was almost destroyed by fire (Victoria Daily Times 30 July 1907). But the constable organized an effective bucket brigade. J.E. Doyen, who was at the fire, reports that the fishing at Quatsino has been unusually good. The biggest pack on record was secured. The construction of a railway from the sound to the June group of mines is to start soon. J.A. Moore has shut down one of his properties, and all the employees were sent down to Victoria on the Tees. Nearly all the timber lands on the sound have been staked.

In August the newly-established Alberni Pioneer News has a little article on its front page, entitled "Rush For Timber:"

Since April 1 of this year when the provincial government land and timber office was opened in Alberni, over twelve hundred timber licences have been filed. (Alberni Pioneer News 17 Aug. 1907)

This weekly Conservative newspaper seems to specialize in publishing notices concerning the Land Act.

In November J.W. Sutherland of Vancouver gives notice of his

intention to apply for a timber license covering 22 separate lots of 640 acres each in Townships 35, 36, and 37, Rupert District (Alberni Pioneer News 30 Nov. 1907). These are townships near the head of the West Arm of Quatsino Sound.

Residents of the sound are also involved in Rupert District timber license applications, and speculation, as is evident from notices in the 1907 British Columbia Gazette.

Chas. Nordstrom's application covers 20 lots in Townships 38 and 40 (B.C. Gazette 10 Jan. 1907). B.W. Leeson's application covers 14 lots in Township 41 (B.C. Gazette 28 Mar. 1907). These lots wanted by Leeson are right in Cape Scott / San Josef Valley territory. Tom Ildstad's application covers 27 lots in Townships 16 and 17 (B.C. Gazette 9 May 1907). Ed. Evanson's application covers 21 lots in Townships 28 and 29 (B.C. Gazette 16 May 1907), while Eddjus Evenson's application covers 20 lots in the same townships (B.C. Gazette 8 Aug. 1907).

A. Montgomery is reportedly erecting a cannery at Winter Harbour (Victoria Daily Colonist 29 Sept. 1907).

In March 1908 the Colonist publishes a literary description of Quatsino Sound by F.M. Kelly (1908), which is also published, for a broader audience, in the March edition of Western Field magazine.

In Kelly's view, the picturesque isolation of the sound is eclipsed by neglected destiny:

Early next morning you will wake up in Quatsino Sound, very likely at Winter Harbor. As the boat leaves her floating dock

there you will if wise get up, for the settlement is twenty miles away, and you are about to be borne along a waterway, destined at some future time to be a great factor in the commerce of the world. Just now you will see no evidence of any move being made to make it so, but it will appeal to you as a great possibility, nevertheless, and you will ask yourself why it has so long been neglected. The navies of the world could, in truth, float on this vast sheltered sound, and yet you will not anywhere see the dirty white sail of a fishing boat, not even the rough-cut wing of a native canoe... (Kelly 1908)

And, the village of Quatsino seems inconspicuous:

Situated near the Narrows, on the northern shore of the sound, is the settlement, about twenty families. Nearby, in the Hecate Cove, is an Indian village, a remnant of a once strong tribe, now fast succumbing to the civilization of the white man. Possibly a hundred souls, white and red, dwell on the shores of Quatsino Sound, which, with its three arms, West, Rupert and Southeast, follows the broken line of the land for more than a hundred and thirty miles... (Kelly 1908)

In early April it is reported that the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company is about to build a pulp mill (Victoria Daily Colonist 9 Apr. 1908).

At the end of April the secretary of the company, C.H. Lugin, is sent a letter from Chief Commissioner Fulton (1908), advising him that under the terms of the lease a pulp mill must be in operation by the end of November 1909. No further extensions of time will be granted to the company.

In August the school district of Quatsino is re-defined:

Quatsino.— 19 August, 1908: All that area in the Rupert District embraced in Sections 30, 31, 32, 35 and 36, Township 18; the total area of Limestone Island; the townsite of Quatsino, Township 11; Sections 5, 6 and 7, Township 10; and Section 1, Township 19. (B.C. Sessional Papers 1909a)

There are no game wardens on northern Vancouver Island (B.C. Sessional Papers 1909b). Game wardens should be stationed there to

prevent, for example, elk being killed for their teeth.

CAPE SCOTT / SAN JOSEF VALLEY 1904-1908

In January 1904 C.B. Christensen is appointed Justice of the Peace (B.C. Gazette 28 Jan. 1904).

In that same month Christensen (1904a) writes R.E. Gosnell, Secretary of the Bureau of Provincial Information and Immigration, to report little success in the expansion of the Cape Scott Colony. Because the cape is so isolated, intending settlers get sidetracked. The Seattle representative was dismissed for incompetence. It would be a good idea to draw up a circular to answer the questions usually asked by those thinking of immigrating. This could be printed and sent out by the Immigration Office, and queries answered from there.

Gosnell (1904) replies briefly, saying that such queries may be answered from his office.

In late February Christensen (1904b) sends a petition to Gosnell from the Settlers' Association at Cape Scott. If the petition is received favourably, Martin Jensen of Enumclaw, Washington, is the person to communicate with. Also, a circular of information will be forthcoming.

The petition is dated 27 February, and it is addressed to the Minister of Immigration (in GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 67, PABC). Settlers from Denmark are wanted. But Danish immigrants prefer to settle in the United States, where most of their relatives live. Martin Jensen, an original Cape Scott colonist, is going to

Denmark in an effort to promote colonization and settlement in the San Josef Valley. The association, therefore, requests free rail and steamship passage for Jensen, and an assurance of reduced travel rates for intending settlers.

A month later Christensen (1904c) writes to Gosnell regarding advertisements and the circular. Advertisements have been placed in Scandinavian-American newspapers, such as Den Danske Pioneer of Omaha, Nebraska, and Daneverke of Cedar Falls, Iowa. Christensen thinks that 500 copies of the circular will be sufficient.

In the advertisements, a free grant of 80 acres plus the option to pre-empt 80 additional acres is offered in the San Josef Valley (for example, the ad placed in Den Danske Pioneer 1904, in GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 59, PABC):

Frit Land

Fri claims pa 80 acres med Ret til y derligen at preempto 80 acres a \$1.00 per acre kau optazes Pav Joseph Dalin ogved Cape Scott, Vancouver Island. Et Cirkulore med formedur Ophlysunzu er udarbejdet af Cape Scott nybygger sam fund oz kan faes ved at tilskrive; Immigration Office, Victoria, B.C.

The circular is prepared by the Cape Scott Settlers' Association, and printed in English by the British Columbia Bureau of Provincial Information and Immigration (Cape Scott Settlers' Association 1904?). There is no date on the circular, but 1904 is most probable. Its full title is "Circular of Information About the Settlement of Cape Scott and San Josef River. Vancouver Island, B.C."

The theme of the circular is pioneer cooperation. The circular asserts the present and future viability of a diversified lifestyle

based on mixed farming and fishing. The government is portrayed as benevolent. Danishness is evidently a matter of meetings, gatherings, communal enterprises, a reading circle (there is a travelling library provided by the government), and general appreciation of nature. But settlers of all nationalities are invited to come and make homes for themselves at the north end of Vancouver Island. Land speculators are not welcome.

The San Josef River has replaced the meadowland at the Lagoon as the focal point of interest, though the circular makes a somewhat blurred distinction between the cape and the valley.

The circular features an ostensible extract from the report of surveyor T.H. Parr, who had surveyed the valley in 1902:

"The valley (San Josef) is about three-quarters of a mile in width at the western end to over a mile in width in Township 37. The soil is sedimentary and of good depth in the low bottoms, and gravelly on the hillsides. The hills are covered with a thick growth of hemlock, balsam, and some cedar with sallal and huckleberry brush, and the bottom with hemlock, small cedars, and scattered large spruce (the last mentioned varying from 5 feet to 10 feet in diameter), and dense salmon brush. There are numerous ponds and sloughs formed by the beavers damming the waters of the creeks.

"There is a belt of about one-eighth of a mile along each side of the river, which can readily be brought under cultivation, the salmon brush being easily grubbed, and the timber not of a dense growth. The belt of cultivable land can be extended to the foot of the hills, when the beaver dams are removed and the water allowed to drain from the land.

"The river is navigable for small boats at high tide for about two miles from the mouth to the line between sections 21 and 22, and might be utilised further if several log jams were removed. These tend to keep the water back and cause slight flooding." (Cape Scott Settlers' Association 1904?: p. 4 in the circular)

This extract from Parr's report is similar in wording, but not in

paragraph structuring, to the one given in Land and Agriculture in British Columbia (B.C., Bureau of Provincial Information 1904: 109). Surveyor T.H. Parr's San Josef Valley report is impossible to obtain elsewhere.

According to the circular, dairying, berry growing, and vegetable gardening are the main economic activities (the circular continually confuses actual and potential activities). A cooperative cannery is being planned, to process berries. Butter and eggs are sold in nearby (unnamed) mining and logging camps. Halibut in the deep sea and salmon in the bays are the foundations of the fishing industry.

Cows cost as much as \$50.00 each, and they should be purchased in the colony, as should agricultural equipment. Settlers should come with at least \$300 per family. Low-interest loans, guaranteed by the government, are available. The colonists ("colonist" and "settler" are used interchangeably) intend to take out such a loan in order to buy a stump-pulling machine. The government has promised an annual subsidy of \$500 for a doctor, under certain (unspecified) conditions.

Thousands of acres of crown land are open for pre-emption, at \$1.00 an acre. Government road work is the only source of wages in the colony, but work may be had at nearby mines and logging camps. A steamer calls (somewhere) on the 20th of each month.

In June the Cape Scott Colony is given its periodic nod of approval from the Colonist (Victoria Daily Colonist 1 June 1904). The colony has been a success from the start. Each year it markets a great deal of farm produce on the west coast of the Island. The

government has never been called upon for aid. Mr. J. Jensen is planning a trip to eastern Canada and the United States to secure more Danes for the cape.

On 29 August the Chief Commissioner receives a petition from the Cape Scott Settlers' Association sent in by secretary Christensen (1904d). The settlers want the July 1903, free-grant deadline moved forward to August 1905. The problems have been insufficient surveying and blocked access to the harbour at the head of the West Arm. The promoter in Denmark is advertising free land, and he will be returning with immigrants expecting it.

Chief Commissioner R.F. Green (1904a) has considered the petition, and has decided "to allow free grants not to exceed thirty-five settlers in the San Josef Valley, including the five who have already pre-empted." He points out that over two years have elapsed since the agreement with former Chief Commissioner Wells, yet only five settlers have taken land in the valley. Moreover, many free grants were given to colonists at Cape Scott, yet about half of these have been surrendered in favour of pre-emptions.

Christensen appreciates the good will shown by the Chief Commissioner and the concession given, but he suggests a modification:

In competing for settlers, the San Josef River has already the advantage of offering better land than the settlement at Cape Scott. I therefore beg to propose that the government's offer be modified so that the thirty next claimants from within Cape Scott on the San Josef River be allowed free grants. (Christensen 1904e)

Chief Commissioner Green (1904b) replies with a modification of his own. The government will give a free grant of 80 acres to each

of the first 35 settlers who take pre-emptions in the valley and occupy them for five years. The date to record pre-emptions and enter into occupation of the land is extended to 1 August 1905. No free grants will be given after this date.

In March 1905 Christensen (1905a) writes to Chief Commissioner Green complaining of difficulties with Deputy Commissioner Gore. Christensen feels that all those who have settled at the cape or in the valley are entitled to free grants. Gore feels that only those colonists holding indentures before the June 1899 cancellation are entitled to free grants.

The issue is not resolved until 5 August, when Green sends a curt "Memo for Mr. Gore:"

I am returning to you the attached fyle of correspondence from Mr. C.B. Christensen, relative to certain free concessions at Cape Scott; and may say in that connection that Mr. Christensen called upon and discussed the matter at length, and has convinced me that his contention is correct.

You will consequently be good enough to have any of those grants issued that have been applied for at as early a date as possible - in fact Mr. Christensen will be leaving for Cape Scott again on the 20th inst. and will be glad if he can take the grants back with him. (Green 1905)

Green's decision was politically appropriate. Premier McBride had been to Cape Scott in early July, campaigning for W. Manson in the Alberni by-election (Victoria Daily Colonist 8 July 1905).

Chief Commissioner Green had visited the colony in late July, and had been impressed with what was happening:

"I was much interested," continued Mr. Green, "in the work of the Danish colony at Cape Scott. They have built houses and

cleared land; they have built a dyke three-quarters of a mile long for the purpose of reclaiming a small portion of the tide lands in the vicinity. They have now quite a large number of cattle, have erected a sawmill, and altogether they are making a very good showing, and if ever any people in the world were entitled to encouragement they are. They are a very superior class of people, and seem to know how to put their energies to the best use." (Victoria Daily Colonist 25 July 1905)

Out of the 16 votes cast at Cape Scott in the by-election, the government had received 12, a symbolically important vote of confidence from a highly-publicized, progressive colony.

On 25 August Christensen sends the Deputy Commissioner a list of the settlers at Cape Scott / San Josef Valley entitled to receive a free grant of 80 acres after five years residence and improvement:

At Cape Scott

S. Christensen	B. Bekker
M.P. Jorgensen	K. Hansen
H.P. Jensen	P. Petersen
J.C. Andersen	S.F. Simonsen
J.C. Holm	Chr. Petersen
C.B. Christensen	B. Thommesen
P. Christensen	L. Petersen
N.T. Nielsen	L. Henriksen
A.E. Wickstrom	A. Williams
N. Nielsen	N. Christensen
S. Thorp	N.P. Jensen
P. Andersen	T. Frederiksen

At San Josef River

A.V. Sorenson	Helene Ohlsen
H.A. Ohlsen	J.P Hansen
N. Andersen	H. Petersen
A.P. Andersen	F. Apple
C. Andersen	

(Christensen 1905b)

Williams and Apple are the only apparently non-Scandinavian surnames out of the total of 33 given by Christensen. On the Cape Scott list there are only five pre-June 1899 colonists. The nine San

Josef Valley colonists or settlers are new, in that they did not come down from the cape. Such a small number of San Josef Valley settlers is indicative of the relative lack of success in the expansion of the Cape Scott Colony.

By October 1906 the west coast steamship route has become significantly more active:

A change has been made in the West Coast route of the C.P.R. coast service by which the steamer Tees will continue the usual four trips per month, leaving here on the 1st, 7th, 14th and 20th of each month. The first three trips of each month will, however, only be as far as Clayoquot, while the trip of the 20th will be as far as Cape Scott. It is the present intention of the company to continue the four trips per month right through the winter instead of reducing the service to three trips per month as in former years, the traffic having increased so that it has been found necessary to keep the Tees on the route instead of replacing her by the steamer Queen City, and also continue the four trips a month schedule. (Victoria Daily Colonist 5 Oct. 1906)

In the 5th edition of Land and Agriculture in British Columbia little scope for settlement at the northern end of Vancouver Island is reported:

In the inlets of Clayoquot Sound there are small patches of heavily timbered land aggregating about 600 acres, and in Rupert District, between Cape Scott and the West Arm of Quatsino Sound, there are 1,000 acres, much of which is low and swampy. Apart from these areas, the bulk of the land is covered by timber leases and licences, and is not open to settlement. (B.C., Bureau of Provincial Information 1906: 55)

And, the Danes at the cape are swamped but satisfied:

A successful colony, known as the Danish settlement, was established about nine years ago at Cape Scott and along the San Josef River, the north-western end of Vancouver Island. There are several townships in that portion of the Island

which are more or less suited to agriculture and dairying, but much of the land is low and wet, requiring drainage. The Cape Scott settlers report that they are doing well, and are satisfied with their surroundings.
(B.C., Bureau of Provincial Information 1906: 56)

In February 1907 Henry Ohlsen (1907), a Danish-American, and one of the first San Josef Valley colonists, writes the Chief Commissioner to protest the granting of timber licenses in the valley. He also indicates the need for a road through to the West Arm. His emphasis is on the agricultural development of the valley:

I see by the papers that a number of persons are intending to apply to you to lease a large part of the northern end of Vancouver Island for the purpose of cutting and carrying away the timber. As one of the settlers on the San Josef river, who have come here in good faith, have spent money as well as time in the attempt to establish a home here for myself and family, I am somewhat interested in the undertakings around here.

No better agricultural land is found in the province than that lying between the San Josef bay, and the West Arm of Quatsino sound and as soon as a way of transportation is established would make the homes for a large number of settlers.

Quatsino will in the near future be our nearest market and for that reason we settlers already here are interested in not being shut off from reaching Quatsino sound, as well as seeing more settlers occupying this good land and assist in producing farm products for which there is and always will be a great demand and need in this province.

On behalf of the new settlers here at San Josef as well as myself I beg to protest against granting a permit to those persons for some part of this land asked for by them.

We beg you not to grant a permit to any land on the San Josef river that has already been surveyed for intending settlers, and also sections 16-21-22-15-14-23-19-24 and 13 in Township 37, Rupert District and sections 5-6-7-8-18-19 and 20 in Township 32, Rupert District. We that are here are of course interested in seeing sawmills and pulpmills established near here as it would give us a home market for our products.

My aim has been to get settlers here from the States and I have quite a number interested in coming here, but have advised them to wait until I could assure them that there were

hopes of getting a road through to the West Arm, as it has been and is very unpleasant to live on land capable of producing abundance of everything and no way of getting it to market and having to pack the necessaries on one's back for fourteen miles over a trail unfit for man or beast to travel.

I shall undoubtedly come to Victoria the latter part of March and should wish to have an audience with you in regard to this matter, but I understand it will be too late by that time and that is the reason I take the liberty to write you. (Ohlsen 1907)

On 20 March C.B. Christensen (1907a) writes to W. Manson, now Provincial Secretary, thanking him for his personal interest in the colony. The letter is written on Cape Scott Farmers' Exchange stationery. Christensen is a provincial statesman:

Seeing that the McBride government will now be in power for a long period I should very much like to arrive at a fixed policy for the development of settlements on the bottom lands of which several are found on this portion of the island. (Christensen 1907a)

And, he is a politically-astute, local strongman:

I notice that Mr. Brewster has approached the gov't. concerning the dike here. We are not behind that and will not apply to the gov't. through him as long as I am Secretary of the Colony. What is done by single individuals should not be considered. The dike plans are entirely dropped. (Christensen 1907a)

A memorandum, a petition, and two maps are enclosed in the letter.

The undated memo is addressed to W. Manson (in GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 101-102, PABC). In it Christensen reveals frank views about Cape Scott / San Josef Valley. His impression on first arriving at the cape was that the founders had not been "very judicious in selecting a location." Good soil was scarce, the timber poor, and there was no harbour. But he took part in improving the place, which largely involved building a dyke. The dyke plans,

however, are not likely to be realized. Christensen has never felt "quite justified in recommending the place to intending settlers." He does recommend the San Josef Valley, due to its "excellent land and good timber." Settlers are coming into the valley—last month 10 new settlers took land.

Christensen wants Manson to hand the petition to the Chief Commissioner. The petition is dated 20 March, and is from the Cape Scott Settlers' Association. In a meeting of 20 December 1906 it was resolved to ask that the survey from the San Josef River to the West Arm be completed, that \$1,500 be spent on local roads and trails, that Peter Glerup be appointed road foreman, and that these be acted upon at the present session of the legislature.

