

THE SHAWNIGAN LAKE LUMBER COMPANY

1889 - 1943

by

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ABSTRACT

The lumber industry developed slowly in British Columbia. Faced with market problems and difficulties in logging much of its timber wealth, British Columbia lumbermen initially had to struggle to compete even in the local markets. The industry gradually developed by perseverance until the rapid settlement of the Canadian Prairies opened a new market and provided the basis for spectacular growth within the industry.

Little detailed study has been undertaken on the historical development of the British Columbia forest industry. The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company illustrates the development of the forest industry during its period of most innovative growth; from simple beginnings in the late 1880's to the 1940's when giant corporations began to dominate production and sales. Each lumber operation had its own individual characteristics but it is possible to visualize certain industry-wide trends within the microcosm of the single company. It is upon these microcosmic units a comprehensive study of the industry must be constructed.

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company went into production just prior to the beginning of the boom on the Prairies. The first years were difficult and the initiators were forced to retire, but once competent men had taken it over and reorganized the operation into a company, the business prospered. Markets were established and opportunities were eagerly seized.

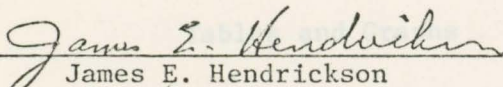
The most significant development was the new technology that became available shortly after the company's re-organization. The owners quickly seized upon these developments and made use of them to improve their operations. This was particularly noticeable in the logging operations where the changes were dramatic and highly visible. The ox was replaced by the horse which was in turn replaced by the tremendous power of steam. Steam logging methods changed the face of the land as the slower animal methods of logging did not. Technological change occasionally occurred simply because it was available but it was usually introduced only after terrain forced an improvement in technique. Ground lead yarding, for instance, was used for a number of years by The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company after high lead yarding became widely known. The success of the firm, however, lay in the ability of the owners to realize that constant change and improvement was necessary in order to adapt to changing conditions and to remain competitive. The sawmill was constantly being improved and while it did not undergo the dramatic change which occurred in the logging operations, the improvements were of significant importance, as better logging technology poured additional logs into the Lake so the sawmill had to increase its capacity.

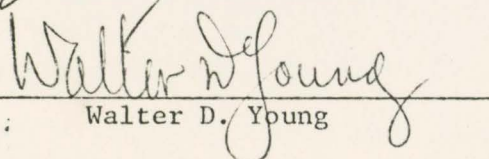
The product, lumber, was meaningless unless the owners of the company possessed the ability to dispose of it at a profit. The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was relatively successful but was never able to match the larger concerns such as Thurston-Flavelle Limited. The company concentrated on the local Canadian markets, particularly the Prairies and Victoria. The British Columbia lumber industry neglected

the export trade while the Prairie markets remained good but in the uncertainties of the 1920's The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company like other British Columbia sawmills made attempts to enter the export trade. The depression of the 1930's ended the Prairies' markets and the export attempts.

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was never just a company; it was also people--both the owners and the sometimes crude loggers. It was a unit and formed an important centre for the formation of a larger community. What affected the sawmill and logging operations often dramatically affected the surrounding community. The men who worked at the mill formed an important part of the community not only for their very presence but also for the money they spent.

The demise of such enterprise can only be sad. This is especially true when it drags on as The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company did in its final years. Several operators tried to rebuild the operation but it instead merged into the H. R. MacMillan Export Company and became part of a new age of giant business. The company lost its separate existence as a result of four major factors; the inability of its owners to rebuild the sawmill following the fire in 1934, the poor quality of the timber resources available, the financial problems incurred during the depression, and the need for the stronger companies to expand their resource base in order to maintain their own identity.


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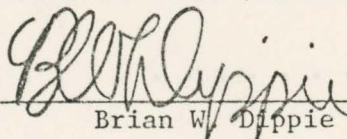

Brian W. Dippie

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CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS

The relatively small population and the great distance from markets retarded the emergence and development of British Columbia's forest industry. Its successful establishment was a long and complicated process. Other resource industries, the fur trade, mining, and fishing grew relatively quickly, but forestry developed slowly until the 1890's. Several factors then combined to make it, following the turn of the century, the leading industry in the province, a position it holds to this day.