On the first map Christensen has indicated where \$1,000 was spent on roads and trails. The main road due south for just over two miles, "Road from Fisherman's Cove to San Josef," accounted for \$275. The "Road to Dike," extending due east for over a mile from the mid-point of the main road, accounted for \$200. The "Road to Sawmill," running due south from the western end of the dyke road, accounted for \$175. The "Trail to S.J.," winding southeast for at least three miles, accounted for \$125. The remainder was spent on various small trails.

The second map shows the locations of 37 named colonists (see Map 9). The 80-acre blocks cluster around the meadowland and Fisherman's Bay, whereas the 160-acre blocks are on the periphery. The dark line running across the Lagoon shows the location of the dyke. The sawmill is near the dyke, and the school is supposedly

located near the sawmill, due north of "C. Christiansen's" land.

At the end of May it is reported that F.M. Kelly has reported that "Norwegian" colonists are deserting the cape (Victoria Daily Colonist 29 May 1907). About a dozen families, with their household goods and cattle, are proceeding to the Alberni Valley.

By mid-summer Christensen has had a meeting with top government officials in Victoria.

In a 20 July letter to the Premier, Christensen (1907b) expresses gratitude for the kind reception he has received. He recapitulates what is wanted, namely, \$800 to help new settlers gain access to their lands, an immediate start to the West Arm road, as much as \$3,000 for the road, and G. Smith to complete the San Josef Valley survey. He is still "somewhat disappointed" with respect to the West Arm timber license situation.

Premier McBride (1907a) responds by saying that he has asked the Chief Commissioner to look into the matters raised by Christensen.

In a letter to W. Manson, Christensen (1907c) is pessimistic about the timber license situation and upset about an 18 July note from the Deputy Commissioner to the Premier, which the Premier has forwarded.

In the note it is stated that the land in the vicinity of the West Arm is "probably" timber land and not open for settlement (Renwick 1907). It is suggested that Christensen's attention be drawn to Section 29 of the Land Act.

Also on 18 July, a reserve was established covering Cape Scott

and the San Josef Valley, but not including the four sections taking in the harbour area at the head of the West Arm. The reserve is for settlement purposes, as is evident from the August notice:

NOTICE is hereby given that Sections 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22 and 23, Township 37; Sections 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35, Township 38; Sections 35 and 36, Township 40 and the whole of Townships 41, 42, 42a, 43 and 44, Rupert District, are reserved from sale, lease or licence. (B.C. Gazette 29 Aug. 1907)

At this time the district boundaries of Cape Scott "assisted school" are defined, encompassing a nine square mile area south from Fisherman's Bay (B.C. Gazette 22 Aug. 1907).

Also in August, Manson (1907a, 1907b) is pressuring the Premier to consider the legitimate demands of Christensen concerning access to the West Arm harbour.

Premier McBride (1907b, 1907c, 1907d), via a series of memos, is turning the whole affair over to the Chief Commissioner.

In late August the Patterson family leaves Cape Scott (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 Aug. 1907), while a month later the Holland family leaves (Victoria Daily Colonist 29 Sept. 1907).

At Christmas Jens Hansen, a newcomer to the San Josef Valley, is killed by a falling tree during a bad storm (Victoria Daily Colonist 31 Dec. 1907). Two houses just built for new settlers are completely crushed, and northern Vancouver Island trails blocked by fallen trees.

Christensen's (1907d) lengthy late August letter to the Premier is a masterful summary of the efforts to expand the Cape Scott Colony into the San Josef Valley, 1901-1907, in the face of a big land grab and changing government decisions. Christensen, Danish-American

immigrant, poor country schoolteacher, farmer, well-educated man from Copenhagen, obviously charismatic personality, Conservative, mature human being, leader of a diehard core of colonists, skilled lobbyist, combative, has even appeared before the Executive Council of British Columbia in an attempt to open up northern Vancouver Island to honest settlers of all nationalities.

The letter is as follows:

Your letter dated July 19 enclosing Mr. Renwick's note to yourself, and which leaves the matter I came to Victoria to have arranged, exactly where it stood before, was quite a surprise at my return. Had I not already overdrawn what a country teacher may allow himself for a holiday, I should have taken the return boat for Victoria. However I also felt that you would stand between this settlement and the various efforts of speculators to have us driven out. Among which efforts I count Mr. Leeson's offer—through a communication—of a sum of money for myself, in case I would arrange matters to his advantage. And permit me to state in this connection that these speculators were aware at the time that they were entering on pre-emption land and that they took their chances.

Mr. Renwick's letter calls your attention to the fact that timber leases have been applied for to the lands in question. This is exactly the fact to which I repeatedly called his attention. It was in order to get this information before the Chief Commissioner that I made a trip to Victoria. However, I am surprised that the inference drawn from that fact by Mr. Renwick should not have been stated till I had left Victoria; he must certainly have been aware of the contents of the section in the Land Act to which he refers. You are, however, aware that the section to which Mr. Renwick's letter directs your attention has no bearing on the ground I have taken during this contention.

The argument I have advanced in favour of the claim we make is that through Mr. Gosnell's efforts—he was immigration agent at the time—Chief Commissioner Wells pledged that the settlers taking up lands in this vicinity should be granted sufficient territory for a settlement and should not be hemmed in from an outlet to the West Arm of the Quatsino Sound. The reserve granted for that purpose being clearly defined on a map filed in the department.

I need not point out that an earlier agreement is not necessarily set out of force by an amendment to an act. That this agreement was regarded as morally binding upon Mr. Wells'

successors was evinced by Mr. R.F. Green, when upon my representations he caused four sections at the head of the West Arm to be withdrawn from the Pulp Company's grant.

Neither did Hon. Mr. Fulton object to the validity of the ground we take in this matter. And your own action in the Executive Council, when Mr. Renwick was ordered to place a temporary reserve on the lands in question, indicated that our claim was accepted as correct.

I find in the Land Act a provision that the Governor-in-Council may reserve from timber leasing any tract that it is found desirable to so reserve. Also that lands may be granted under special conditions for immigration purposes. It therefore seems that the government has the way clear to grant our request and by so doing fulfill the government's pledge under which we have commenced to settle in the San Josef Valley.

We simply ask that out of the Cape Scott colony's land and the San Josef reserve combined we may be allowed to select a suitable and sufficient body of land affording an outlet to the West Arm of Quatsino Sound to be kept for pre-emption under the Land Act, and that the whole tract be kept in reserve until this selection has been approved by the Chief Commissioner.

Not only does it seem a pity that our settlement should be totally crippled, but also that such a fine body of agricultural land should be locked up by speculation.

However, I have fullest confidence that you will permit the order issued in the Executive Council, where I was present, to stand, and by so doing open a brighter future for this settlement which repeatedly has proved confidence in yourself and your government, a confidence which I have no doubt will continue in increased measure.

I shall then, at least, be able to begin that campaign for immigrants which I have so long deferred because I did not under prevailing circumstances feel justified in recommending this locality.

In any case, I trust that if an adverse action is being considered no final decision will be arrived at before I have been given an opportunity to appear once more before the Executive Council. Feeling that I have now said all that is necessary in order to impress the justice and importance of this case I leave it for your decision.

(Christensen 1907d)

In March 1908 C.B. Christensen (1908), again writing on Cape Scott Farmers' Exchange stationery, and still secretary of the Settlers'

Association, writes the Provincial Secretary to request an appointment as Registrar of Marriages, Births, and Deaths.

A month later Provincial Secretary H.E. Young (1908) informs Christensen that he has the appointment, and that he is also Deputy Registrar for Alberni District.

In June the Alberni Pioneer News reports Chief Constable Cox's information on the "Good Settlers at Cape Scott" (Alberni Pioneer News 6 June 1908). Cox has been visiting west coast points to collect the "head tax" on Orientals. At Cape Scott he had noted that a number of the Danish settlers had moved to the San Josef Valley, about 16 miles away. There were about 50 settlers farming successfully in the valley. They are "industrious," as they make civilization out of "bleak looking wilds." The settlers are having a landing built on the West Arm of Quatsino Sound, and they want a road eight miles long from the landing to the valley.

In July Christensen is in Victoria lobbying the government for a West Arm road (Alberni Pioneer News 18 July 1908). According to Christensen, the road can be built only with great difficulty, as the fierce storm of last December created "huge piles of trunks in all directions." A donkey engine is needed to help clear things up. The northern portion of Vancouver Island is suited for dairying and mixed farming. The Danish settlers are not Socialists, but they believe in cooperation. Clover grows extremely well. Beets, turnips, and other garden vegetables are successfully grown, as well as peaches and all kinds of small fruit. At the cape, N.P. Jensen farms the grasslands,

and sends calves, butter, and cheese to Victoria.

OVERVIEW

During the period, 1904-1908, the Quatsino Colony was not brought back into being, and there was no abandonment of Quatsino by former Norwegian colonists. Quatsino had become a multi-ethnic entrepot, with a substantial wharf built by the Dominion government. Norwegians and others were involved in ranching and farming, prospecting and mining, and minor speculation in timber and mineral lands.

Several large companies sought to exploit the timber and mineral resources of Quatsino Sound. These companies included the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company, the Moore Investment Company, the Copper Mountain Company, and the June Group of mines. The Quatsino Power and Pulp Company had completed its selection of 21-year holdings, comprising over 40,000 acres around Quatsino.

Some people welcomed capitalistic endeavors, hoping for general economic prosperity. Others protested against the government-approved alienation of agricultural lands by speculators and capitalists. As usual, the Colonist publicized the mining developments at Quatsino, and promoted Hardy Bay as the commercial center of northern Vancouver Island.

The Cape Scott Colony existed from 1904 to 1908, and continued its efforts to expand into the San Josef Valley. The Danes were still farmers, interested in the development of an agricultural industry and local economic enterprises. There were no pulp or mining companies

active at the cape or in the valley, but there was the Cape Scott Settlers' Association and the Cape Scott Farmers' Exchange.

C.B. Christensen, secretary of the Settlers' Association, was a skilled lobbyist and negotiator, who obtained from the government favourable terms for Danish settlement in the San Josef Valley. And under his direction, in an effort to attract people, an emissary was sent to Denmark, advertisements were placed in Scandinavian-American newspapers, and a Circular of Information was prepared.

The emissary and the advertisements offered free land, while the circular promoted the San Josef Valley as a place for cooperative, multi-ethnic settlement. The valley was emphasized over the cape. It was portrayed as riverine, fertile, and well-timbered, with access to a harbour on Quatsino Sound. These features made the valley a good location for colonists/settlers to engage in mixed farming, fishing, and cottage industries. Christensen himself had always thought that viable settlement at the cape was limited by the absence of a harbour.

The vision of settlement by Danes and others was a broader one than that presented in the rules and by-laws of the original Cape Scott Colony. The valley was to have a wagon road leading to a harbour town, whereas the cape had a dyke protecting a subdivided meadowland. But the harbour area was tied up by a pulp company, just as the meadowland had proved less fertile than first thought.

Christensen presented the circular vision of the valley, through letters and in person, to the highest levels of provincial government, including the Premier and the Executive Council. He defeated Deputy

Table 10 Scandinavian and Other Pre-emptions, 1904-1908

	<u>Pre-emptions Registered</u>				
	<u>N</u>	<u>Scandinavian</u>		<u>Other</u>	
		Grants	Cancel.	Grants	Cancel.
QUATSINO	23	13%	9%	26%	52%
CAPE SCOTT	7	14%	57%	0%	15%
SAN JOSEF V. (Tps. 37, 41)	28	46%	39%	0%	15%

Source: Township Registers (Rupert District), Registers Vault, Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, Surveys Branch, Victoria.

Table 11 Government Expenditures, 1904-1908

	<u>Roads and Trails</u>	<u>Surveys</u>
QUATSINO	\$1545.90	\$251.63
CAPE SCOTT	\$3518.97	\$150.75
SAN JOSEF V.	\$1914.61	

Source: Public Accounts and Public Works reports in the B.C. Sessional Papers 1905-1909.

Table 12 Some Individuals and Occupations, 1908

QUATSINO		CAPE SCOTT	
<u>Scandinavian</u>		<u>Scandinavian</u>	
*Lokken, B.C.	rancher	Andersen, A.P.	farmer
*Nordstrom, C.	rancher	Anderson, J.C.	farmer
Nordstrom, F.	rancher	Anderson, M.P.	farmer
Nordstrom, P.C.	rancher	Christensen, C.	farmer
*Skedin, A.	rancher	Christensen, S.	farmer
*Evenson, E.	farmer	*Glerup, P.	farmer
Ildstad, T.	farmer	Holm, J.C.	farmer
Smedslands, O.	farmer	*Jensen, M.	farmer
Sorenson, G.	farmer	*Jensen, N.P.	farmer
Jacobsen, C.	miner	Jensen, P.H.	farmer
Sorenson, T.	miner	*Nelson, N.C.	farmer
Nordstrom, G.	prospector	Nielson, N.	farmer
Thornfeldt, O.	prospector	Nielson, N.T.	farmer
*Bergh, H.O.	store	*Pedersen, C.J.	farmer
Sherberg, O.A.	trader	*Petersen, C.	farmer
		Thommesen, B.F.	farmer
		Thorp, S.	farmer
<u>Non-Scandinavian</u>		*Hansen, N.P.	fisherman
Cormack, W.	miner	Jorgensen, L.	fisherman
Cramer, P.	miner	*Simonsen, S.F.	fisherman
Ferguson, J.A.	miner	Christensen, C.B.	teacher
Macaulay, A.J.	miner	Fredericksen, T.	logger
Patterson, F.G.	miner	Hansen, R.	carpenter
Flahrty, B.	prospector		
Larson, L.	prospector	<u>Non-Scandinavian</u>	
Linthlop, H.	prospector	Jackson, G.H.	trapper
Barnett, E.	farmer	Williams, A.	farmer
Jackson, J.W.	farmer		
Derby, W.H.	laborer	SAN JOSEF VALLEY	
*Frigon, E.	store	<u>Scandinavian</u>	
Green, F.J.A.	engineer	Anderson, C.M.	farmer
*Satre, J.J.	rancher	Hansen, J.P.	farmer
		Petersen, H.	farmer
		Sorenson, V.A.	farmer

*Note: these individuals also claimed land during the "Settling In" periods.

Commissioner Gore in the dispute over free-grant eligibility for Danish colonists. He was able to get the cape and much of the valley reserved for settlement, a remarkable achievement. But he was unable to get the West Arm harbour area removed from the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company's reserve. He promoted the San Josef Valley scheme in the Colonist, and in publications of the Bureau of Provincial Information and Immigration.

Henry Ohlsen, one of the first Danish-American settlers in the San Josef Valley, also promoted the valley, particularly its potential for agriculture.

There is little doubt that the valley had a ribbon of arable land along the river and an adequate harbour on the sound. The alluvial soils allowed for subsistence agriculture, but the mere presence of a harbour could not create markets. Moreover, the valley had the same general constraints on the development of an agricultural industry as Quatsino and Cape Scott.

From 1904 to 1908, few eventual crown grants were secured by Scandinavians at Quatsino and at Cape Scott / San Josef Valley, but the valley clearly outstripped Quatsino and the cape (see Table 10). In terms of absolute numbers of Scandinavians, the San Josef Valley scheme cannot be regarded as successful. Most of the eventual cancellations at Quatsino entailed non-Scandinavians.

Inspection of the Township Registers reveals that more than half the pre-emptions in the San Josef Valley were taken by colonists, or settlers, who had moved down from the cape. For example, in 1907

P. Glerup, H.P. Jensen, C. Petersen, and C. Pedersen jointly pre-empted section 17 in Township 37 (cancelled in 1909); and in 1907 N.C. Nelson, P. Anderson, K. Hansen, and C.B. Christensen jointly pre-empted section 18 in Township 37 (crown granted in 1910).

The cape had by far the greatest government expenditure on roads and trails, and the valley more than Quatsino (see Table 11). This may be interpreted as government bias toward the Danes—after all, they were still colonists, still salient, and still "progressive."

In 1908 Quatsino had 29 people registered to vote, 15 of whom were Scandinavian; whereas Cape Scott had 25 registered, 23 of whom were Scandinavian (see Table 12). Quatsino had a persistent core of five original colonists, while Cape Scott had eight persistent originals. Most of the Scandinavians at Quatsino viewed themselves as ranchers or farmers, but there were prospectors and miners. Most of the Scandinavians at Cape Scott viewed themselves as farmers, and there were a few fishermen, but no prospectors and miners. The San Josef Valley Scandinavians viewed themselves as farmers. These voters list data indicate that Cape Scott / San Josef Valley was far more "Scandinavian farmer" in orientation than Quatsino.

Inspection of the Public Schools reports in the B.C. Sessional Papers 1905-1909 reveals that the Quatsino school was closed from 1904 to 1906. This was due to lack of pupils (15 were required), and lack of interest by the government. In 1907 and 1908 the teacher was George Nordstrom, and the trustees were also Norwegians. C.B. Christensen was the teacher at Cape Scott, 1904-1908, and the trustees were Danes. In

these five years the number of pupils had declined, from 16 to 13.

Inspection of the Postmaster-General's reports in the Dominion of Canada Sessional Papers 1905-1909 reveals that the total revenue of the Quatsino post office, 1904-1908, was \$356, and that the total revenue of the Cape Scott post office during the same period was \$202. This may be interpreted as an indication that Quatsino was an entrepot on the sound, having more government and business correspondence.

Thus, from 1904 to 1908, a kind of "Stasis" had emerged at Quatsino and at Cape Scott / San Josef Valley. Quatsino was not a colony. It was a multi-ethnic, minor entrepot, with a big wharf and some nearby pulp and mining development, but no ongoing agricultural settlement. Cape Scott was being abandoned. Some colonists went to the San Josef Valley to join the unimpressive number of Danes from the United States who had settled there. The valley's harbour was still controlled by the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company. The ideal of Danish dairying had broadened into a small ideology of multi-ethnic, cooperative settlement, based on mixed farming, fishing, and cottage industry.

VIII

THE YEAR 1909

QUATSINO

In January it is reported that the "big timber limits comprising over 80 square miles," owned by the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company, has been transferred to the Western Canada Wood Pulp and Paper Company, which is capitalized at \$1,500,000 (Victoria Daily Colonist 16 Jan. 1909).

In mid-March the company takes out a big Colonist advertisement, showing the design of the pulp and paper mill to be erected at the entrance to Marble Creek, a few miles west of Quatsino (Victoria Daily Colonist 14 Mar. 1909). News and wrapping paper will be manufactured at the rate of 600 tons a week.

Also in March, the Alberni Pioneer News reports that a strong Conservative association has been organized at Quatsino, with George Nordstrom president and A. Pilling secretary (Alberni Pioneer News 20 Mar. 1909). Nordstrom and Pilling have been in Victoria talking to government officials about "the building of a wagon road along the shoreline of the settlement, which is increasing in population every day."

Two weeks later Nordstrom is writing the Deputy Commissioner of Lands and Works to protest a foreshore application on the part of C. Jacobsen and F. Green:

Their application is for the foreshore on my 155 acres of land that I am selling to Wm. Sloane. The land is mine until September when the final payment becomes due. Colonel Appleton and Mr. Marshall have chosen this site for their Pulp Mill.