The importance of wood and the vital nature of trees has impinged upon man's aesthetic, spiritual, and practical natures for centuries. The importance of wood has caused poets and storytellers to relate tales of the magnificence of trees and forests. The practical aspects of the tree have always been of major significance because, despite occasional substitutes, such as stones for building, peat for fire, or steel and plastics, men have traditionally depended upon wood for warmth, shelter, tools, food, and even occasionally for clothing. Today we are even more dependent upon the forest for many vital aspects of our civilization. Nevertheless, man has never completely lost sight of the spiritual aspect of the forest:

If anything could call for a dirge and a bitter lament it would be the loss of our trees from the landscape, and even the town dweller would ache for the trees of his parks and boulevards and would feel that something irreparable had departed and that life was a further step off from heaven.¹

The North American forest initially did not evoke such

feelings. Upon reaching the new world, Europeans were confronted with new vistas of rugged landscapes covered with dense craggy forests, so different from the quiet enchantment to be found in the forests of Europe. This difference often resulted in negative first impressions. On the West Coast great silent forests and the fog and rain discouraged early white visitors. Mariners such as George Dixon were eager to leave the "dreary and inhospitable coast" of British Columbia for warmer and more amenable climates.² George Vancouver characterized the coast as "truly forlorn; and awful silence pervaded the gloomy forests. . . ." ³

Native Indians, in contrast to the European, lived for centuries in harmony with the forest. On the West Coast the native people have been characterized as a people of "sea and cedar."⁴ They based their way of life upon their interrelationships with the sea and the forest. Red cedar, Thuja plicata, supplied materials for houses, canoes, tools, utensils, clothing, ornaments, and religious objects, while the sea provided the bulk of their food. The Europeans destroyed this harmony by hewing down the forest for farms and cities.

In 1611, less than five years after the founding of Virginia, the first sawmill in North America was operating. In 1623, the Dutch established a sawmill in New York, and another was established by the English in Maine.⁵ In Canada a sawmill was operated by the Jesuits at least by 1646.⁶ Destruction of the forest grew and by 1850, only two years after the erection of the first sawmill in British Columbia by the Hudson's Bay Company, 1,567 sawmills were operating in Upper Canada and 17,475 in the United States, including 37 in Oregon Territory.⁷ As eastern timber sources were depleted, businessmen became aware of the

excellent opportunities in the west and the centre for lumber production gradually shifted west.

The forest industry of British Columbia originated with the visits of early mariners. Spanish mariners were the first Europeans to visit the Pacific Northwest. The first Europeans to land were English, when Captain James Cook arrived and repaired his vessels in Nootka Sound, 1778. Cook wrote that he found the coast very pleasant and that it appeared very fertile. He observed that the "seacoast, high as well as low, [was] covered to a considerable breadth with high, straight trees, that formed a beautiful prospect, as of one vast forest."⁸ The crews of Cook's ships, the Resolution and Discovery, felled trees for masts and spars and also cut and loaded some extra logs "which might occasionally be sawn into Boards."⁹ This was the first indication of what the future held for the forest industry of British Columbia.

These explorers and traders, brought to British Columbia by the lure of sea otter pelts, carried out a casual trade in timber. No estimate can be made as to how extensive the trade was but it was relatively small. One of the earlier visitors was Captain John Meares, an English trader, sailing from Canton. He arrived at Nootka Sound in 1788 and constructed the first European style vessel to be built in British Columbia. He also loaded planks, spars, boat's knees, and other timber for sale in China.¹⁰ While Cook had commenced the felling of timber, it was Meares who implemented its first commercial transportation.