Both Green and Jacobsen have no intention to make use of this foreshore and they are staking it merely on speculation, just for the sake of a few hundred Dollars out of it. I hope you will do all you can to renounce their claim and give Appleton and his enterprise its preference. Jacobsen is one of our greatest agitators and he is always accusing the Government for Graft, but I have noticed that he himself is not slow at that very same game. I shall likely be down to town the latter part of this month. (Nordstrom 1909)

In April "there are substantial indications of a busy time in and around Quatsino this year" (Alberni Pioneer News 17 Apr. 1909). The residents want a wagon road from the western end of the settlement to the head of Hecate Cove, a distance of five miles. They want the work to be done this summer. The present trail is inadequate. George Nordstrom, a prominent citizen, is on his way to Victoria to talk to government officials about the road.

Nordstrom is secretary of the recently-organized branch of the Vancouver Island Development League, while Henry Varney is president. The last of the machinery for the Western Canada Wood Pulp and Paper Company's sawmill has been landed, and 12 men are now at work. Roy Price, manager of the West Arm Iron Mines, owned by James Moore of Seattle, has brought up 20 tons of supplies on the Tees. The Buell family from Wisconsin has moved into the settlement, and will farm.

In May Varney (1909), writing on Vancouver Island Development League stationery, informs the Surveyor-General that at a recent meeting of settlers it was asked what became of all the land. He wonders where new settlers are to be located:

There is not a quarter section left anywhere that timber speculators do not claim. Then we are going to great expense

and trouble to farm the property of speculators who do not even reside in most instances in this province. Is this honest? (Varney 1909)

Surveyor-General E.B. McKay (1909) responds by saying that he is not responsible for the timber licenses that have been granted. The timber and coal lands will make the sound one of the great ports of the world. There is room for settlers just to the north in the Cache Creek-Shushartie Bay area.

In mid-May there is physical factionalism evident among the Norwegian settlers, and former colonists, of Quatsino:

There was serious trouble in the Quatsino settlement a few days ago, and the majority of the grown-up male population went down to Victoria on the last boat to engage the attention of judges and lawyers.

Contempt of court, assault on a justice of the peace, knock-out of a constable, and a subsequent arrest at the muzzle of a Winchester rifle, are all incidents in the story that is told.

Two Indians had been arrested for drunkenness, and a trial had to be held.

George Nordstrom, J.P., chose the school building as a court house, and had Constable Sorenson bring the offenders to him there.

Thomas Ilstead, who is a school trustee, does not like Nordstrom, and, after court had opened, he appeared on the scene, in the capacity of a trustee, and said some unpleasant things about the use of the schoolhouse without permission. He ordered the court to disband, and when he was, in turn, ordered to get out, he said things that would injure the dignity of any administrator of justice.

All this happened on May 17. On the 18th, Ilstead was served with a blue paper, commanding him in the King's name, to appear in the same court the following day, and answer to a charge of contempt. Mr. Ilstead refused to obey, and Constable Sorenson went after him. The constable returned to court in a hurry and reported that the accused was unwilling to come peaceably. Shortly afterwards Mr. Ilstead came of his own accord, and with him was Ed. Evenson. A spirited argument ensued, and during the debate the constable received a knock-out blow on the back of the head. He says that it was given by Ilstead with a club.

Evenson, it appears, gave some particular attention to the

justice of the peace who came out of the brawl with his clothes badly torn.

Ilstead and Evenson retired.

The supremacy of the law had to be maintained, and as Sorensen was temporarily out of commission, A. Pilling was requested to do special duty.

Mr. Pilling consented, and no sooner had he taken the formal oath of office than he set out, armed with warrants and a rifle, to round up Mr. Ilstead. He made a quick job of it, marching his man to Quiet Cove where another court was held.

The prisoner was committed for trial and ordered to be taken to the Provincial jail at Victoria.

Mr. Evenson was also ordered to Victoria to be dealt with in connection with his altercation with the justice of the peace.

Sympathizers on both sides of the trouble became keenly interested, and there was much talk of other charges and counter charges.

The other principals of the dispute decided that they would also take a trip to Victoria. To make the party complete and competent for all legal eventualities C. Jacobsen, C.V. Lockin, F.J.A. Green, E. Bartlett, and a Mr. McAlpine, also took passage on the south-bound steamer.

(Alberni Pioneer News 29 May 1909)

But in Victoria, Chief Justice Hunter throws the case out of court (Victoria Daily Times 1 June 1909).

As if to repair the damage done to the image of Norwegians at Quatsino, school trustees Ildstad and Evanson preside over well-organized and picturesque end-of-term exercises:

The closing of the Quatsino school for the holidays was made an important event at the West Coast settlement. The pupils under the charge of the teacher, Miss Bessie Noot, made a splendid showing.

The schoolhouse, which was tastefully decorated with flowers and ferns combined with bunting and flags, was filled to its utmost capacity with parents and friends, who were unanimous in their praises of the work shown by the pupils and the evident care and ability of their teacher. All were agreed that the exercises would have done credit to any of the city schools.

The school has sixteen pupils. Trustees Ildstad and Evanson were present, and the exercises opened with remarks from the chairman, Mr. Ildstad. The following was the programme rendered by the school children: Song, "Springtime," the school; recitation, "the Five Vowels," Mary Ildstad;

song, "Kind Words Can Never Die," the school; recitation, "Certainly," Hattie R. Jackson; song, "Maple Leaf Forever," the school; recitation, "Vancouver Island," Miss Emma Evanson; duet, "Song of Spring," Misses Gill and Evanson; recitation, "Mrs. June's Prospectus," Ida M. Ildstad; song, "Our Flag and Motherland," the school; recitation, "The Song of the Camp," Miss Hazel Ildstad; dialogue, "The Rehearsal," by seven school children; song, "Blest Be the Tie," the school; "God Save the King."

Commander H. Newcombe, of D.G.S. Kestral, was called upon to distribute the rolls of honor, and also the prizes presented by the teacher.

The winners of the rolls of honor were: For general proficiency, Thos. Ildstad; regularity and punctuality, Ida Ildstad, aged ten years, who has not missed a single day in three consecutive years, coming a mile and a half over a trail that during the winter months is almost impassable; for deportment, Edith Evanson.

The prize winners were as follows: Deportment, Edith Evanson; general proficiency, Thos. Ildstad; punctuality and regularity, Ida Ildstad; arithmetic, senior grade, Clifford Gill; arithmetic, intermediate grade, N. Pilling; drawing (freehand), Gertrude Pilling; neat work and books, Miss Emma Evanson and Miss Winnifred Gill.

(Victoria Daily Times 21 July 1909)

At this time there comes a complaint from a muddled but unbowed Quatsino resident who would rather walk on a graded trail than ride a non-existent horse on a needless bit of wagon road to nowhere:

We here in Quatsino have a striking example by the powers that be of how to spend money and not to have much of anything to show for it in the line of actual improvements. Through the settlement runs a foot trail that is not passable in winter time except by wading in mud and water, ankle deep. The schoolhouse is situated almost in the middle of the settlement and the number of scholars attending is sixteen. In the past five years about six hundred dollars have been spent on this trail—practically nothing. When windfalls obstructed and bridges were carried away the heads of families whose children attended school turned out and repaired the road in order that the school should not close.

Now this year an appropriation of \$2,500 was made, and as soon as we heard that goodly sum was to be had we requested that we be allowed to select our road foreman and thus safeguard our own interest and make sure that the trail would be put in such shape as to make it passable. But our little Tin God in Alberni paid no attention. Instead he selected a

road foreman and gave instructions for a wagon road, a thing for which there is no earthly use at the present time. There is not a horse, mule or ox in the whole settlement, nor is there an acre of ground under cultivation in any one place. There is no hay or grain of any kind raised and the families here located have all they can do to feed themselves, let alone feed horses for which at present they have no use. What we want of a wagon road or rather a piece of one, it will be up to the McBride government to explain. What we needed and wanted was a good graded foot trail, say about four feet wide. The length of the settlement trail is about five miles and the money expended in this way would have given us a passable trail from one end of the settlement to the other. Had there been any money left over we need other new foot trails, as there are a number of settlers without trails of any kind.

Up at Colony Lake a floating landing or float has been constructed for the benefit, I suppose, of the trout fishermen, as there are no actual residents there with the exception of Mr. Browning. What was wanted was a trail along the lake to the upper end of it. The way the thing now stands, a 66-foot wagon road is being built running from nowhere to no place, and of absolutely no benefit to anyone unless the road foreman intends to farm the right-of-way thus cleared. There is not a wagon or a vehicle of any kind in the settlement and we hardly need a 66-foot road to run a wheelbarrow on.

The trail for this coming winter will be the same old story, the children having to wade through mud and slush as usual to reach the schoolhouse. Mr. McBride, it's up to you.
(Victoria Daily Times 26 July 1909)

In September it is reported that the Quatsino branch of the Vancouver Island Development League supports the effort to have a naval drydock built on Vancouver Island (Victoria Daily Times 29 Sept. 1909). The branch believes that Quatsino Sound would be a suitable location for the drydock, because the sound is extensive, deep, land-locked, fog-free, safe, and centrally-located.

In October the Quatsino Coal Company is incorporated (B.C. Gazette 14 Oct. 1909). It is capitalized at \$1,000,000, and intends to acquire the coal lands and leases of the Quatsino Coal Syndicate.

In November several notices are given in regard to applications for coal prospecting licenses on Quatsino Sound (B.C. Gazette 18 Nov. 1909). Chris Nordstrom is listed as the agent for Charley Nordstrom, J.A. Flett, Nellie Flett, G.A.W. Hepburn, and M. Miller.

Later in the month a Quatsino correspondent reports that the sawmill has been shut down and the school closed (Victoria Daily Times 23 Nov. 1909). Some residents are not pleased that "the pulp company" has secured an extension of two years to put its pulp mill into operation. The schoolteacher has been absent for two weeks, and it is rumoured that he has gone to Holberg to campaign for the government candidate in the provincial election. C.B. Christensen is the unnamed teacher. The correspondent says that a majority of the residents of Quatsino want the Liberal candidate, Mr. Brewster, re-elected.

In the November election the McBride government is returned, with about 52% of the popular vote and 90% of the seats. In Alberni H.C. Brewster is re-elected, becoming one of four Opposition members. At Quatsino there are 19 votes for Brewster, and 15 for his Government opponent (Alberni Pioneer News 4 Dec. 1909).

CAPE SCOTT / SAN JOSEF VALLEY

In late February the Times reports the ongoing abandonment of Cape Scott in favour of the San Josef Valley:

It is not improbable that after next month the run to Cape Scott may be discontinued, as the Scandinavian settlers who have been living there for years past have decided to move down to the San Josef Valley at the head of the West Arm of Quatsino Sound. Some have already gone in there and the

others to the number of about 20 will come down on the next trip of the Tees. The land at Quatsino is much more fertile than at Cape Scott and the harbor is better. The provincial government last year made a grant of \$5,000 to build a road up the valley, but the money has not yet been expended. (Victoria Daily Times 22 Feb. 1909)

By the end of March the Cape Scott call has been cancelled by the C.P.R. (Victoria Daily Colonist 30 Mar. 1909). The call had been made in order "to cater to the wants of the Scandinavian settlement, most of the members of which have removed to Quatsino." The Tees will now leave Victoria for Quatsino on the 7th and 20th of each month.

And, the post office has been transferred from the bleak cape to the rich, deep valley:

The last of the Cape Scott settlers sent their effects to Quatsino on the steamer Amur and Post Office Inspector Fletcher transferred the post office from the bleak spot to the west arm of Quatsino sound. Three or four of the men remained behind with a team of oxen and these will go over the trail as the steamer has discontinued going that far. The new site of the new settlement is rich in timber and the soil is deep and well suited to agriculture so that the prospects of the Scandinavian colony are brighter than they have ever been before. (Victoria Daily Times 31 Mar. 1909)

The new settlement at the head of the West Arm will be called Holberg (Victoria Daily Times 1 Apr. 1909). Post Office Inspector Fletcher says that the prospects of the colony at the new site look very bright, and that the number of families there will increase when clearing is done and a wagon road built.

But settlers are already arriving, despite the unclear aspect of the land and the non-existent state of the road—some 13 settlers are on their way (Victoria Daily Times 7 Apr. 1909). The rich valley has a fine stream and a good harbour, and a post office. Many more

agriculturalists will come to the valley, a flourishing colony will be established, and all the conveniences of modern civilization will arise.

The government is sending surveyors into the valley, and a donkey engine to the West Arm (Alberni Pioneer News 17 Apr. 1909). The 14 miles of wagon road to be made through heavy timber will be hard work.

In mid-April there appears a letter to the Times written by "Scott Yo' Cape Scott" (Victoria Daily Times 19 Apr. 1909). It is a long diatribe about conditions at Quatsino and Cape Scott written in a pseudo-Scottish dialect. The closing of the sawmill on the sound is seen as analogous to the closing down of the colony at the cape:

The news frae Quatsino is encouraging. The pulp mill is actually under construction. A lot o' men at work got some big buildings up, cook hooses, bunk hooses, and the foundations ready for the first sawmill to cut the lumber for the bigger mill. After this much was done they found oot the steamer wadna come to the place. The harbour was bad. Rocks and too much current. Now they are starting to do it all over again in another place. Some people say why didna they find this oot first. If Scotty had done this they wad ca' him a fule.

I am sorry to inform you that we are in the same fix. We at Cape Scott are moving as well for the same reason. We hae nae harbor. We are now landed at the end o' the West Arm o' Quatsino Sound. The Amur brought us all here last trip to start life again. This letter is ower long again and must close. I will tell ye mair news next time. (Victoria Daily Times 19 Apr. 1909)

The "Scot" makes reference to a cartoon published on the front page of the Times six weeks earlier (Victoria Daily Times 22 Feb. 1909). It pictures a man squatting in front of a log cabin. He is wearing a kilt and mocassins, and holding a dull knife. A stern Chief Commissioner is looking down over the fence at him, with a "Notice to Quit" clutched in his hand. He tells the forlorn, puzzled

Scot that he'll have to squat elsewhere. The Scot says that he's got papers. The response from the Chief Commissioner is that votes, not papers, count.

In July C.B. Christensen receives a negative letter from the Deputy Commissioner in regard to the timber-license/harbour-access situation on the West Arm, around Holberg:

I am directed by the Hon. the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of the petition on behalf of the Settlers' Association of the San Josef Valley praying the Government to purchase from the present holders thereof the timber licences existing upon some nine sections of land in Township 32, Rupert District, in order that the lands covered thereby may be open to entry by pre-emptors. and to state that timber licenses having been issued over the said lands the Government cannot undertake the purchase of said licences with a view to opening said lands to pre-emptors.

As you are doubtless aware it is now impossible for timber licencees to acquire any title to lands held under licence and that upon the expiry, surrender or cancellation of any licence the lands embraced in such licences fall into a reserve.

In the event of this happening it will be possible, if the lands are not timber lands within the meaning of the Land Act, for the Government to open such lands for entry by pre-emption. (Renwick 1909)

In August it is reported that the Settlers' Development League has been formed on the northern end of Vancouver Island (Victoria Daily Colonist 7 Aug. 1909). The league is made up of the Holberg, San Josef Valley, Cape Scott, and Cache Creek settlements. The "prime mover in the northern publicity campaign" is C.B. Christensen.

He is publicizing the possibility of a diversified lifestyle based on mixed farming, fishing, and wage labour. The mild climate of northern Vancouver Island is suitable for dairying, and for the growing of vegetables and small fruit. Employment in fishing is found

at Rivers Inlet. The government pays \$2.50 for nine hours of road work a day.

According to Christensen, cooperation is the key to successful multi-ethnic settlement:

"Our co-operative enterprises present and projected are topics of mutual interest. We maintain reading circles and debating clubs; settlers' meetings and social gatherings are frequent. We do not invite speculators but bona fide settlers of all nationalities to make themselves a home where, by voluntary co-operation, the great natural resources of land, timber and fish may be developed with mutual benefit. In this respect we believe our settlements afford advantages equal to those of any other district." (Victoria Daily Colonist 7 Aug. 1909)

These words from Christensen are similar to those found in the final paragraph of the Circular of Information put out by the Cape Scott Settlers' Association in 1904.

In October C. de B. Green (1909) files a report on his survey of five townships in the vicinity of Shushartie Bay. He estimates 40,000 acres to be suitable for dairy farming. The townships have stony soil, scrub timber, and a hilly topography. Black-tailed deer are abundant, and there are some elk. The shallow banks off the coast are rich in halibut and cod. The bays are full of salmon, from spring to fall.

Green notes the failure of the Danish settlement at the cape, but he believes that a viable settlement is possible at Shushartie Bay:

The settlement of Danes at Cape Scott, 15 miles to the north-west, which was in a more wooded country, failed, I am told, chiefly because of the rough and stormy west coast communication. With the construction of a wagon-road from Shushartie Bay, which I have located and surveyed under instructions from the Hon. Chief Commissioner of Works this year, there is no reason why there should not be a very

compact settlement upon these townships, which will afterwards spread in a more scattered way towards the south-east and towards Cape Scott. (Green 1909: 44)

Holberg, rather than Cape Scott, is the polling station in the November provincial election. The Liberal, H.C. Brewster, receives eight votes, whereas the government candidate receives seven (Alberni Pioneer News 4 Dec. 1909).

In late December "Professor" C.B. Christensen of Quatsino Sound is in Victoria talking to Premier McBride and other officials about roads and schools (Victoria Daily Colonist 25 Dec. 1909).

OVERVIEW

By 1909 Cape Scott had been largely abandoned by Danes. Early in the year, the C.P.R. stopped steamship service to the cape. Its policy was to stop service to unprofitable places.

The Conservative Association started by Nordstrom and Pilling at Quatsino in 1909 was a good way of attempting to get money for roads and trails from the government. Some settlers wanted a wagon road, others wanted just one decent trail, and a few wondered how and why the agricultural land had become alienated by speculators. Those who belonged to the Quatsino branch of the Vancouver Island Development League even had dreams of a major Dominion drydock on the sound.

The Quatsino Power and Pulp Company's holdings had been acquired by the Western Canada Wood Pulp and Paper Company, which promised yet big pulp mill, even as Quatsino's sawmill was being shut down.

Norwegians physically fought Norwegians in a shadowy dispute

concerning the school, and they had their non-Norwegian backers. Children faithfully attended school, despite the muddy trails. And the Norwegian trustees of the school took care to arrange, and have publicized, colourful and proud end-of-term exercises—yes, their colony had failed 10 years ago, and they had been embarrassed by the recent dispute, which was publicized, but they were still Norwegians with a heritage of respect for education.

In the provincial election, many of the people of Quatsino voted for the Liberals. Apparently, they were not afraid to go up against the McBride Conservative machine.

At the cape only a few diehards were left, no longer colonists, just gritty survivors. There was N.P. Jensen, "the Fisherman," and his son-in-law, T. Fredericksen, "the King of Cape Scott," and their families. This little group of relatives were subsistence farmers/fishermen and women/loggers/hunters and gatherers/trappers/etc...yes, it was possible for some to subsist at the cape. Apparently, they didn't need rules and by-laws, government encouragement and assistance, and favourable Colonist publicity, only determination. The school was closed. C.B. Christensen taught at Quatsino.

In the valley there were Danes and others attempting to farm. The West Arm harbour area was given a name, Holberg, after a famous Danish playwright of Norwegian ancestry; however, it was still pulp land. There were 14 miles of wagon road to be built through heavy timber, at government expense and with the use of a donkey engine. The Cape Scott, San Josef Valley, Holberg, and Cache Creek settlements

Table 13 Scandinavian Crown Grants and Cancellations, to 1909

	<u>Scandinavian Leases and/or Pre-emptions</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Grants</u>	<u>Cancel.</u>
QUATSINO	28	61%	39%
CAPE SCOTT	56	43%	57%
SAN JOSEF V.	35	60%	40%

Source: Township Registers (Rupert District), Registers Vault,
Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, Surveys Branch, Victoria.