The important tree to the maritime trade and to later sawmills was not red cedar, but, instead, Douglas fir, Pseudotsuga menziesii, commonly named after the Scottish botanist, David Douglas. Naturalists

have waxed eloquent about this mighty forest giant. "The living tree is superb, broad-based pyramid" with a "delicate lace-like drooping spray of yellowish or bluish green leaves."¹¹ The Douglas fir, while not "the paragon of conifers" as it was frequently stated, has great beauty, large size and an excellent quality wood.¹² In 1929, it was noted that: "On all the seven seas are ships that use and carry Douglas fir, use it for their own masts and spars and decking, carry it as cargo, carry it to buyers in every land, in every walk of life; for nearly every need."¹³ The other coastal giants lacked the commercial importance of the Douglas fir. Balsam fir and hemlock were considered waste species during much of the history of British Columbia's forest industry, while red cedar was generally only used for roofing, siding and poles. Douglas fir was quickly recognized to be an important building material because of its "unusual combination of strength, durability, stiffness, nail-holding ability, and lack of tendency to warp. . . ."¹⁴

Sawmill development was slow and difficult. For seventy years following Captain Cook's initial landing, the only lumber manufactured came from the fur trading companies' sawpits. The first small sawmill was erected near Parson's Bridge, Victoria, in November 1848. Owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, it was also the first sawmill to export lumber, shipping to San Francisco. Development continued until the gold rush in 1858 sparked expansion by the creation of a large local market. Among the sawmills erected as a result of the gold rush was the first sawmill on mainland British Columbia, erected in Yale, 1858.¹⁵ Victoria was the main market for new local manufacturers, though many mills, such as the small one at Yale, made no effort to compete in the Victoria market.

Even in this local market strong competition from the Puget Sound area severely retarded forest industry development. During the gold rush the Puget Sound sawmills sent few cargos anywhere but to Victoria.¹⁶ This flood of American lumber made it difficult for any enterprising colonist to establish a thriving sawmill. In 1863 the bulk of the lumber available for purchase was being produced in American sawmills. Victoria imported 4,319,000 board feet from Puget Sound and 744,000 from San Francisco, while only 2,666,000 feet came from Cowichan and Alberni, 325,000 from the mainland, and 100,000 from Sooke.¹⁷ American competition continued to pose a major difficulty to British Columbia lumbermen throughout the nineteenth century.

One of the more significant, if short-lived, sawmills was erected in 1861 near what is now Port Alberni. It was established by Captain Edward Stamp, who later established a mill on Burrard Inlet, under the auspices of Anderson & Co. of London, to engage in trading in the overseas lumber markets. The operations, located some distance from the bustle of the gold rush, initially gave every appearance of success.¹⁸ Orders came from around the Pacific with ships loading for Valparaiso, Adelaide, the Sandwich Islands, San Francisco, and Shanghai. Throughout 1864 the sawmill exported 10,947,956 feet of lumber, at least five vessels were always in port, and on occasion the sawmill was operated both day and night to fill the orders.¹⁹ Despite this demonstrated market potential, when the sawmill closed for the season in 1864, it never reopened. The permanent closure resulted from an inability to provide sufficient logs for the saws. In a district which since 1920 has been a major log producer, Gilbert Malcolm Sproat found, in 1864,

that there was "no wood in the district."²⁰ Sproat's difficulty lay in the logging technology that was available to him. Economical logging with oxen necessitated that the timber felled be less than one mile from either the sawmill or water and that only a relatively gentle slope be encountered. By 1864 the Alberni sawmill had exhausted all available surrounding timber that met such specifications.

Thus we see that early lumbermen immediately encountered two major problems, which continued to plague British Columbia lumber production, inaccessibility of timber and the difficulty of marketing the product.

Lumber production continued to increase despite the closure of the Alberni sawmill. The centre of the export trade shifted to the Burrard Inlet-False Creek district on the mainland, where, as early as 1862, T. W. Graham and Co. placed a sawmill in operation. By 1889, the year The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was established, there were thirty-three sawmills in operation or nearing completion. Fifteen of them operated in the New Westminster-Vancouver area, six operated on Vancouver Island, and the rest were scattered throughout the province.²¹ These statistics indicate the development of the forest industry. In 1890 the timber inspector reported forty-three sawmills either in production or being erected, nineteen were in the New Westminster-Vancouver area.²²