Table 14 Government Expenditures, to 1909

	<u>Roads and Trails</u>	<u>Surveys</u>
QUATSINO	\$12388.46	\$6122.23
CAPE SCOTT	\$9323.09	\$8088.50
SAN JOSEF V.	\$7051.65	\$7978.45

Source: Public Accounts and Public Works reports in the B.C.

Sessional Papers 1896-1910.

comprised the Settlers' Development League. This was probably the creation of "Professor" C.B. Christensen, who promoted pan-northern Vancouver Island multi-ethnic cooperation.

At the Holberg polling station, the vote was for the Liberals, barely, but it was enough to signal non-confidence in Conservative prosperity. It also indicated that Christensen did not speak for every Dane in the valley.

Inspection of the Township Registers for 1909 reveals that nine people pre-empted land at Quatsino, of whom two Scandinavians and two non-Scandinavians eventually received crown grants. Only one person pre-empted land at Cape Scott, a non-Scandinavian, and he received a grant. In the San Josef Valley five Scandinavians pre-empted land, of whom two received grants.

By 1909 less than 30 Scandinavians at Quatsino had taken leases and/or pre-emptions, after 15 full years of colonization and general settlement (see Table 13). The subsequent crown grants averaged about one per year. After 13 full years of colonization and general settlement, Scandinavians at the cape had secured about two grants per year. Cape Scott had reached the requisite number of "30" for a colony to have legally existed, but attrition had occurred, in the form of a high turnover of would-be colonists. By 1909 Scandinavian colonization and general settlement in the San Josef Valley was seven years old, and had resulted in about three grants per year.

Thus, after 15 years of Scandinavian colonization and general settlement on northern Vancouver Island, only about 120 Scandinavians

had claimed land, and about half this number subsequently received crown grants.

Inspection of the Public Accounts and Public Works reports in the B.C. Sessional Papers of 1910 reveals that about \$3,500 was expended by the government on public works at Quatsino, 1909-1910, including roads, trails, surveys, and the school. Twice the Quatsino amount was expended on the San Josef Valley road and the Shushartie Bay to Cache Creek road survey, while twice this amount was expended on Northern Vancouver Island and Rupert District surveys, which were in the Cape Scott / San Josef Valley area. Clearly, the government was intent on directing settlement west and north of Quatsino Sound.

By 1909 Quatsino had the largest total government expenditure on roads, trails, and surveys (see Table 14). But much of this had been on the trail to Hardy Bay. Cape Scott and the San Josef Valley, taken together, had almost twice the total Quatsino expenditure, and most of this was for local works. This implies that the government was always more interested in opening up Quatsino Sound for companies, rather than for colonists or settlers. It also implies that the relative persistence of the Cape Scott / San Josef Valley colonization was a better pay-off in works and wages for the colonists and settlers involved.

"The Year 1909" marks the end of Scandinavian colonization on northern Vancouver Island. In the years to follow, multi-ethnic settlement, not Scandinavian colonization, was the keynote.

IX

COLONIZATION ECLIPSED

SOUND, CAPE, AND VALLEY 1910-1913

In January 1910 L. Jensen and H. Muller are lost at sea while transporting mail from Sea Otter Cove to Winter Harbour; and in February there is a critical shortage of food in the San Josef Valley (Victoria Daily Colonist 18 Feb. 1910).

In March surveyor H.H. Browne (1910) reports that the settlers in Township 37, San Josef Valley, are the remnant of the old Cape Cape Scott settlers. The old settlers did not have a wharf for the steamer or a market for their produce. But with the iron, coal, pulp, timber, and railway prospects of Quatsino Sound, it appears that the Holberg-San Josef Valley settlers will be able to do some business.

The San Josef Valley settlers have organized a branch of the Vancouver Island Development League, with K. Hansen president and H. Ohlsen secretary (Victoria Daily Colonist 26 Mar. 1910).

The Vancouver Island Development League has presented a petition to the government from the settlers at Cape Scott, who are asking for a trail from Fisherman's Bay to Cache Creek (Victoria Daily Colonist 1 Apr. 1910). There are only four families and three single men living at the cape.

C.B. Christensen, now a Quatsino resident, is bringing a doctor from Copenhagen to practise in the community (Victoria Daily Colonist 21 Apr. 1910).

The people of Quatsino are looking forward to the conversion of the Coal Harbour-Hardy Bay trail into a wagon road, which is sure to bring prosperity (Victoria Daily Colonist 23 Apr. 1910).

Henry Ohlsen (1910) writes an April article in the Alberni Pioneer News about the wonderful agricultural and entrepreneurial opportunities in the San Josef Valley. There are post offices at Holberg and at San Josef Bay. The steamer from Victoria calls on the 20th of each month at Holberg, while a gasoline launch services San Josef Bay via Winter Harbour.

When cleared, the land is very productive. Timothy and clover grow well. A road is being built through the valley, and work on it is available at \$2.50 a day. There is one family at Sea Otter Cove, and plenty of room for more. A salmon cannery at the mouth of the San Josef River would be profitable. A berry cannery, a sawmill, and a shingle mill would also be paying propositions.

In July delegates of the Vancouver Island Development League swarm into the town of Alberni in automobiles, carriages, stages, on foot, and on horseback to attend the first annual convention (Victoria Daily Colonist 16 July 1910). The delegates are unanimous in wanting trunk roads for Vancouver Island. One of the distinguished speakers on this topic is C.B. Christensen.

In a July letter to the Minister of Lands, Christensen (1910) says that the cape was abandoned because it was unsuitable for agriculture.

Christensen has become optimistically Quatsino-oriented (Victoria

Daily Colonist 21 July 1910). According to Christensen, the government is doing all it can to build roads and trails: \$4,000 to be spent on a road along the waterfront of Quatsino, \$4,000 for a wagon road from Coal Harbour to Hardy Bay, \$5,000 for roads and trails from Cache Creek to Hardy Bay, and a wagon road under construction from the head of the West Arm to San Josef Bay.

There are 40 settlers at Quatsino, 30 at Holberg-San Josef Bay, and 20 at Cache Creek. Land clearing is the main problem, and the use of government donkey engines is being requested. A fine group of Britishers from Alberta has recently arrived. The settlers at the head of the West Arm are endeavoring to have the government lay out a townsite there. The Quatsino region is suitable for dairying and general agriculture.

In September, under section 15 of the Farmers' Institutes and Co-operation Act, the Quatsino Farmers' Exchange is incorporated (B.C. Gazette 22 Sept. 1910). The Memorandum of Association was filed by Chris Nordstrom, Ed. Evenson, John Gill, Edwin Toes, B.C. Lakken, G. Sorenson, Tobias Sorenson, J. Guire, A.E. Pilling, and C.B. Christensen.

In November a Quatsino resident, Alexander Farmer (1910), writes a letter to the Colonist in which he complains about "the Pulp Company's concession." Over 2,000 acres of agricultural land was cleared of trees by a wind storm and fire two years ago, but the land is still tied up by the concession. It should be made available to settlers. There is no other land available, due to timber licenses.

The San Josef Valley is experiencing a land rush, and within six months it will be impossible to pre-empt land there, according to the secretary of the Vancouver Island Development League (Victoria Daily Colonist 23 Nov. 1910).

In Quatsino the residents are building a town hall, near the post office in the center of the settlement (Victoria Daily Times 2 Dec. 1910). The Winter Harbour Canning Company has had a successful season packing salmon and clams. Ten thousand dollars is being spent on the Teta River copper-and-gold mine, recently bonded from Nordstrom and Sorenson. Linderman and Malmberg have brought mineral samples from Klaskimo Inlet, while Hawk and Pilling are drilling for coal across from Limestone Island.

At the end of the year a Cape Scott girl makes her first trip to town:

Little Amy Glerup, who was born at Cape Scott about twelve years ago, had her first trip away from home this week coming on the steamer Tees to Alberni. There are not many living things, outside of human beings, dogs and cattle to be seen in the district where Amy learned her child's lesson of life, and since her arrival in Alberni on Tuesday last she has experienced one continual round of excitement. When she stepped on the gang plank at the Port Alberni wharf she drew back, pointed a finger at a tame looking nag that was standing nearby, and excitedly exclaimed to Capt. Milliken, who was about to assist her from the ship, "Oh, look, what's that?"

"What's what?" asked the captain, who could see nothing strange in the neighborhood. But the little girl kept staring at the horse, and seemed afraid to leave the ship. Then the captain tumbled to the situation, and explained that the animal that had startled her was a horse, something that was used for the same purpose as the oxen she had seen at home. Amy rode behind the horse to H.C. Rayson's residence where she will stay for a couple of months.

Since her experience with the horse Amy has seen an automobile,

a couple of small steam engines and other wonderful things too numerous to mention. She thinks the world is a funny place and that this is the center of its strange activity. (Alberni Pioneer News 31 Dec. 1910)

"Quatsino District" and "Holberg District" are described in Vancouver Island: A History of Its Resources by Districts (Vancouver Island Development League 1910?). The Quatsino report emphasizes the timber and pulp, salmon and halibut, and iron and coal resources, and their potential for economic development. Land for mixed farming is to be found north of the sound. The Holberg report emphasizes mixed farming and fishing. It is a condensed version of the Circular of Information drawn up by the Cape Scott Settlers' Association in 1904.

In January 1911 H.C. Brewster, Leader of the Opposition and Liberal member from Alberni constituency, debates land policy with Premier McBride (Victoria Daily Colonist 18 Jan. 1911). Brewster maintains that the government has no policy for land settlement, and he argues against land speculation. It is his opinion that no crown land should be given to settlers except on conditions of permanent residence and cultivation. Farming has declined in Alberni District, due to speculators holding land in the hope of railway development.

McBride says that since his government came to power in 1903 almost 2,000,000 acres have been pre-empted, and about the same amount of crown land sold. Building roads and bridges for the benefit of pre-emptors has entailed a heavy expenditure. Almost 1,000,000 acres have been surveyed and reserved for pre-emptors. Settlement must be directed to areas where roads, railways, and markets exist. The

government develops the rural sections: 11,000 miles of trunk roads have been built, costing about \$6,000,000, and \$5,000,000 worth of bridges have been constructed.

At the end of January the Tees carries 12 men representing 20 families who are seeking pre-emptions at Ucluelet and in the San Josef Valley (Alberni Pioneer News 21 Jan. 1911).

A branch of the Vancouver Island Development League is formed at Shushartie Bay, with J.W. Skinner president and D. Patterson secretary (Alberni Pioneer News 28 Jan. 1911).

In March Government Agent Rayson is planning to spend a lot of money on public works in the San Josef Valley (Alberni Pioneer News 4 Mar. 1911). Five families have recently arrived in the valley, and Peter Glerup is arranging for 20 more families to come from the United States in April.

At Quatsino Henrik Peterson is the skipper of a 38-foot, gasoline-and-sail boat used to carry mail to San Josef Bay, and the Quatsino doctor has a boat to enable him to call at points as far away as Holberg (Victoria Daily Times 3 Mar. 1911).

By June there is a cannery near the mouth of Quatsino Sound, which employs 40 Chinese people (Victoria Daily Colonist 9 June 1911). Diamond drilling for coal is taking place at two locations. Mr. Nordstrom has acquired a gold mine and some copper and silver claims. The best land is tied up by timber licenses and leases, and there is no real farming going on. Land clearing is too laborious and costly for most settlers.

The Evanson Hotel has been established in the heart of Quatsino,

and the Central Hotel at Quiet Cove on Limestone Island. A wagon road is being built to Hardy Bay. Beavers, otters, mink, marten, wolves, and cougars are numerous, keeping trappers and bounty hunters busy.

Tobias Sorenson is listed as the agent for purchases of crown land on Quatsino Sound by P.B. Hall, M.B. Hall, and C.B. Christensen (B.C. Gazette 31 Aug. 1911).

E. McGaffey (1911), secretary of the Vancouver Island Development League, is promoting the railway development of northern Vancouver Island.

In the provincial election of March 1912 the McBride government is returned with 42 seats (Victoria Daily Times 28 Mar. 1912). The Liberals are wiped out, and the Socialists win seats at Nanaimo and at Ladysmith. In Alberni constituency the government candidate, J. Wood, is elected by acclamation.

At Quatsino C.B. Christensen's house and all its contents are destroyed by fire (Alberni Pioneer News 30 Mar. 1912).

In May H. Malmberg (1912) of Quatsino writes a letter to the Times complaining about timber licenses, the pulp concession, the always incomplete road to Hardy Bay, and mail tampering. He wants grassroots community development, as opposed to the ideological "bubble" of capitalism:

Does it seem fair and just to the people who came in here seventeen years ago with brave hearts into this unbroken wilderness to build up homes for themselves and endeavoring with all their efforts to create a prosperous district and then be imposed upon with most erroneous land laws? With

laws that are a curse to us? Here we are all hemmed in by pulp mill concessions, timber limits, land leases, foreshores, purchases and applications for purchase, anything that we have no earthly use for; the very things that one and all of us up here are looking down upon with abomination, but all this goes towards creating that "bubble." Some people in the province seem to think it is all right, but in my estimation it is a heavy burden upon our backs. (Malmberg 1912)

John Upton Noot, Ole A. Sherberg, and Eddijus Evenson are seeking to incorporate, under the Benevolent Societies Act, the Quatsino Social Club (B.C. Gazette 20 June 1912).

In September the Hardy Bay Development Company of Vancouver advertises the sale of lots at Hardy Bay:

Anticipate the Railroads and Rise in Prices!
Invest Thoroughly and Act Now!

The railroads are rushing to the North End of Vancouver Island. Study the history of every other seaport city on the Pacific Coast and you will find what the railroads have done to the real estate values there. Hardy Bay will repeat the history of those cities. You can buy a lot in Hardy Bay today for as little as \$150 and on very easy terms. (Victoria Daily Colonist 26 Sept. 1912)

Some of the property holders at Hardy Bay listed in the ad are T.W. Paterson (the Lt.-Governor), F.M. Rattenbury (architect of the Legislative Buildings), J. Matson (owner of the Colonist), and T. Jones (retired capitalist of Nanaimo).

In December the Quatsino and Nootka Comapny of Vancouver is incorporated, with a capital stock of \$500,000 (B.C. Gazette 5 Dec. 1912); and the Quatsino Timber Company of Victoria is incorporated, having a capital stock of \$75,000 (B.C. Gazette 19 Dec. 1912).

San Josef Valley developments are described in several articles in the Alberni Advocate, a newly-established weekly newspaper (Alberni Advocate 19 Apr., 17 May, 31 May, 21 June, 9 Aug., 4 Oct. 1912).

All the articles are entitled "San Josef (Special Correspondence)." They are more like belles-lettres than the usual newspaper material. The correspondent is optimistic, Conservative, and probably an educated woman of British origin.

It is apparent from these articles that settlers are coming into the valley to farm the fertile soil. Some of them are from the United States. Scandinavians and non-Scandinavians co-exist. Roads are important, and so is road work. The West Arm-Cape Scott road now under construction will interconnect the northern Vancouver Island settlements via the San Josef Valley. A donkey engine run by Charles Flick is being used on this road. Work on roads should begin in early spring, to inject much-needed cash into the community.

Surveying is proceeding under the competent direction of H.H. Browne, who is popular with the settlers. There are two stores, built by Henry Ohlsen, one at each end of the 12-mile long valley. The valley is thriving. The population of Cape Scott / San Josef Valley is approaching the 500 mark. The Church of England is organizing religious activities, and there was a minister for a few months. The mail service is rotten.

Surveyor Browne (1912) reports 15,000 acres surveyed from San Josef Bay to Cape Scott. The wagon road extends five miles east of Holberg. Holberg is a safe port, and a wharf is about to be built there. In Browne's opinion, farming is possible, but streams have to be kept clear, the soil has to be turned over and manured, and means must be found to get produce to markets. The population has increased

dramatically, from 60 people three years ago to almost 600 today. There is room for 300 more pre-emptors, though the best land from Holberg to Cape Scott has already been taken.

Secretary McGaffey (1912) of the Vancouver Island Development League reports over 3,500 general inquiries during the year, 97% of which were from people of British origin. There were a few American and Scandinavian inquiries. He reports little pre-emption land left on Vancouver Island. The Holberg / San Josef Valley area has room for a few pre-emptors.

The Special Correspondence from San Josef is continued in 1913:

The most enthusiastic and representative meeting ever held at the north end of the Island was the annual Conservative Association meeting held here. In spite of threatening weather and the fact that some of the members had long distances to travel over indifferent trails, there were 67 members present.

After the secretary had read the report and the balance sheet for the year, A.E. Green was voted to the chair. The chairman spoke briefly on the advantages of the association. The election of officers resulted as follows:

K. Hansen, President; P. Bertois, Vice-president; Home Fennel, Secretary. All of these officers received an unanimous vote. At the close of the elections, new members were enrolled, and the strength of the association brought up to 95. The Secretary was instructed to ask the Road Superintendent, Mr. R.H. Lee, for a liberal sum of money for new trails and to have the main road to Cape Scott pushed ahead with all speed, as the settlers are without adequate means of transportation. With a vote of thanks to the chair the proceedings closed.

The worst storm in years struck San Josef on the night of the 17th inst. The wind blew with hurricane force, and thousands of trees were uprooted. Many settlers were out all night watching the trees fall, being afraid to remain indoors in case one should strike their home. The main road, in course of construction from Holberg to Cape Scott, has at least 500 big trees across it, and all trails made by the government in the past three years are blocked from end to end.

Many narrow escapes are reported from all over the district.

Henry Ohlsen, storekeeper of San Josef, had four windows in his living room blown out, and a big cedar just missed his new store by a coat of paint. Frank Patterson, a settler in the Holberg end of the valley, had a big hemlock snag through his roof, and the debris from it filled his house. Patterson was standing in one corner of the house at the time but escaped unhurt. Another close call was that of C. Matteson. A tree severed the wood shed from the main building. The windows in the post office at Holberg were also blown out. As the country is full of settlers, and many have trees all round their homes, it is a wonder someone was not killed. It is to be hoped that the powers that be will come generously to the aid of the district and open up the trails at once.

The means of transportation at the best are totally inadequate for the population, and since the storm it is with difficulty that the settlers can navigate around at all. (Alberni Advocate 3 Jan. 1913)

In March the Special Correspondent reports that Capt. Stoddart has arrived at Sea Otter Cove with an 80-foot power schooner, intending to take up halibut fishing (Alberni Advocate 7 Mar. 1913). There are two new sawmills at Cape Scott. A year ago there were three families at the cape, but now there are 100. A scow and pile driver are being readied for use in building the Holberg wharf. The trails blocked by the severe storm of last December have been cleared. Mr. J. Wood, the Conservative Member, is doing all he can for the valley.

In May the Cape Scott Farmers' Institute is incorporated, and it is made up of "not less than 25 persons" (B.C. Gazette 29 May 1913).

In his November report surveyor Browne (1913) estimates the population of the north end of the Island as 1,000, with 200 in the Cape Scott Settlement. About 200 people attended the first fall fair of the agricultural association, held on 13 September. Potatoes, carrots, cabbages, cauliflowers and fruit were exhibited. There is a

good wharf at Holberg, which must be the port for Cape Scott. Small gasoline launches carry mail and freight to the various settlements. One such launch is called the "Cape Scott 2nd." Its predecessor was lost three years ago, with Lars Jensen and a companion aboard.