By 1889 lumbering was firmly established in British Columbia and on the verge of burgeoning into a major industry. Five major sawmills operated on Vancouver Island, of which two proved predominantly successful. The sawmill established by J. P. Sayward at Rock Bay in

Victoria in 1878 produced 40,000 feet per day, and the Victoria Lumber and Manufacturing Company sawmill at Chemainus was shortly to be expanded to a capacity of 150,000 feet daily.²³ Other sawmills in the area were the Muir sawmill in Sooke, which closed permanently in 1892; the Hewitt & McIntyre sawmill at Genoa Bay, which was plagued with various problems until after 1900; and a successful sawmill in Nanaimo which had a daily capacity of 70,000 feet. These sawmills were the major competition faced by The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company.²⁴

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company commenced operations in a region of rapid development. The first white settler, a retired Hudson's Bay employee, settled in the area in 1853. Several explorers also traversed the area, notably J. D. Pemberton and Robert Brown. The district was especially noted by them for future agricultural development. Settlers located farms, and in 1861 the steamship Hecate arrived with one hundred pioneers. By 1871 there were at least 456 whites in the area.²⁵

The area was predominantly settled for agricultural purposes and statements such as that of the assistant surveyor-general were common: "I am firmly persuaded that, under a judicious system of farming, as good returns can be obtained from these lands as in any part of America."²⁶ However, other factors also exerted an influence on the area's development. The settlers sought cleared land and the forest was a barrier in their path. It is certain though that few felt as completely negative as the individual who reported that: "I raised my eyes to the sky and could see nothing for the worthless timber that covered everything."²⁷ Some found value in the vast forests such as

Thomas Askew at Chemainus and the Reverend David Holmes at Somenos.

William Sutton, who arrived in 1875, was one of the first individuals to realize the tremendous potential of lumbering, though his efforts were not particularly successful. A few also came to Cowichan for its mining prospects, such as the four gold seekers, who explored the Koksilah River in 1864.²⁸

By 1889 a progressive community was developing in the area. A railway station was established at Duncan, following a representation to the industrialist, Robert Dunsmuir, and a town started to grow. Other communities were along the coast such as the one at Cowichan Bay, which boasted of the first pub and jail, established by John Harris in 1859. The first public building was erected near the shore of Somenos Lake in 1863, and others soon followed. In 1871 the Corporation of the District of North Cowichan was formed, the third oldest municipality in British Columbia.

Developments around Shawnigan Lake were much slower than throughout the rest of the district. An "uninhabited wilderness," it was shunned even by the Indians.²⁹ Its only visitors for many years were the few hardy travellers using the Goldstream Trail. The first permanent settlement occurred in 1885, when Charlie Morton established a hotel in anticipation of the arrival of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway.³⁰ In 1887 George Lewis undertook a small amount of logging near the lake. Thus, while the location was isolated, William Lossee, the founder of The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, did not establish his sawmill in the midst of the wilderness but, instead, near a prospering hotel and close to a rapidly emerging community. Combined with other elements, the

location was ideal, and William Lossee chose it as the place at which to seek his fortune.

¹ Elzener Hughes-Gibb, Trees and Men (London: A. Moring, 1938), p. 21.

² George Dixon, A Voyage Round the World; but more Particularly to the Northwest Coast of America (London: Geo. Goulding, 1789), p. 244, cited in Craig Donald Andrews, "British Columbia: A Study of the Influence of the Themes of Hardship and A Sterile Land Upon Its Literature, Both Descriptive and Historical, 1628-1916." (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Washington State University, 1958), p. 29.

³ George Vancouver, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, Vol. I (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1798), p. 321, cited in Andrews, p. 42.

⁴ See for instance Lois McCoukey, Sea & Cedar: How the Northwest Coast Indians Lived (Vancouver: J. J. Douglas, 1973).

⁵ A. L. Wankerman, Harvesting Timber Crops (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949), p. 18.

⁶ George R. Paterson, "Sawdust Trail, IV, Canada," Bulletin of the Association For Preservation Technology, 9 (1973), p. 122.