OVERVIEW

From 1910 to 1913, then, there was no Scandinavian colonization either existing or re-occurring on northern Vancouver Island. Such colonization had been eclipsed by multi-ethnic settlement.

Nearly all this settlement was in the Cape Scott / San Josef Valley area, and it involved a relatively high percentage of people of apparent British origin (see Table 15). There were few dealings in crown land at Quatsino, as much of the land was held under pulp and timber leases and licenses.

A lot of government money was spent on the "infamous" wagon road from Quatsino to Hardy Bay, some money was spent on roads and trails on the sound, at the cape, and in the valley, a large amount was spent surveying northern Vancouver Island (Cape Scott / San Josef Valley), and a massive amount was expended on the road through the San Josef Valley (see Table 16).

With this scale of government expenditure in the valley, it is not surprising that an "enthusiastic" Conservative Association existed there, organized by people of various nationalities. At the cape, the settlers had organized a Farmers' Institute. Quatsino was an active, multi-ethnic entrepot, with a town hall under construction, a couple

Table 15 Land Tenure and Ethnicity, 1910-1913

	<u>Pre-emptions Registered</u>						
	<u>N</u>	<u>Scandinavian</u>		<u>British</u>		<u>Other</u>	
		Grants	Cancel.	Grants	Cancel.	Grants	Cancel.
QUATSINO	6	29%	43%	0%	14%	0%	14%
CAPE SCOTT	191	4%	9%	20%	49%	3%	15%
SAN JOSEF V.	221	10%	12%	21%	36%	4%	17%

Source: Township Registers (Rupert District), Registers Vault, Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, Surveys Branch, Victoria.

Table 16 Government Expenditures, 1910-1913

	<u>Wagon Roads</u>	<u>Roads</u>	<u>Trails</u>
QUATSINO	\$11067.32		\$582.00
CAPE SCOTT		\$2778.90	\$1027.00
SAN JOSEF V.		\$37084.27	\$1178.55
	<u>Northern Vancouver Island Survey</u>		
	\$16429.60		

Source: Public Accounts and Public Works reports in the B.C.

Sessional Papers 1911-1914.

Table 17 Northern Vancouver Island Voters List Data, 1913

	<u>Individuals and Occupations</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Scand.</u>	<u>Mode</u>
QUATSINO	33	36%	rancher (24%)
HARDY BAY	22	0%	rancher (23%)
CAPE SCOTT	25	12%	farmer (92%)
SAN JOSEF V.	29	17%	farmer (83%)
HOLBERG	22	28%	farmer (82%)

Source: B.C. Voters List, 1913, Alberni District, Provincial Library.

of hotels, a Farmers' Institute, and a Social Club. Hardy Bay had become an east-coast entrepot, with some distinguished outside land speculators.

The voters of Quatsino, 1913, had a slight tendency to view themselves as ranchers, similar to the voters of Hardy Bay (see Table 17). However, none of the Scandinavians of northern Vancouver Island had settled at Hardy Bay. The voters of Cape Scott, San Josef Valley, and Holberg viewed themselves as farmers, and at these places, as well as at Quatsino, there was a Scandinavian component in the population, and a high turnover of people of all nationalities, in the form of subsequently cancelled pre-emptions.

X

CONCLUSION

The mid-1899 decision of the government not to grant further leases to the colonists of Quatsino and Cape Scott marked the end of nearly five years of official encouragement and assistance in Scandinavian colonization at the northern end of Vancouver Island.

During these five years, Norwegian-Americans had established themselves on the sound, in a spread-out settlement of 80-acre blocks south of Colony Lake, and Danish-Americans had established themselves at the cape, in a spread-out settlement of 80-acre blocks at the head of Hansen's Lagoon.

The Norwegians did not reach the legally-required number of 30 colonists, and their population was below 50; whereas the Danes attained more than 30 colonists, and a population of between 50 and 100. The Norwegians had non-Scandinavians embraced in their colony, and present in the vicinity of it. The Danish colony was wholly Scandinavian, and the Scandinavians had the cape to themselves.

The Norwegians lacked a defined relationship to the land, though they seemed to regard themselves as farmers. The Danes were farmers, aspiring dairy-farmers at the sacrosanct meadowland. The Norwegians had a reluctant president, H.O. Bergh, and a floating wharf located near the property of a dissident original colonist. The Danes had an enthusiastic president, Rasmus Hansen, a cooperative store and sawmill, as well as a dyke under construction.

The Norwegians were employed by the government on the endless trail to Hardy Bay, whereas the Danes were employed by the government on roads and trails right in their colony area.

The Norwegians promoted their colony in Scandinavian-American newspapers, whereas the Danes went to the United States to find colonists and bring them back.

The Norwegians produced no rules for their colony, referred to in only one letter as the Scandia Settlement. The Danes produced at least three versions of rules, setting out the democratic, communal, and financial responsibilities of belonging to their colony, referred to as Danevike in one set of rules. Non-Danes could belong to their colony, if voted in by a majority of colonists, but there is no record of this ever having happened.

The Norwegians had non-Norwegian schoolteachers, and no minister, whereas the Danes had the same Danish schoolteacher, and they had a Danish minister for two years.

The first five years were optimistic ones for both colonies: despite the hard job of clearing the land with axe and hoe; despite the rain and storms; despite the difficulty of securing colonists; despite the shortage of money and paid employment; despite poor local transportation and infrequent steamship service—optimistic, simply because the colonists had faith that things would get better, and because the Honourable Colonel Baker and the government he represented offered encouragement and assistance.

Baker liked Scandinavians, and was glad to be their patron. The

Turner government wanted industrious, well-to-do farmers as settlers. Baker and the government did encourage and assist the Scandinavians, having granted them special status as colonists. But Baker and the government did not direct the Scandinavian colonists—they were free to direct their own affairs, for better or for worse.

The Colonist, organ of the government, favourably publicized the Scandinavian colonization scheme of the government, portraying the Scandinavians as industrious and their colonies as prosperous, which is how the Scandinavians wanted to view themselves and their colonies. It is clear that the Colonist was legitimizing government policy, and that it was taking a human-interest interest in the colonies.

The adverse decision of mid-1899, made by the Semlin government, was a direct repudiation of the Turner government's Scandinavian colonization scheme, and it meant that colonists were to be treated as ordinary settlers. The decision ended the Quatsino Colony. It no longer appears in the ethnohistorical record as a colony, though the original core of Norwegian colonists, far less than 30 in number, did not abandon Quatsino. They received their full lease rights, and they remained as settlers. The colony could have persisted, with colonists pre-empting rather than leasing land.

The Cape Scott Colony was not ended by the adverse (reformist, reactionary, and even xenophobic) decision. The colony expressed dismay over the decision, and questioned it. The colonists kept on farming the meadowland, and they completed a short-lived dyke across the Lagoon. Colonists continued to come in, and some pre-empted land;

while others, including the minister, left. The de facto leadership of the colony was assumed by schoolteacher C.B. Christensen, Rasmus Hansen having distanced himself from the colony. By 1901, a more sympathetic, Turner-type government was back in power.

Even if the former Norwegian colonists at Quatsino had wanted to resurrect their colony, they couldn't do it after 1902—the entire Quatsino Sound area was grabbed by the Quatsino Power and Pulp Company of Victoria and the land effectively closed to pre-emption, with the approval of the government. From this time on, the Norwegians were ranchers, farmers, prospectors, miners, and various mixtures of these, and all were ordinary settlers living in a frontier milieu being staked out by capitalists, whose haphazard efforts at real economic development were appreciated by some settlers, despised by others, and dutifully promoted by the Colonist.

The Cape Scott Colony existed from 1901 to 1908 under the firm guidance of C.B. Christensen, secretary of the Cape Scott Settlers' Association. He masterminded the expansion into the San Josef Valley, which had a harbour, and which was regarded as a more fertile area than the cape. The expansion did not involve an explicit revival of the pre-June 1899 colonization scheme, but it did involve an effort to bring Danes into the valley.

Christensen lobbied the government for free grants of land for Danish colonists, and he worked with the Bureau of Provincial Information and Immigration in formulating a policy of directed

settlement in the valley. A promise of free grants was obtained from the government, land was surveyed, and the scheme was promoted in Denmark and the United States by way of a circular of information, advertisements, and emissaries. Few colonists/settlers came, far fewer than the 100 expected.

Eventually, most of the Cape Scott colonists moved away from northern Vancouver Island or down into the San Josef Valley. This process was completed by 1909, when the C.P.R. cancelled steamship service to Fisherman's Bay, just as it cancelled other unprofitable calls. A few Danes remained at the cape, engaging in subsistence farming, fishing, and other survival-oriented activities.

Christensen then became a promoter of multi-ethnic settlement on northern Vancouver Island. Such settlement occurred, relatively abundantly, from 1910 to 1913, at the same time that the government was generous in providing money for surveys and public works. But there was no salient Scandinavian presence in this land rush, and certainly no Scandinavian colonization.

Thus, there was one episode of Norwegian-American colonization at Quatsino, from 1894 to 1900, one episode of Danish-American colonization at Cape Scott, from 1896 to 1900, and a subsequent episode of Danish-American colonization/settlement in the San Josef Valley, from 1901 to 1909, which took the form of an expansion of the Cape Scott Colony. These phenomena have been fully documented in this thesis.

Ecologically, in terms of adaptation as strategic coping behaviour, the Cape Scott Colony was more robust than the Quatsino

Colony. The Danes came to farm, and they did it in a pre-planned, rule-governed manner at the meadowland, which was subdivided and reclaimed by dyking.

Ethnically, in terms of the expression of heritage values as boundaries, the Cape Scott Colony was also more robust than the Quatsino Colony. The Danes had explicit rules regarding group membership, which were linked to an explicit Danish-dairying world view, and they made strenuous efforts to attract Danes to their colony.

The focus of the Cape Scott Colony on Danish dairying at the subdivided, dyked meadowland stands as a close articulation of ecology and ethnicity, despite its brief duration and unsuccessful outcome.

The Quatsino Colony had no comparable focus, and it had a brief duration and unsuccessful outcome.

The relative robustness of the Cape Scott Colony enabled it to withstand the adverse government decision of mid-1899 and persist until the political climate changed.

The subsequent expansion into the San Josef Valley was designed to remedy the two perceived shortcomings of the cape, namely, lack of a harbour and poor ("sallal") soils—so that Danish dairying could continue and even flourish in a more favourable location. The valley harbour area, however, was tied up by the pulp company, and the mere fact of fertile, alluvial soil, hardly a flood plain full of it, did not change the overriding frontier limitations on the development of an agricultural industry, such as land-clearing with axe and hoe,

poor transportation facilities, and absence of nearby markets.

The sound was always less of a frontier area than either the cape or the valley. It tended to have a more multi-ethnic population, it had capitalists present and at least haphazardly developing the place, and it had more bureaucratic definition and control emanating from Victoria. The Norwegians chose to fit into this slightly more complex sociocultural setting, rather than oppose it with ethnic closure. The Danes finally opted for this Norwegian solution, the seemingly natural solution for Scandinavians, who have tended to be enterprising and assimilative in North America.

Both colonies failed; however, it would be inappropriate to view this as a failure of Scandinavian settlement on northern Vancouver Island. The Scandinavians came, they colonized, they abandoned the colonization lifestyle, and many remained as settlers. By 1909 almost 70 Scandinavians had obtained or were on their way to obtaining crown grants, which were about equally divided among Quatsino, Cape Scott, and the San Josef Valley, representing about half the number who came of their own accord to colonize or to settle. Many of those who got crown grants got them free, unlike other settlers in the province who paid the pre-emption price. Other settlers failed as well, as is evident in the cancelled land transactions recorded throughout the volumes of the Township Registers.

Being any kind of pioneer was a hard way of life, much harder than being a big friend of the government, many of whom received free of charge thousands of acres of public land. Being a little friend of the government, such as a Scandinavian colonist, was definitely

better than being a single settler at the edge of nowhere.

The failure of the Cape Scott Colony was greater than that of the Quatsino Colony because it had aimed higher in aiming for what may be characterized as "communalistic dairying Danishness." This ideal and this activity had to be abandoned at the cape with a tide-drenched meadowland and no harbour, and it was no more feasible in the rugged and isolated valley. On the sound, what may be characterized as "individualistic Norwegian improvising" wasn't abandoned, either during or after the attempt at colonization.

It is appropriate to contrast communalistic dairying Danishness with individualistic Norwegian improvising for the following reasons: the Danes had a clear strategy for colonization right from the start, whereas the Norwegians always engaged in ad hoc planning; the Danes produced rules and by-laws entrenching community decision-making and enterprise, whereas this was not evident among the Norwegians; the Danes settled together near a meadowland which they subdivided and dyked and attempted to dairy farm, whereas the Norwegians loosely settled together in an area which they only haphazardly attempted to farm; the Danes advertised for and went to secure Danish colonists from the United States and Denmark, whereas the Norwegians advertised for colonists a few times in Scandinavian-American newspapers; the Danish colony was almost entirely made up of Danes, whereas the Norwegian colony had non-Norwegians in it and in the near vicinity; and, finally, the Danes held on to the ideal of colonization in the face of temporary government disapproval and prolonged bureaucratic

interference, whereas the Norwegians chose to abandon the ideal and live as ordinary settlers.

This thesis has shown the relevance of the action-oriented theoretical approach to the ethnohistorical problem of Scandinavian colonization on northern Vancouver Island. The Norwegians and Danes did attempt to make their own local ways of life in the context of the larger provincial framework. These frontier colonists were not passive recipients of structures and systems—they made decisions, engaged in negotiation, formulated strategies, and became involved in politics, all of this in regard to selecting land, owning and using the land and resources, building local roads and trails, lobbying the government for public works and employment, dealing with bureaucrats, educating their children, presenting themselves as progressive, seeking to attract colonists and settlers, setting up entrepreneurial activities and communal enterprises, and so on.

These ecological (adaptation as strategic coping behaviour) and ethnic (boundaries as the expression of heritage values) processes at local and provincial levels of interaction have been delineated and documented in this thesis, as a contribution to the anthropological knowledge of British Columbia history.

The two-case comparison methodology has facilitated the elucidation of specific similarities and differences between the Quatsino and Cape Scott colonizations. It has also allowed for a broader picture to emerge, namely, that while the colonies manifested an outstanding initial similarity in terms of their special status

as farmers and progressive Scandinavian immigrants, they became clearly differentiated in terms of their will to survive and persist in accordance with the colonization ideal. Thus, the communalistic dairying Danishness of Cape Scott may be viewed as a relatively close articulation of ecology and ethnicity (that is to say, strategic coping behaviour is directly aligned with the expression of heritage values), and the individualistic Norwegian improvising of Quatsino may be viewed as a relatively tenuous articulation of these phenomena.

The periodization format used in this thesis has given order to description and comparison, and control over ethnohistorical data. The format has shown, for example, that the Quatsino Colony expired rather early, that a pulp company did gain control over much of Quatsino Sound, that the San Josef Valley scheme was a Danish creation, and that Scandinavian colonization on northern Vancouver Island was eclipsed by multi-ethnic settlement.

Of the other mid-coast Scandinavian colonizations, Bella Coola (Norwegian), Sointula (Finnish), and Hunter Island (Icelandic), it would appear that Bella Coola was the most viable attempt.

The Bella Coola Valley was extensive and Fertile (unlike the sound or the cape), colonists came in sufficient numbers (about twice as many as Quatsino and Cape Scott combined), there was firm secular leadership (as in Cape Scott, but not Quatsino) and a solid church organization (this wasn't the case at Quatsino or Cape Scott), there was government encouragement and most generous financial assistance (Quatsino and Cape Scott had a similar level of official encouragement,

but not as much financial assistance), and there was probably a close articulation of ecology and ethnicity (Quatsino didn't manifest this, but Cape Scott did). Only further comparative study would reveal whether human-decision, transactional factors such as these matter in successful frontier colonization. I suspect they do matter.

REFERENCES CITED

- Abruzzi, W.S.
 1982 Ecological theory and ethnic differentiation among human populations. Current Anthropology 23 (1): 13-35.
- Acton, D.F. and L.S. Crosson (eds.)
 1978 Guidebook For a Soils and Land Use Tour in the Coastal Western Hemlock and Douglas Fir Regions of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Tour 4. Edmonton: Eleventh Congress of Soil Science, Edmonton, Canada, June 1978.
- Admiralty, Hydrographic Office
 1913 The British Columbia Pilot, Vol. 1. London: Admiralty, Hydrographic Office. (4th ed.)
- Aitken, G.G.
 1925 The progress of survey and settlement in British Columbia. The Geographical Review 15: 399-410.
- Alberni Advocate
 1912 19 April, p. 1:
 San Josef (Special Correspondence).
 17 May, p. 1:
 San Josef (Special Correspondence).
 31 May, p. 1:
 San Josef (Special Correspondence).
 21 June, p. 1:
 San Josef (Special Correspondence)
 9 August, p. 1:
 San Josef (Special Correspondence).
 4 October, p. 1:
 San Josef (Special Correspondence).
 1913 3 January, p. 1:
 San Josef (Special Correspondence).
 7 March, p. 1:
 San Josef (Special Correspondence).
- Alberni Pioneer News
 1907 17 August, p. 1:
 Rush For Timber.

- 30 November, p. 6:
Alberni Land District.
- 1908 6 June, p. 1:
Good Settlers At Cape Scott.
- 18 July, p. 4:
Cape Scott Delegates Ask For New Road.
- 1909 20 March, p. 2:
Quatsino Conservatives.
- 17 April, p. 1:
Quatsino People Are Persistent.
- 29 May, p. 1:
Quatsino People Engage In A Melee.
- 4 December, p. 1:
Final Count Of Ballots For Alberni District.
- 1910 31 December, p. 1:
Cape Scott Girl Sees Strange Things.
- 1911 21 January, p. 1:
Settlers Going Up Coast.
- 28 January, p. 1:
Local and General News.
- 4 March, p. 3:
Settlers Moving Up Coast.
- 1912 30 March, p. 1:
Fire At Quatsino.
- Allin, J.S.
1962 Report from the office of J.S. Allin, Supervising
Agriculturalist, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C.,
30 January 1962. In Cape Scott, B.C., miscellaneous
articles relating to, PABC.
- Amorsen, G.
1896 The Norwegian Colony (letter to the ed.). Victoria Daily
Colonist 9 August 1896, p. 2.
- Andersen, A.W.
1956 Norwegian-Danish Methodism on the Pacific coast. In
Norwegian-American Studies and Records, Vol. 19, K. Bjork
et al. eds., pp. 89-115. Northfield, Minn.:
Norwegian-American Historical Association.

- Anderson, A.
1958? History of Sointula. Sointula, B.C.?: Sointula Centennial Committee.
- Arestad, S.
1943 The Norwegians in the Pacific coast fisheries. Pacific Northwest Quarterly 34 (1): 3-17.
- Baker, Col. J.
1894a Baker to H.O. Bergh, 27 December 1894, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 765.
1894b Baker to C. Nordstrom, 27 December 1894, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 766.
1895a Baker to C. Nordstrom, 7 January 1895, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 766.
1895b Baker to H. Burnet, 21 June 1895, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 770.
1895c Baker to H. Burnet, 29 July 1895, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 770.
1895d Baker to the B.C. Board of Trade, 2 July 1895, Victoria. Victoria Daily Colonist 14 July 1895, p. 7.
1895e Baker to C. Nordstrom, 16 September 1895, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 771.
1896a Baker to R. Hansen et al., 6 May 1896, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, pp. 777-778.
1896b Baker to J. Jensen, 20 July 1896, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 779.
1896c Baker to C. Nordstrom, 22 April 1896, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 772.
1896d Baker to C. Nordstrom, 11 July 1896, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 774.
1896e Baker to C. Nordstrom, 8 December 1896, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 775.
1897 Baker to H.O. Bergh, 20 January 1897, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 776.
1898a Baker to R. Hansen, 10 January 1898, Victoria. GR 540, Reel B-2463, File 64, PABC.