⁷ Nathan Rosenberg, "America's Rise to Leadership," in America's Wooden Age: Aspects of Its Early Technology, ed. by Robert Hindle (Tarrytown: Sleepy Hollow Restoration, 1973), pp. 58-59. Arthur M. Lower, The Assault on the Canadian Forest (New York: Greenwood Press, 1966), p. 47.

⁸ The Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the World (London: Richard Phillips, 1809), p. 283.

⁹ Ibid., p. 262.

¹⁰ John Hearse, Voyages Made in the Years 1768 and 1769 From China To The North-West Coast of America, Bibliotheca Australiana 832 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1967), Appendix I.

¹¹ Julia Ellen Rogers, Trees (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1926), p. 259.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Axel H. Oshoin, American Douglas Fir and Its Uses, Trade Promotion Series, No. 47 (Washington: Department of Commerce, 1929), p. 1.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁵ Joseph Collins Lawrence, "Markets and Capital: A History of the Lumber Industry of British Columbia 1778-1952," (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1957), p. 9.

¹⁶ Thomas R. Cox, Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), pp. 111-112.

¹⁷ Patrick Donald Floyd, "The Human Geography of Southern Vancouver Island 1842-1891," (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Victoria, 1969), p. 95. Whenever reference is made to feet of lumber it is in board measure, unless otherwise stated.

¹⁸ Lawrence, p. 22. See also G. W. Taylor, Timber History of the Forest Industry in B.C. (Vancouver: J. J. Douglas, 1975), pp. 20-24.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ G. M. Sproat to the Colonial Secretary (Nov. 1, 1864), cited in Lawrence, p. 23.

²¹ British Columbia, Sessional Papers, Timber Inspector's Report 1889 (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1890), p. 153. These reports are not completely accurate for Vancouver Island, for instance, at least two sawmills in the Cowichan area were not listed, that of Angus Mckinnon and The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company which was under construction.

²² Timber Inspector's Report 1890, p. 172A.

²³ See H. Olsen, Water Over the Wheel (Chemainus: Chemainus Valley Historical Society, 1963).

²⁴ Timber Inspector's Report 1889, p. 153.

²⁵ E. Blanche Norcross, The Warm Land (Duncan: E. Blanche Norcross, 1959), p. 37.

²⁶ Matthew Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia: Their History, Resources and Prosperity (London: Longman, Green, Roberts & Green 1865), p. 186.

²⁷ Cited in Myrtle Bergren, Tough Timber, The Loggers of B.C. - Their Story (Toronto: Progress Books, 1966), p. 10.

²⁸ "Gold at Cowichan," British Colonist, Sept. 17, 1864, p. 3. The Cowichan was not rich in minerals and the only major rush was for copper at nearby Mt. Sicker.

²⁹ R. I. Dougan, Cowichan My Valley (Duncan: R. I. Dougan, 1973), p. 38.

³⁰ See also Green Branches and Fallen Leaves (Duncan: Shawnigan Lake Confederation Centennial Celebrations Committee of 1966-67), and Norcross, The Warm Land.

AN ENTERPRISE EMERGES

A spirit of endeavour and a will to seek his fortune enabled William K. Losses to initiate a daring enterprise on the shores of Shawnigan Lake. Losses, however, did not possess the resources to carry his idea to fruition. He and his partner yielded to men of greater ability, who successfully carried the business through years of boom and depression, only to watch it become one of the many casualties of the Great Depression of the 1930's. The company emerged from the depression so weakened that it was quickly swallowed by a larger concern.

William Losses had the vision to see the potential in British Columbia lumbering. Born near Peterborough, Ontario, Losses worked for a number of different railways before coming to British Columbia. His credentials from the Southern Pacific were so good that Robert Dunsuir immediately hired him as Master Mechanic for the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. Losses's duties carried him up the railway line, providing him with opportunity to observe Vancouver Island, particularly the fine stands of timber. He was especially impressed with the timber around Shawnigan Lake and decided to approach James Dunsuir, one of Robert's sons, to see if the timber could be leased to him.