- 1898b Baker to N.C. Nelson, 10 January 1898, Victoria.
GR 540, Reel B-2463, File 67, PABC.
- 1898c Baker to J. Jacobsen, 28 February 1898, Victoria.
GR 540, Reel B-2463, File 402, PABC.
- 1898d Baker to H.O. Bergh, 9 May 1898, Victoria.
GR 540, Reel B-2463, File 635, PABC.
- Barth, F.
- 1956 Ecologic relationships of ethnic groups in Swat, North Pakistan. American Anthropologist 58: 1079-1089.
- 1966 Models of Social Organization. Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional Paper No. 23.
- 1969a Pathan identity and its maintenance. In Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference, F. Barth ed., pp. 117-134. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- 1969b Introduction. In Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference, F. Barth ed., pp. 9-38. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- 1981 'Models' reconsidered. In Process and Form in Social Life: Selected Essays of Fredrik Barth, Vol. 1, pp. 76-104. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bay, J.C.
- 1901 Bay to W.S. Gore, 1 November 1901, Ashland College, Grant, Michigan. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 16-17, PABC.
- Beck, R.
- 1971 The Icelanders on Vancouver Island: a historical sketch. The Icelandic Canadian 29 (3): 28-31.
- Bekker, B.C.B.
- 1919 Wonders Around Cape Scott. Victoria Daily Colonist 20 December 1919, p. 21.
- Bella Coola, B.C.
- 1898- Augsburg Lutheran Church Registers 1898-1942. Microfilm, PABC.
- Bella Coola Colony
- 1896 Constitution and By-Laws. Copy, PABC.
- 1897- Minutebook of the Norwegian Colony 1897-1908. Manuscript (Norwegian longhand), PABC.

Bennett, J.W.

- 1967 Microcosm-macrocosm relationships in North American agrarian society. American Anthropologist 69: 441-454.
- 1975 A guide to the collection. In The New Ethnicity: Perspectives From Ethnology, J.W. Bennett ed., pp. 3-10. St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co.
- 1976a The Ecological Transition: Cultural Anthropology and Human Adaptation. New York: Pergamon Press.
- 1976b Anticipation, adaptation, and the concept of culture in anthropology. Science 192: 847-853.
- 1980 Human ecology as human behaviour: a normative anthropology of resource use and abuse. In Human Behaviour and Environment: Advances in Theory and Research, Vol. 4, I. Altman, A. Rapoport, and J.F. Wohlwill eds., pp. 243-277. New York: Plenum Press.
- 1982 Of Time and the Enterprise: North American Family Farm Management in a Context of Resource Marginality. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bergh, H.O.

- 1894 Bergh to Col. J. Baker, 15 December 1894, Quatsino Sound. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 765.
- 1897 Bergh to Col. J. Baker, received 11 January 1897, Quatsino? B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 775.
- 1898a Bergh to Col. J. Baker, 5 May 1898, Quatsino. GR 1330, Reel B-4530, File 936, PABC.
- 1898b Bergh to Col. J. Baker, 3 June 1898, Quatsino. GR 1330, Reel B-4530, File 1096, PABC.
- 1898c Bergh to Col. J. Baker, 3 August 1898, Quatsino. GR 1330, Reel B-4530, File 1550, PABC.
- 1898d Bergh to Col. J. Baker, 8 August 1898, Quatsino. GR 1330, Reel B-4530, File 1551, PABC.
- 1899 Bergh to C.A. Semlin, 23 March 1899, Quatsino. GR 1440, Reel B-2718, File 2188, PABC.
- 1900a Bergh to W.S. Gore, 23 April 1900, Quatsino. GR 1440, Reel B-2724, File 2761, PABC.

- 1900b Bergh to W.S. Gore, 25 July 1900, Quatsino.
GR 1440, Reel B-2726, File 4165, PABC.
- 1902 Bergh to Provincial Secretary, 9 September 1902, Quatsino.
GR 1330, Reel B-4536, File 1752, PABC.
- 1903a Bergh to W.S. Gore, 24 February 1903, Quatsino.
GR 1440, Reel B-2741, File 1695, PABC.
- 1903b Bergh to W.S. Gore, 26 February 1903, Quatsino.
GR 1440, Reel B-2741, File 1696, Pabc.
- Bergh, H.O. et al.
1895 Bergh et al. to Col. J. Baker, 13 March 1895, Quatsino
Sound. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 768.
- Bjork, K.O.
1958 West of the Great Divide: Norwegian Migration to the
Pacific Coast, 1847-1893. Northfield, Minn.:
Norwegian-American Historical Association.
- 1971 Bella Coola. In Americana Norvegica: Studies in
Scandinavian-American Interrelations Dedicated to Einar
Haugen, Vol. 3, H.S. Naess and S. Skard eds., pp. 195-222.
Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- 1972 The founding of Quatsino Colony. In Norwegian-American
Studies, Vol. 25, K.O. Bjork ed., pp. 80-104. Northfield,
Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association.
- 1974 Scandinavian migration to the Canadian prairie provinces,
1893-1914. In Norwegian-American Studies, Vol. 26,
K.O. Bjork ed., pp. 3-30. Northfield, Minn.:
Norwegian-American Historical Association.
- Blegan, T.C.
1930 An early Norwegian settlement in Canada. Annual Report of
the Canadian Historical Association 1930: 83-88.
- Bowman, J.
1978 Historical notes: intentional communities in B.C.
Communities: Journal of Cooperative Living 36: 36-38.
- British Columbia, Bureau of Provincial Information
1904 Land and Agriculture in British Columbia, Bulletin 10.
Victoria: B.C., Bureau of Provincial Information.
(3rd ed.)

- 1906 Land and Agriculture in British Columbia, Bulletin 10.
Victoria: B.C., Bureau of Provincial Information.
(5th ed.)
- British Columbia, Department of Agriculture
1976 Agriculture Land Capability in British Columbia. Victoria:
B.C., Dept. of Agriculture, B.C. Environment and Land Use
Committee Secretariat.
- British Columbia, Department of Lands
1923 Rupert District. In Vancouver Island: Alberni Land
Recording Division, pp. 10-12. Victoria: B.C., Dept.
of Lands. (Bulletin 14, Land Series)
- British Columbia, Department of Lands, Forests, and Water Resources
1966 The Vancouver Island Bulletin Area, Bulletin Area No. 4.
Victoria: B.C., Dept. of Lands, Forests, and Water
Resources, Lands Service.
- British Columbia, Minister of Transportation and Highways
1980 A Short Illustrated History of Roads in British Columbia.
Victoria: B.C., Minister of Transportation and Highways.
- British Columbia, Provincial Secretary
1894 Indentures, Approval of... for granting of land to members
of immigrant colonies, 25 October 1894. GR 1512, Reel
B-1459, File 463, PABC.
- British Columbia Gazette
1900 11 January 1900, p. 59:
Appointments, Provincial Secretary's Office.
- 1902 10 April 1902, p. 487:
Appointments, Provincial Secretary's Office
- 22 October 1902, p. 1909:
Department of Mines, Notice.
- 23 October 1902, p. 1930:
Certificates of Incorporation.
- 30 October 1902, p. 1962:
Lands and Works, Reserve.
- 1903 5 February 1903, p. 267:
Certificates of Incorporation.
- 19 February 1903, p. 321:
Lands and Works, Rupert District.

- 1904 28 January 1904, p. 119:
Appointments, Provincial Secretary's Office.
- 1907 10 January 1907, p. 212:
Timber Licences.
- 28 March 1907, p. 1489:
Timber Licences.
- 9 May 1907, p. 2532:
Timber Licences.
- 16 May 1907, p. 2710:
Timber Licences.
- 8 August 1907, p. 5110:
Timber Licences.
- 22 August 1907, p. 5513:
Education.
- 29 August 1907, p. 5529:
Lands and Works, Reserve.
- 1909 14 October 1909, p. 5072:
Certificates of Incorporation.
- 18 November 1909, p. 6115:
Coal Prospecting Licences.
- 1910 22 September 1910, p. 10847:
Agriculture, Certificate of Incorporation.
- 1911 31 August 1911, p. 12548:
Land Notices, Alberni Land District.
- 1912 20 June 1912, p. 5619:
The Quatsino Social Club.
- 5 December 1912, p. 11367:
Certificates of Incorporation.
- 19 December 1912, p. 11871:
Certificates of Incorporation.
- 1913 29 May 1913, p. 4694:
Certificates of Incorporation.

British Columbia Journals (of the Legislative Assembly)

- 1897a Journals, Vol. 26, 12 February 1897, p. 12.
- 1897b Journals, Vol. 26, 22 February 1897, p. 29.
- 1901 Journals, Vol. 30, 27 February 1901, pp. xix and 7.
- 1903 Journals, Vol. 32, 14 April 1903, pp. xix and 16.
- 1905 Journals, Vol. 34, 5 April 1905, p. 108.

British Columbia Sessional Papers (of the Legislative Assembly)

- 1893 Return 1893, p. 977.
- 1896 Return 1896, pp. 1007-1008.
- 1897 Return 1897, pp. 765-780.
- 1898 Return 1898, p. 1337.
- 1899 Return 1899, p. 1321.
- 1900 Public Schools report 1898-1899, p. 245.
- 1902a Public Schools report 1900-1901, pp. 252 and 254.
- 1902b Public Works report 1901 (Quatsino), p. 548.
- 1902c Public Works report 1901 (Cape Scott), p. 548.
- 1903a Return 1903, p. 523.
- 1903b Report on Mines 1902, p. H234.
- 1903c Public Works report 1902, pp. F30 and F144.
- 1909a Public Schools report 1907-1908, p. B48.
- 1909b Game Warden's report 1908, p. F7.

Brown, R.

- 1963 Explanation in Social Science. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Browne, H.H.

- 1910 Extract from the report of H.H. Browne, 15 March 1910. In Abstracts From the Reports on Vancouver Island Made by British Columbia Land Surveyors to the Department of Lands, 1887-1928, p. 45. Victoria: B.C., Minister of Lands (1929).

- 1912 Report on surveys in Quatsino district, Vancouver Island, 21 December 1912. In Surveyor-General's report 1912, B.C. Sessional Papers 1913, pp. D305-D307.
- 1913 Vicinity of Cape Scott, Rupert District, 26 November 1913. In Surveyor-General's report 1913, B.C. Sessional Papers 1914, pp. D380-D383.
- Brunvand, J.H.
1974 Norwegian Settlers in Canada. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Paper No. 8, Mercury Series.
- Burnet, H.
1895a Burnet to Col. J. Baker, 9 June 1895, Quatsino. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 769.
1895b Burnet to Col. J. Baker, 10 July 1895, Quatsino. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 770.
1895c Colonization trail to Rupert Arm, 7 December 1895. In Public Works report 1895, B.C. Sessional Papers 1896, pp. 396-397.
1896 Surveys performed for the Scandinavian colonists at Quatsino Sound, 16 January 1896. In Surveyor-General's report 1896, B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 835.
- Burwell, H.M.
1893 Report of surveys in Rupert District, 15 December 1893. In Surveyor-General's report 1893, B.C. Sessional Papers 1894, pp. 972-974.
- Cail, R.E.
1974 Land, Man, and the Law: The Disposal of Crown Lands in British Columbia, 1871-1913. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Canada, Royal Commission
1969 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book 4: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups. Ottawa: Canada, Royal Commission, Queen's Printer.
- Cape Scott, B.C.
n.d. Miscellaneous articles relating to..., various dates, PABC.
- Cape Scott Settlers' Association
1904? Circular of Information About the Settlement of Cape Scott and San Josef River, Vancouver Island. Printed in Victoria by the B.C. Bureau of Provincial Information and Immigration. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 114-118, PABC.

- Carlson, O.J.
 1895 Carlson to Dear Sister, 2 December 1895, Bella Coola.
 C. Carlson trans., PABC.
- 1901 Carlson to Dear Maren, 17 August 1901, Bella Coola.
 C. Carlson trans., PABC.
- Carmichael, H.
 1903 Quatsino Sound. In report on Mines 1903, B.C. Sessional Papers 1904, pp. H200-H201.
- Carrothers, W.A
 1941 The British Columbia Fisheries. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press.
- Carter-Cotton, F.
 1899a Carter-Cotton to H.O. Bergh, 26 July 1899, Victoria.
 GR 440, Vol. 75, p. 489, PABC.
- 1899b Carter-Cotton to P. Thomsen, 8 November 1899, Victoria.
 GR 440, Vol. 77, p. 134, PABC.
- Casagrande, J.B, Thompson, S.I. and P.D. Young
 1964 Colonization as a research frontier: the Ecuadorian case. In Process and Pattern in Culture: Essays in Honor of Julian H. Steward, R.A. Manners ed., pp. 281-325. Chicago: Aldine.
- Caves, R.E. and R.H. Holton
 1980 An outline of the economic history of British Columbia, 1881-1951. In Historical Essays on British Columbia, J. Friesen and H.K. Ralston eds., pp. 152-166. Reprinted from The Canadian Economy, Prospect and Retrospect (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).
- Christensen, C.B.
 1899 Christensen to W.S. Gore, 23 August 1899, Cape Scott.
 GR 1440, Reel B-2721, File 7012, PABC.
- 1900 Cape Scott All Right (letter to the ed.). Victoria Daily Colonist 30 May 1900, p. 7.
- 1901a Christensen to R.E. Gosnell, 23 August 1901, Cape Scott.
 GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 1-11, PABC.
- 1901b Christensen to Deputy Commissioner, 24 October 1901, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 14-15, PABC.
- 1902a Christensen to R.E. Gosnell, 28 February 1902, Cape Scott.
 GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 20, PABC.

- 1902b Christensen to Deputy Commissioner, 13 September 1902, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2740, File 9236, PABC.
- 1903a Cape Scott. In R.E. Gosnell, Yearbook of British Columbia and Manual of Provincial Information, p. 87. Victoria: Bureau of Provincial Information and Immigration.
- 1903b Christensen to Provincial Secretary, 15 January 1903, Cape Scott. GR 1330, Reel B-4536, File 133, PABC.
- 1903c Christensen to W.S. Gore, 14 March 1903, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 36-37, PABC.
- 1903d Christensen to W.S. Gore, 23 June 1903, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 27-32, PABC.
- 1903e Christensen to R.E. Gosnell, 23 June 1903, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 33-35, PABC.
- 1903f Christensen to R.E. Gosnell, 24 August 1903, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 47, PABC.
- 1904a Christensen to R.E. Gosnell, 23 January 1904, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 54-56, PABC.
- 1904b Christensen to R.E. Gosnell, 27 February 1904, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 65, PABC.
- 1904c Christensen to R.E. Gosnell, 23 March 1904, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 60, PABC.
- 1904d Christensen to R.F. Green, received 29 August 1904, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 68-71, PABC.
- 1904e Christensen to R.F. Green, 23 September 1904, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 74-75, PABC.
- 1905a Christensen to Chief Commissioner, 25 March 1905, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 78-82, PABC.
- 1905b Christensen to W.S. Gore, 25 August 1905, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 88-91, PABC.
- 1905c Christensen to Chief Commissioner, 25 October 1905, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 93, PABC.
- 1907a Christensen to W. Manson, 20 March 1907, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 103-112, PABC.

- 1907b Christensen to R. McBride, 20 July 1907, Alberni.
GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 131-135, PABC.
- 1907c Christensen to W. Manson, (?) July 1907, Cape Scott.
GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 126, PABC.
- 1907d Christensen to R. McBride, 23 August 1907, Cape Scott.
GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 141-145, PABC.
- 1908 Christensen to Provincial Secretary, 20 March 1908, Cape
Scott. GR 1330, Reel B-4546, File 1531, PABC.
- 1910 Christensen to Minister of Lands, 20 July 1910, Quatsino.
GR 1440, Reel B-2922, File 20526, PABC.

Christensen, C.B. and N.C. Nelson

- 1902 Petition to the Honourable the Provincial Secretary,
22 February 1902, Cape Scott (sent 24 March 1902).
GR 1330, Reel B-4535, File 523, PABC.

Cleveland, E.A.

- 1897 Danish colony surveys, Cape Scott, Vancouver Island, 23 July
1897. In Surveyor-General's report 1897, B.C. Sessional
Papers 1898, pp. 731-733.

Cohen, R.

- 1978 Ethnicity: problem and focus in anthropology. Annual
Review of Anthropology 7: 379-403.

Cole, J.W. and E.R. Wolf

- 1974 The Hidden Frontier: Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine
Valley. New York: Academic Press.

Dahlie, J.

- 1972 Learning on the frontier: Scandinavian immigrants and
education in western Canada. Canadian and International
Education 1 (2): 56-66.
- 1980 A Social History of Scandinavian Immigration, Washington
State, 1895-1910. New York: Arno Press. Reprinted from
Washington State University Ph.D. dissertation (1967).
- 1983 The ethnic press as a cultural resource: Canada Skandinavien
and the Norwegian-Swedish community in B.C., 1910-1930. In
Scandinavian-Canadian Studies, E.W. Laine ed., pp. 15-26.
Ottawa: Association for the Advancement of Scandinavian
Studies in Canada.

- Dalichow, F.
 1972 Agricultural Geography of British Columbia. Vancouver: Versatile Publishing Co.
- Dane, B.T.
 1939 Early settlement on the north end of Vancouver Island. Typescript, PABC.
 1972 Early settlement on the north end of Vancouver Island. Typescript, PABC. (revision of Dane 1939)
- Dawson, G.M.
 1887a Report on a Geographical Examination of the Northern Part of Vancouver Island and Adjacent Coasts. Montreal: Dawson Brothers, "Published by authority of parliament."
 1887b Notes and observations on the Kwakwaka'wakw people of the northern part of Vancouver Island and adjacent islands, made during the summer of 1885; with a vocabulary of about seven hundred words. Royal Society of Canada Proceedings 1887, Section 2: 63-98.
- Dawson, W.
 1979 Quatsino: village of broken dreams. In Pioneer Days in British Columbia, Vol. 4, A. Downs ed., pp. 138-141. Surrey, B.C.: Heritage House.
- Dean, B.I.
 1953a Bella Coola Colony. Typescript prepared for the B.C. Dept. of Education, PABC.
 1953b Central coast. Typescript prepared for the B.C. Dept. of Education, PABC.
- Despres, L.A.
 1975 Toward a theory of ethnic phenomena. In Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies, L.A. Despres ed., pp. 187-207. The Hague: Mouton.
- Dobie, E.
 1932 Some aspects of party history in British Columbia, 1871-1903. Pacific Historical Review 1: 235-251.
 1936 Party history in British Columbia, 1903-1933. Pacific Northwest Quarterly 27: 153-166.

- Dominion of Canada, Department of the Interior
 1896 An Official Handbook of Information Relating to the Dominion of Canada. Ottawa: Dominion Dept. of the Interior. (1896 ed.)
- Dominion of Canada Sessional Papers
 1905 Quatsino. In Public Works report 1904, Dominion Sessional Papers 1905, p. 172.
- Dunn, R.
 1929 A history of mining in British Columbia. Canadian Mining Journal (August 1929): 82, 202.
- Eggan, F.
 1954 Social anthropology and the method of controlled comparison. American Anthropologist 58: 743-763.
- Farmer, A.
 1910 Land At Quatsino (letter to the ed.). Victoria Daily Colonist 3 November 1910, p. 8.
- Fish, G.
 1980 The Gordon Fish Collection. Tape-recorded interviews: Scandinavian Settlements. Ascension No. 4031, Sound and Moving Image Division, PABC.
 1982 Dreams of Freedom: Bella Coola, Cape Scott, Sointula. Sound Heritage Series, No. 36. Victoria: Ministry of Provincial Secretary and Government Services, Provincial Archives of British Columbia.
- Fenton, W.N.
 1966 Fieldwork, museum studies, and ethnohistorical research. Ethnohistory 13: 71-85.
- Fougner, I.
 1892- Diary of Ivar Fougner: 8 April 1892 - 30 December 1915. Typescript, transcribed by I.R. Casilio, PABC.
 1895- Photographs: Bella Coola, 1895-1896, PABC.
 1904 The founding of Bella Coola, a Norwegian settlement in British Columbia, typical of the development of western Canada. The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature 23 (6): 529-536.
- Fulton, J.
 1908 Fulton to C.H. Lugin, 29 April 1908, Victoria. GR 440, Vol. 156, p. 732, PABC.

- Gadacz, R.R.
1982 The language of ethnohistory. Anthropologica 24: 147-165.
- Geertz, C.
1973 Thick description: toward an interpretative theory of culture. In The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz, pp. 3-30. New York: Basic Books.
- Gerlach, R.L.
1976 Immigrants in the Ozarks: A Study in Ethnic Geography. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.
- Glerup, P.
1898 Glerup to Col. J. Baker, 30 June 1898, Cape Scott.
GR 1330, Reel B-4530, File 1307, PABC.
- Gordon, M.M.
1978 The nature of assimilation. In Human Nature, Class, and Ethnicity, pp. 166-180. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gore, W.S.
1896 Gore to W. Hassard, 10 July 1896, Victoria.
B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 773.
- 1897 Gore to J. Jensen, 9 February 1897, Victoria.
B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 780.
- 1899a Gore to H.O. Bergh, 6 June 1899, Victoria.
GR 440, Vol. 74, p. 638, PABC.
- 1899b Gore to M. Jensen, 6 June 1899, Victoria.
GR 440, Vol. 74, p. 637, PABC.
- 1899c Gore to C.B. Christensen, 29 August 1899, Victoria.
GR 440, Vol. 76, p. 74, PABC.
- 1900a Gore to P. Thomsen, 12 February 1900, Victoria.
GR 440, Vol. 78, p. 548, PABC.
- 1900b Gore to H.O. Bergh, 9 May 1900, Victoria.
GR 440, Vol. 80, p. 54, PABC.
- 1900c Gore to H.O. Bergh, 31 July 1900, Victoria.
GR 440, Vol. 81, p. 332, PABC.
- 1901 Gore to C.B. Christensen, 13 September 1901, Victoria.
GR 440, Vol. 88, p. 603, PABC.
- 1903a Gore to H.O. Bergh, 24 April 1903, Victoria.
GR 440, Vol. 100, p. 446, PABC.

- 1903b Gore to C.B. Christensen, 17 February 1903, Victoria.
GR 440, Vol. 99, p. 865, PABC.
- 1903c Gore to C.B. Christensen, 17 March 1903, Victoria.
GR 440, Vol. 100, p. 535, PABC.
- 1903d Gore to C.B. Christensen, 17 September 1903, Victoria.
GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 50-51, PABC.
- Gosnell, R.E.
- 1901 The Yearbook of British Columbia Compendium, 1897-1901.
Victoria: B.C., Bureau of Provincial Information and
Immigration.
- 1902a Gosnell to C.B. Christensen, 30 January 1902, Victoria.
GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 18-19, PABC.
- 1902b Gosnell to C.B. Christensen, 7 May 1902, Victoria.
GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 25-26, PABC.
- 1903a The Yearbook of British Columbia and Manual of Provincial
Information. Victoria: B.C., Bureau of Provincial
Information and Immigration.
- 1903b Memo for the Hon. the Chief Commissioner, 6 July 1903,
Victoria. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 48, PABC.
- 1903c Gosnell to W.S. Gore, 18 September 1903, Victoria.
GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 52-53, PABC.
- 1904 Gosnell to C.B. Christensen, 29 January 1904, Victoria.
GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 57, PABC.
- Gough, B.M.
- 1976 The character of the British Columbia frontier.
BC Studies 32: 28-40.
- Green, C. De B.
- 1909 Extract from the report of C. De B. Green, 26 October 1909.
In Abstracts From Reports on Vancouver Island Made by
British Columbia Land Surveyors to the Minister of Lands,
1887-1928, pp. 44-45. Victoria: B.C., Minister of Lands
(1929).
- Green, R.F.
- 1904a Green to C.B. Christensen, 2 September 1904, Victoria.
GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 72-73, PABC.
- 1904b Green to C.B. Christensen, 3 October 1904, Victoria.
GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, pp. 76-77, PABC.

- 1905 Memo for Mr. Gore, 5 August 1905, Victoria.
GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 86, PABC.
- Green, S.W.
1979 The agricultural colonization of temperate forest habitats: an ecological model. In The Frontier: Comparative Studies, Vol. 2, W.W. Savage Jr. and S.I. Thompson eds., pp. 69-103. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Grimshaw, A.D.
1973 Comparative sociology: in what ways different from other sociologies? In Comparative Social Research: Methodological Problems and Strategies, M. Armer and A.D. Grimshaw eds., pp. 3-48. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hacking, N.R. and W.K. Lamb
1974 The Princess Story: A Century and a Half of West Coast Shipping. Vancouver: Mitchell Press.
- Hale, F.
1980 Danish immigrant disillusionment in the Pacific Northwest. Pacific Northwest Quarterly 71 (1): 15-23.
- Halminen, M.
1936 Sointula: The History of the Kalevan Kansa and Finnish Canadians (Helsinki: Vapavden Kirjapaino), A. Salo trans. In (A. Salo) The Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited: A Finnish-Canadian Millenarian Movement in British Columbia. Vancouver: University of British Columbia M.A. thesis (1978).
- Hansen, R.
1897a To the Editor. Victoria Daily Colonist 23 March 1897, p. 2.
1897b Hansen to Col. J. Baker, 12 November 1897, Victoria.
GR 1330, Reel B-4529, File 365, PABC.
1898a Hansen to Col. J. Baker, 2 January 1898, written aboard the Willapa. GR 1330, Reel B-4529, File 64, PABC.
1898b Hansen to Col. J. Baker, 4 February 1898, Cape Scott.
GR 1330, Reel B-4529, File 401, PABC.
1898c Hansen to Col. J. Baker, 3 May 1898, Cape Scott.
GR 13330, Reel B-4530, File 1549, PABC.
1898d Hansen to Col. J. Baker, 4 June 1898, Cape Scott.
GR 1330, Reel B-4530, File 1095, PABC.

- 1899a Hansen to F.J Hume, 20 January 1899, Cape Scott.
GR 1330, Reel B-4531, File 232, PABC.
- 1899b Hansen to J.F. Hume, 3 March 1899, Cape Scott.
GR 1330, Reel B-4531, File 824, PABC.
- Hardwick, W.G.
1968 The forest industry in coastal British Columbia, 1870-1970.
In Readings in Canadian Geography, R.M. Irving ed.,
pp. 318-324. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Hassard, W.
1896? Hassard to W.S. Gore, Road to Rupert Arm (no date or place).
B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 773.
- Helland, A.
n.d. Pastor Christian Saugstad: a home missionary by the grace
of God. Typescript, PABC.
- Herman, E.B. and A.H. Hawkins
1891 Survey of township outlines at the north end of Vancouver
Island, 22 December 1891. In Surveyor-General's report
1891, B.C. Sessional Papers 1892, pp. 395-399.
- 1892 Report of subdivision surveys at the north end of Vancouver
Island, 17 November 1892. In Surveyor-General's report
1892, B.C. Sessional Papers 1893, pp. 471-475.
- Herzog, P.
1983 Cape Scott: a chronicle of broken dreams. Canadian
Geographic 103 (4): 54-61.
- Hess, D.W.
1979 Pioneering as ecological process: a model and test case of
frontier adaptation. In The Frontier: Comparative Studies,
Vol. 2, W.W. Savage Jr. and S.I. Thompson eds., pp. 123-151.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Howay, F.W.
1980 The settlement and progress of British Columbia, 1871-1914.
In Historical Essays on British Columbia, J. Friesen and
H.K. Ralston eds., pp. 23-43. Toronto: Gage Publishing.
Reprinted from Canada and Newfoundland, Vol. 6 of the
Cambridge History of the British Empire (Cambridge, 1930).
- Howes, D.E.
1981 Terrain Inventory and Geological Hazards: Northern Vancouver
Island. Victoria: B.C., Ministry of the Environment,
Assessment and Planning Division, Terrestrial Studies Branch.
(APD Bulletin 5)

- Hudson, C.
1966 Folk history and ethnohistory. Ethnohistory 13: 52-70.
- Hudson, J.C.
1977 Theory and methodology in comparative frontier studies. In The Frontier: Comparative Studies, Vol. 1, D. H. Miller and J.O Steffen eds., pp. 11-31. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Hughes, E.C.
1975 Colonies, colonization, and colonialism. In The New Ethnicity: Perspectives From Ethnology, J.W. Bennett ed., pp. 13-21. St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co.
- Humphreys, C.W.
1974 The writing of local history: a review article. BC Studies 22: 71-75.
- Ildstad, J.R.
1951 Treasures of Quatsino. Victoria Daily Colonist 20 January 1951, p. 3.

1953 Quatsino—Industrial Hub of the Future. Victoria Daily Colonist 8 February 1953, p. 4.
- Jackson, G.J.
1937 Topographical surveys, Vancouver Island, 31 December 1937. In report of the Minister of Lands 1937, B.C. Sessional Papers 1938, pp. Y32-Y33.
- Jacobsen, J.
1898 Jacobsen to Col. J. Baker, 1 February 1898, Cape Scott. GR 1330, Reel B-4529, File 402, PABC.
- Javala, M.A.
1983 The Scandinavians as a source of settlers for the Dominion of Canada, 1867-1897. In Scandinavian-Canadian Studies, E.W. Laine ed., pp. 3-14. Ottawa: Association for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies in Canada.
- Jensen, J.
1896 Jensen to Col. J. Baker, 10 July 1896, Enumclaw, Washington. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, pp. 778-779.

1897 Jensen to Chief Commissioner, 5 February 1897, Enumclaw, Washington. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 760.
- Jensen, M.
1899 Jensen to W.S. Gore, 5 August 1899, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2721, File 7098, PABC.

- Jensen, Y.C. et al.
 1896 Y.C. Jensen, P. Thomsen, R. Hansen, and N.C. Nelson to Col. J. Baker, 6 May 1896, Victoria. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, pp. 776-777.
- Johnson, J.
 1898 Johnson to W.S. Gore, 2 April 1898, Quatsino. GR 1440, Reel B-2713, File 2204, PABC.
- Jungen, J.R. and T. Lewis
 1978 The coast mountains and islands. In The Soil Landscapes of British Columbia, K. Valentine et al. eds., pp. 101-199. Victoria: B.C., Ministry of the Environment, Resource Analysis Branch.
- Kalbach, W.E. and W.W. McVey
 1971 The Demographic Bases of Canadian Society. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.
- Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company
 1902- Settlers agreements, 1902-1903. Documents, B.C., Dept. of Lands and Works, PABC.
- Kaplan, A.
 1964 The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioural Science. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co.
- Keeble, S.M.
 1981 The Search for Settlers: Some Aspects of British Columbia Immigration Policy. Victoria: University of Victoria M.A. thesis.
- Kelly, F.M.
 1908 Victoria City and the Island of Vancouver. Victoria Daily Colonist 15 March 1908, p. 21.
- Kolehmainen, J.I.
 1941 Harmony Island: a Finnish utopian venture in British Columbia. British Columbia Historical Quarterly 5 (2): 111-123.
- Kopas, C.R.
 1935 Norse Canadians. Maclean's Magazine 15 April 1935, pp. 26, 54.
 1970 Bella Coola. Vancouver: Mitchell Press.
- Kopas, L.
 1974 Growing up in Bella Coola. Raincoast Chronicles 1 (4): 18-23.

- Krajina, V.J.
 1969 Ecology of forest trees in British Columbia. In Ecology of Western North America, Vol. 2, V.J. Krajina and R.C. Brooke eds., pp. 1-146. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Dept. of Botany.
- Kristjanson, G.
 1971 Icelandic settlement on the northern B.C. coast (based on information obtained from E.J. Fridleifson). The Icelandic Canadian 30 (1): 22-26.
- Kristof, L.K.D.
 1959 The nature of frontiers and boundaries. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 49: 269-282.
- Krontoft, T.
 1974 Factors in assimilation: a comparative study. In Norwegian-American Studies, Vol. 26, K.O. Bjork ed., pp. 184-205. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association.
- Lawrance, S.
 1974 Sointula: saltfish and spuds utopia. Raincoast Chronicles 1 (4): 12-17.
- Lawrence, J.C.
 1957 Markets and Capital: A History of the Lumber Industry of British Columbia, 1878-1952. Vancouver: University of British Columbia M.A. thesis.
- Leeson, B.W.
 1894 Quatsino. In report on Agriculture 1894, B.C. Sessional Papers 1895, p. 1038.
 1898 Leeson to Col. J. Baker, 1 July 1898, Winter Harbour. GR 1330, Reel B-4530, File 1309, PABC.
 1903 Quatsino Mining Division. In report on Mines 1903, B.C. Sessional Papers 1904, p. H195.
 1929 Quatsino Sound—Land of Great Possibilities. Newspaper clipping?, 19 May 1929, Vertical Files, PABC.
- Lindal, W.J.
 1967 Hunter Island Settlement. In The Icelanders in Canada, p. 209. Ottawa: National Publishers.
- Loken, G.
 1980 From Fjord to Frontier: A History of the Norwegians in Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, in association with the Multiculturalism Directorate and the Canadian Government Publishing Centre.

- Lyons, C.
 1969 Salmon, Our Heritage: The Story of a Province and an Industry. Vancouver: British Columbia Packers Limited.
- Malmberg, H.
 1912 Conditions in Quatsino (letter to the ed.). Victoria Daily Times 7 May 1912, p. 13.
- Manson, W.
 1907a Manson to R. McBride, 5 August 1907, Nanaimo. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 125, PABC.
 1907b Manson to R. McBride, 19 August 1907, Nanaimo. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 139, PABC.
- McBride, R.
 1907a McBride to C.B. Christensen, 24 July 1907, Victoria. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 130, PABC.
 1907b Memo for the Hon. the Chief Commissioner, 6 August 1907, Victoria. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 124, PABC.
 1907c Memo for the Hon. the Chief Commissioner, 23 August 1907, Victoria. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 138, PABC.
 1907d Memo for the Hon. the Acting Chief Commissioner, 31 August 1907, Victoria. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 140, PABC.
- McCann, L.D. and N.A. Cook
 1970 The process of agricultural settlement in British Columbia. Albertan Geographer 6: 4-11.
- McGaffey, E.
 1911 Vancouver Island. British Columbia Magazine 12 (7): 669-675.
 1912 Secretary's report, Vancouver Island Development League, Victoria Branch. Victoria: Vancouver Island Development League, PABC.
- McInnis, W.B.
 1903 McInnis to C.B. Christensen, 28 February 1903, Victoria. GR 540, Reel B-2471, File 787, PABC.
- McKay, E.B.
 1909 McKay to H. Varney, 18 August 1909, Victoria. GR 1440, Reel B-2721, File 7045, p. 38, PABC.

- Mellstrom, E.
1980 Interviewee, The Gordon Fish Collection: Scandinavian Settlements. Ascension No. 4031, tapes 1-3, Sound and Moving Image Division, PABC.
- Mikesell, M.W.
1960 Comparative studies in frontier history. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 50: 62-74.
- Miller, P.C.
1982 Simulation of socio-ecological impacts: modeling a fishing village. Environmental Management 6 (2): 123-144.
- Moodley, K.
1982 Canadian ethnicity in comparative perspective: issues in the literature. In Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada, J. Dahlie and T. Fernando eds., pp. 6-21. Toronto: Methuen.
- Muga, D.
1984 Academic sub-cultural theory and the problematic of ethnicity. The Journal of Ethnic Studies 12 (1): 1-51.
- Neill, A.W.
1903 Neill to R.E. Gosnell, 20 June 1903, Alberni. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 49, PABC.
- Neilsen, N.T.
1901 Cape Scott. In report on Agriculture 1901, B.C. Sessional Papers 1902, pp. 92-94.
1902 Cape Scott. In report on Agriculture 1902, B.C. Sessional Papers 1903, pp. All2-All4.
- Nelson, N.C.
1898 Nelson to Col. J. Baker, 3 January 1898, Cape Scott. GR 1330, Reel B-4529, File 67, PABC.
- Nielsen, G.R.
1981 The Danish Americans. Boston: G.K. Hall.
- Nielsen, N.T.
1899 Nielsen to C.A. Semlin, 9 April 1899, Cape Scott. GR 1330, Reel B-4531, File 839, PABC.
- Nordstrom, C.
1894 Nordstrom to Col. J. Baker, 15 December 1894, Coal Harbour. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 766.

- 1895a Nordstrom to Col. J. Baker, 18 January 1895, Coal Harbour. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 767.
- 1895b Nordstrom to Col. J. Baker, 31 August 1895, Scandia Settlement, Quatsino Sound. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 771.
- 1895c Nordstrom to Col. J. Baker, 7 October 1895, Quatsino Sound. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 771.
- 1896a The Scandinavian Colony (letter to the ed.). Victoria Daily Colonist 10 January 1896, p. 2.
- 1896b Nordstrom to Col. J. Baker, 24 June 1896, Quatsino. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 772.
- Nordstrom, C. and S.K. Float
 1896 Nordstrom and Float to Col. J. Baker, 13 April 1896, Quatsino. B.C. Sessional Papers 1897, p. 772.
- Nordstrom, G.
 1909 Nordstrom to R.A. Renwick, 2 April 1909, Quatsino. GR 1440, Reel B-2867, File 6730, PABC.
- Norgar, F.G.
 1898 Norgar to J.B. Martin, 1 April 1898, Quatsino. GR 1440, Reel B-2713, File 2199, PABC.
- Norris, J.
 1971 The Scandinavians. In Strangers Entertained: A History of the Ethnic Groups of British Columbia, pp. 124-140. Vancouver: British Columbia Centennial '71 Committee.
- Nygaard, C.
 1950 Essay on the Bella Coola Valley. Typescript, PABC.
- Oberg, K.
 1928 Sointula: a communistic settlement in British Columbia. Vancouver: University of British Columbia B.A. essay.
- Ohlsen, H.
 1907 Ohlsen to Chief Commissioner, 23 February 1907, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2793, File 3365, PABC.
- 1910 Resources and Openings in the San Josef Valley. Alberni Pioneer News 30 April 1910, p. 5.

- Orlove, B.S.
1980 Ecological anthropology. Annual Review of Anthropology 9: 235-273.
- Ormsby, M.
1945 Agricultural development in British Columbia. Agricultural History 19 (1): 11-20.

1964 British Columbia: A History. Toronto: Macmillan. (First printing 1958)
- Paulson, F.M.
1974 Danish Settlement on the Canadian Prairies: Folk Traditions, Immigrant Experiences, and Local History. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Paper No. 11, Mercury Series.
- Pearson, D.F.
1971 A History of the British Columbia Lands Service. Victoria: B.C., Minister of Lands, Forests, and Water Resources, Lands Service.

1974 An historical outline of mapping in British Columbia. Canadian Cartographer 11 (2): 114-124.
- Pelto, P.J. and G.H. Pelto
1978 Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (2nd ed.)
- Peterson, L.R.
1974a The Cape Scott Story. Vancouver: Mitchell Press.

1974b British Columbia's depopulated coast. Raincoast Chronicles 1 (4): 4-11.

1975 Fishing Rivers Inlet by sail and oar. Raincoast Chronicles 1 (5): 20-30.
- Phillips, P.
1974 The British Columbia Mining Frontier, 1880-1920. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, National Film Board of Canada. (Canada's Visual History, Series 1, Vol. 21)
- Porter, J.
1965 The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Quatsino, store
n.d. Account book found in the remains of the old general store at Quatsino, B.C., PABC.

- Quatsino Power and Pulp Company
1904 Wood Pulp Lease, 12 December 1904. Document, PABC.
- Ralston, H.K.
1982 Time and pattern in British Columbia history. In British Columbia: Patterns in Economic, Political, and Cultural Development, D.M. Falconer ed., pp. 3-11. Victoria: Camosun College.
- Reddie, A.C.
1898a Reddie to R. Hansen, 10 June 1898, Victoria.
GR 540, Reel B-2463, File 803, PABC.
1898b Reddie to L. Stamberg, 21 June 1898, Victoria.
GR 540, Reel B-2463, File 888, PABC.
1898c Reddie to vice-president Cape Scott Colony, 12 July 1898, Victoria. GR 540, Reel B-2464, File 60, PABC.
1899 Reddie to R. Hansen, 6 April 1899, Victoria.
GR 540, Reel B-2465, File 23, PABC.
- Renwick, R.A.
1907 Renwick to the Premier, 18 July 1907, Victoria.
GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, p. 127, PABC.
1909 Renwick to C.B. Christensen, 27 July 1909, Victoria.
GR 440, Vol. 171, p. 858, PABC.
- Robin, M.
1972 The Rush for Spoils: The Company Province, 1871-1933. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Roy, P.
1980 Progress, prosperity, and politics: the railway policies of Richard McBride. BC Studies 47: 3-28.
- Ryder, N.B.
1955 The interpretation of origin statistics. The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 21 (4): 466-479.
- Salo, A.H.
1978 The Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited: A Finnish-Canadian Millenarian Movement in British Columbia. Vancouver: University of British Columbia M.A. thesis.

- Sandberg, L.A.
 1979 A Study in Canadian Political Economy and the Case of the British Columbia Salmon Canning Industry, 1870-1914.
 Victoria: University of Victoria M.A. thesis.
- Saugstad, R.
 1971 My memoirs. Typescript, PABC.
- Savage, W.W. Jr. and S.I. Thompson
 1979 The comparative study of the frontier: an introduction.
 In The Frontier: Comparative Studies, Vol. 2, W.W. Savage Jr. and S.I. Thompson eds., pp. 3-24. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Schlichtmann, H.
 1977 Ethnic themes in geographical research on western Canada.
Canadian Ethnic Studies 9 (2): 9-41.
- Schrire, C.
 1980 An inquiry into the evolutionary status and apparent identity of San hunter-gatherers. Human Ecology 8 (1): 9-31.
- Schwerin, K.H.
 1976 The future of ethnohistory. Ethnohistory 23 (4): 323-337.
- Semlin, C.A.
 1899 Semlin to N.T. Nielsen, 17 April 1899, Victoria.
 GR 540, Reel B-2465, File 133, PABC.
- Shackleton, P.
 1948 Danes in Canada are ideal settlers. Saturday Night
 2 October 1948, p. 2.
- Sherberg, O.A.
 1906 Quatsino Mining Division. In report on Mines 1906, B.C.
Sessional Papers 1907, pp. H199-H201.
- Simon, J.L.
 1978 Basic Research Methods in Social Science: The Art of Empirical Investigation. New York: Random House. (2nd ed.)
- Smith, A.D.
 1976 Social Change: Social Theory and Historical Processes.
 London: Longman.
- Spicer, E.
 1971 Persistent cultural systems. Science 174: 795-800.
- Stamberg, L.
 1898 Stamberg to Minister of the Interior, 11 June 1898,
 Kimbalton, Iowa. GR 1330, Reel B-4530, File 1211, PABC.

- Stooke, P.J.
 1978a A walk in the rain forest. The Sea Otter 1 (5): 10-13.
- 1978b Landmarks and Legends of the North Island: A Trip by Foot, Boat and Memory Around Northern Vancouver Island. Port Hardy, B.C.: North Island Gazette.
- Storseth, J.
 1943 Pioneering on the Pacific coast (with a foreword by Einar Haugen). In Norwegian-American Studies and Records, Vol. 13, K. Bjork et al. eds., pp. 133-162. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association.
- Sturtevant, W.C.
 1966 Anthropology, history, and ethnohistory. Ethnohistory 13: 1-51.
- Tasker, P. and J. Lutz
 1983 The cape of lost dreams. Beautiful British Columbia 25 (2): 9-19.
- Taylor, W.A.
 1975 Survey Systems Within the Crown Domain, Colonies to Confederation, British Columbia. Victoria: B.C., Dept. of Lands, Forests, and Water Resources, Surveys and Mapping Branch.
- Thompson, S.I.
 1973 Pioneer Colonization: A Cross-Cultural View. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Module in Anthropology No. 33.
- 1975 Success and failure in colonization. Papers in Anthropology (Norman, Oklahoma) 22: 1-9.
- 1981 The frontier revisited: the current state of the art. Papers in Anthropology (Norman, Oklahoma) 22: 1-9.
- Thomsen, P.
 1899 Thomsen to W.S. Gore, 23 October 1899, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2731, File 5457, PABC.
- 1900 Thomsen to Deputy Commissioner, 27 January 1900, Cape Scott. GR 1440, Reel B-2723, File 815, PABC.
- Thomsen, T.J.
 1897 Thomsen to Col. J. Baker, 27 December 1897, Minneapolis. GR 1330, Reel B-4529, File 364, PABC.
- Trigger, B.G.
 1982 Ethnohistory: problems and prospects. Ethnohistory 29 (1): 1-19.

Tryggvason, G. and N. Jobin

- 1967 The Icelanders in British Columbia. The Icelandic Canadian 25 (4): 62-65.

Turner, R.D.

- 1973 Vancouver Island Railroads. San Marino, Cal.: Golden West Books.

United States Hydrographic Office

- 1916 The British Columbia Pilot. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Vancouver Island Development League

- 1910? Quatsino district; Holberg district. In Vancouver Island: A History of Its Resources by Districts, (Quatsino) pp. 96-100; (Holberg) pp. 55-58. Victoria: Vancouver Island Development League.

Varney, H.

- 1898 Varney to W.S. Gore, 3 May 1898, Quatsino Sound. GR 1440, Reel B-2713, File 2891, PABC.
- 1901 Quatsino. In report on Agriculture 1901, B.C. Sessional Papers 1902, p. 91.
- 1902 Quatsino. In report on Agriculture 1902, B.C. Sessional Papers 1903, pp. All4-All5.
- 1909 Varney to Surveyor-General, 24 May 1909, Quatsino. GR 1440, Reel B-2721, File 7045, p. 32, PABC.

Vayda, A.P.

- 1983 Progressive contextualization: methods for research in human ecology. Human Ecology 11 (3): 265-281.

Victoria Daily Colonist

- 1894 21 October, p. 8:
Settlers For Bella Coola.
- 16 November, p. 7:
Desirable Immigrants.
- 25 November, p. 8:
It Is The "Mischief."
- 4 December, p. 3:
Return Of The "Mischief."
- 29 December, p. 7:
The "Mischief" Returns From The West Coast.

- 1895 5 February, p. 5:
Marine Notes.
- 22 March, p. 5:
The Colonists At Quatsino Satisfied.
- 2 April, p. 1:
Another Colony.
- 7 April, p. 3:
Additions To The Quatsino Colony.
- 9 April, p. 6:
Marine Notes.
- 8 May, p. 8:
Colonists For The Coast.
- 17 May, p. 7:
Colonization Prospects Bright.
- 19 May, p. 3:
The Premier Of British Columbia On The Prospects
Of The Province.
- 12 October, p. 8:
Visits Quatsino Sound.
- 1896 1 January, p. 6:
Settling The Lands.
- 13 February, p. 3:
Farming Lands.
- 22 March, p. 6:
The Mischief's Latest Trip.
- 7 July, P. 3:
Vessels In Trouble.
- 12 July, p. 5:
The City.
- 8 August, P. 5:
Wreckage Reported.
- 16 September, p. 4:
Self-Reliant Settlers.

- 17 September, p. 8:
First Contingent Of Danish Colonists To Leave
For Cape Scott This Evening.
- 30 September, p. 8:
Through Fog And Fire.
- 20 October, p. 7:
Quatsino Coal Find.
- 1897 1 January, p. 11:
Influx Of Settlers.
- 11 March, p. 8:
To Settle The Land.
- 18 March, p. 5:
Marine Notes.
- 21 March, p. 2:
The Danes Depart.
- 21 March, p. 5:
The City.
- 24 March, p. 2:
Marine Notes.
- 30 March, p. 8:
Storm Swept Coast.
- 1 May, p. 3:
C.P.N. Fleet Departs.
- 12 May, p. 5:
The City.
- 8 July, p. 8:
The "Tees" In Port.
- 28 August, p. 3:
Marine Notes.
- 8 September, p. 8:
Ore From The Coast.
- 10 September, p. 3:
Marine Notes.

30 September, p. 6:
Colonists For Cape Scott.

3 November, p. 8:
The "Tees" Gets Away.

12 November, p. 8:
The "Tees" Returns.

1 December, p. 6:
Provincial Coasters Moving.

11 December, p. 8:
The Winds Were Wild.

31 December, p. 3:
The City.

1898 11 February, p. 8:
The "Willapa" Away.

23 February, p. 8:
Quatsino Mines.

1 May, p. 2:
For West Coast.

11 May, p. 8:
To Erect A Stamp Mill.

7 August, p. 2:
West Coast Wealth.

8 September, p. 5:
Back From The Coast.

20 September, p. 8:
Marine Notes.

1 October, p. 5:
The Local News.

21 October, p. 3:
Marine Notes.

21 October, p. 5:
The Local News.

- 30 October, p. 6:
Prosperous District.
- 1899 24 January, p. 5:
Legislative Assembly.
- 21 February, p. 5:
Heard In The Hotels.
- 1 March, p. 3:
Sealers Heard From.
- 25 April, p. 7:
Told In The Hotel Lobbies.
- 28 June, p. 5:
From Cape Scott.
- 29 July, p. 2:
Guests Of The Hotels.
- 29 July, p. 5:
Ore From The West Coast.
- 30 September, p. 8:
A Quiet Day On The Front.
- 13 October, p. 6:
Island Railway Extension.
- 8 December, p. 4:
A Needed Public Work.
- 1900 2 March, p. 3:
From The West Coast.
- 15 March, p. 6:
Northern Terminus.
- 11 April, p. 2:
Danes In Trouble.
- 30 May, p. 7:
The Colony At Cape Scott.
- 21 July, p. 7:
For Cape Scott.

- 24 July, p. 11:
Wreck Bay's Rich Beach.
- 21 August, p. 2:
The Willapa Sails.
- 30 October, p. 8:
Attractions Of The West Coast.
- 1901 30 March, p. 6:
Provincial Legislature.
- 20 July, p. 6:
The Danes At Cape Scott.
- 21 July, p. 4:
The North End.
- 30 August, p. 3:
From The West Coast.
- 12 September, p. 4:
Colonization.
- 4 December, p. 11:
Queen City's Rough Passage.
- 5 December, p. 11:
Colonists For San Josef.
- 1902 27 February, p. 5:
Good Work Accomplished.
- 29 April, p. 6:
Gold Strike At Cape Scott.
- 22 May, p. 4:
Heavy Cargo For West Coast.
- 18 July, p. 6:
Quatsino Sound Copper Mines.
- 21 August, p. 3:
Northern Lands Of The Island.
- 14 November, p. 5:
Hardy Bay Wants Wharf.

- 1903 13 February, p. 3:
Hardy Bay To Quatsino.
- 1904 20 February, p. 8:
Queen City Returns.
- 30 April, p. 5:
The Pulp Mill.
- 1 June, p. 5:
Local News.
- 21 August, p. 2:
Local News.
- 29 September, p. 1:
Explorers Return From Quatsino.
- 18 October, p. 8:
A Big Industry At Quatsino.
- 2 November, p. 5:
Local News.
- 1905 18 March, p. 5:
Local News.
- 28 June, p. 5:
Local News.
- 8 July, p. 3:
Queen City From West Coast.
- 14 July, p. 3:
Along The Waterfront.
- 23 July, p. 2:
"Alberni's Opportunity."
- 24 July, p. 4:
"Alberni's Opportunity."
- 25 July, p. 3:
Commissioner's West Coast Trip.
- 28 July, p. 1:
Election Returns Now Complete.

- 29 July, p. 3:
Conditions At Quatsino.
- 1906 9 February, p. 3:
Legislative Assembly.
- 5 May, p. 2:
Mining Men Arrive From June Group.
- 5 October, p. 9:
West Coast Route.
- 1907 15 February, p. 6:
Latest From Alberni.
- 11 May, p. 2:
Many Applications For Timber Licences.
- 29 May, p. 11:
Activity In North Of Vancouver Island.
- 30 August, p. 10:
Tees Returns From West Coast Points.
- 29 September, p. 10:
Tees Has Crowd From West Coast.
- 31 December, p. 10:
Amur Reports Fierce Storm.
- 1908 9 April, p. 7:
New Pulp Mill For Quatsino Sound.
- 1909 16 January, p. 7:
Pulp Lands Acquired By New Company.
- 14 March, p. 6:
Western Canada Wood Pulp & Paper Co.
- 30 March, p. 14:
New Schedule For West Coast Steamer.
- 7 August, p. 7:
Fruitful Part Of The Island.
- 25 December, p. 6:
Want Road Improvements.

- 1910 18 February, p. 14:
Tragedies Of The West Coast.
- 26 March, p. 10:
Provincial Happenings.
- 1 April, p. 3:
Settlers Want Trail Built.
- 21 April, p. 7:
Quatsino To Have Doctor.
- 23 April, p. 2:
Developments In Quatsino District.
- 16 July, p. 1:
Trunk Roads For The Island
- 21 July, p. 3:
Tells Of Prospects In Quatsino District.
- 23 November, p. 5:
Eagerly Take Up Homestead Land.
- 1911 18 January, p. 2:
The Debate Continues.
- 9 June, p. 11:
Possibilities Of Quatsino District.
- 1912 26 September, p. 17:
Hardy Bay.
- Victoria Daily Times
1895 15 October, p. 5:
Local News.
- 1897 20 March, p. 5:
Travel Is Active.
- 30 September, p. 8:
A Thriving Colony.
- 11 November, p. 7:
Quatsino.
- 11 November, p. 8:
From West Coast.

- 1898 11 February, p. 5:
Along The Wharves.
- 18 July, p. 7:
Political Outlook.
- 1900 14 June, p. 5:
Resignation Imminent.
- 1902 12 November, p. 8:
A Great Potlatch.
- 13 November, p. 8:
That Pulp Concession.
- 1906 2 February, p. 4:
A Quatsino Protest.
- 19 February, p. 4:
Complaint From Quatsino.
- 20 February, p. 4:
Quatsino Pulp Concession.
- 1907 30 July, p. 10:
Fire In Quatsino.
- 1909 22 February, p. 1:
Heard At Quatsino (cartoon).
- 22 February, p. 8:
Steamer Tees Sails For Cape Scott.
- 31 March, p. 8:
Cape Scott Settlers Move To Quatsino.
- 1 April, p. 9:
Danish Colony To Be Called Holberg.
- 7 April, p. 8:
Settlers Leaving On Steamer Tees.
- 19 April, p. 4:
Scotty's Latest Epistle.
- 1 June, p. 2:
Quatsino Justice Made Bad Blunder.

- 21 July, p. 9:
Closing Exercises At Quatsino School.
- 26 July, p. 8:
Money Wasted And Settlers Neglected.
- 29 September, p. 8
Quatsino Urges Claim To Dock.
- 23 November, p. 5:
Much Dissatisfaction Felt At Quatsino.
- 1910 2 December, p. 10:
Quatsino To Have New Town Hall.
- 1911 3 March, p. 16:
Quatsino Notes.
- 1912 28 March, p. 7:
Provincial Poll Throughout B.C.
- Viken, T.
1950 Reminiscences of Bella Coola. Typescripts, translated from Norrøna (Winnipeg): 8 June, 15 June, 29 June 1950, PABC.
- Whiteley, M.
1962 Unsettled settlement. The Beaver (Summer 1962): 4-9.
- Whitten, N.E. Jr. and D.S. Whitten
1972 Social strategies and social relationships. Annual Review of Anthropology 1: 247-270.
- Wilson, J.D.
1973 Matti Kurikka: Finnish-Canadian intellectual. BC Studies 20: 50-65.
- 1978 Matti Kurikka and A.B. Makela: socialist thought among Finns in Canada, 1900-1932. Canadian Ethnic Studies 10 (2): 9-21.
- Wilson, J.D. and J. Dahlie
1978 Introduction: ethnic radicals. Canadian Ethnic Studies 10 (2): 1-8.
- Wood, D.
1967 Scandinavian settlers in Canada revisited. Geografiska Annaler (Series B, Human Geography) 49 (1): 1-9.

Woodcock, G.

1958 Harmony Island: a Canadian utopia. In British Columbia: A Centennial Anthology, R.E. Waters, ed., pp. 206-213.
Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Young, H.E.

1908 Young to C.B. Christensen, 27 April 1908, Victoria.
GR 540, Reel B-2481, File 449, PABC.

VITA

Surname: SMITH Given Names: LEONARD LEE

Place of Birth: Penticton, B.C. Date of Birth: 12 January 1947

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, VANCOUVER, B.C. 1965 to 1966

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, VICTORIA, B.C. 1980 to 1983

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, VICTORIA, B.C. 1983 to 1985

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B.A. 1983 University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C.

Honors and Awards:

President's Scholarship, University of Victoria, 1982 and 1983

University of Victoria Graduate Fellowship, 1983-1984 and 1984-1985

Publications:

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis or dissertation (the title of which is shown below) to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the Library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis:

AN ETHNOHISTORICAL COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SCANDINAVIAN COLONIZATION ON

NORTHERN VANCOUVER ISLAND, BRITISH COLUMBIA: THE NORWEGIANS AT

QUATSINO AND THE DANES AT CAPE SCOTT / SAN JOSEF VALLEY, 1894-1913

Author

LEONARD LEE SMITH

24 August 1985