William Losses was infected with the exuberant optimism of his times. It was an era when business opportunity seemed limitless. The great Chicago Exhibition of 1892, a giant tribute to industrial expansion, was only three years in the future. British Columbia was entering a period of rapid economic development. Lumber production,

CHAPTER II

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along with other industrial production, increased, rising from a cut of 31,868,884 in 1888 to 43,852,138 in 1889, and then to 78,177,955 in 1890.²

Lossee was also very much aware of the significance of railways, a factor that dominated his choice of location. The common practice in coastal British Columbia was to construct sawmills at the local market or else on a sea-going port facility. Lossee stepped outside this mold and charted a new direction. He constructed his sawmill in a location that was dependent upon a railway for access to almost all of its markets. His main reasons for selecting his location are readily apparent. The property was available, inexpensive and adjacent to excellent stands of timber. The area was also centrally located. Railway connection gave the sawmill access to all major nearby local markets, Victoria, Cowichan, and Nanaimo, and provided access to four different export facilities--Victoria, Genoa Bay, Chemainus, and Nanaimo. It was cheaper to ship lumber than it was to ship logs, less bulk per saleable foot. These factors, combined with Lossee's knowledge of the potential of railways, made it the logical choice as a sawmill site.

James Dunsmuir readily agreed to Lossee's proposal that a timber lease be granted, possibly interested by the potential revenue which would accrue from the transport of the lumber. On June 3, 1890, Lossee purchased lot 13, a 4½ acre sawmill site, on the east shore of Shawnigan Lake, at a cost of one hundred and five dollars. He also received a lease granting him access to all the timber situated around the lake for a distance of one mile from the shoreline. In exchange he

agreed to pay the E. & N. fifty cents per thousand feet of sawn lumber.³

The land and timber in hand, the next step was to secure a means of producing a saleable product. Lossee contacted and purchased his equipment from the William Hamilton Manufacturing Company of Peterborough, Ontario. Possibly home town connections or better prices influenced Lossee's decision to purchase in Ontario, although he could have secured equipment from California, a leading area in the manufacture of sawmill equipment or from the Albion Iron Works of Victoria.⁴

Lossee left the employ of the E. & N. at this point and spent all his time working at his sawmill. A crew framed the sawmill timbers in the Victoria West Railway yard and they were installed at the mill site upon completion of the railway siding, which a Chinese crew had commenced at Shawnigan Lake March 27, 1890.⁵ At this time, Lossee took in Ewan Morrison, a foreman in the sawmill at Chemainus, to be his partner.⁶ Lossee had probably found the task more difficult than expected and decided he required a more experienced sawmill man. The sawmill was in production by the fall of 1890, under the name of Lossee and Morrison. Among their first customers was the E. & N. Railway to whom they were prepared to offer a variety of products, rough or dressed cedar or fir lumber, laths, shingles, and piles, all of which could be shipped from stock or be specially ordered.⁷

Hardship and trouble did not end with the completion of the sawmill. The partners soon found that they needed more power and machinery. Lossee returned to his home town of Cobourg, Ontario, with this objective and contacted the nearby William Hamilton Manufacturing

Company. During his absence Morrison was left in charge of operations at Shawnigan Lake. Returning late in March, 1891, Lossee discovered that Morrison had neglected the sawmill and allowed it to get in such bad shape that the sawmill had to be closed. The daily cut had averaged only about five thousand feet, well below the twenty thousand feet per day the mill was capable of producing. Morrison had been at the sawmill only about one-half hour each day and the crew spent much of their time loitering around the boiler house. Morrison had also spent three thousand dollars Lossee had left in the Bank of British North America and left the crew half paid.⁸ This critical situation, combined with market problems, caused Lossee to sell his interest in the sawmill to William Munsie and Theophilus Elford. Following the sale, Lossee took up residence in Victoria where he established a shingle mill. The lumber industry does not seem to have been kind to Lossee, for in August of 1892 he sold this mill to C. E. Polley.⁹ Lossee then worked at the cement works on Todd Inlet and does not appear to have had any further connection with the forest industry.¹⁰

The entrance of William Munsie and Theophilus Elford into the affairs of the operation was a significant event in the life of the developing company. These men and their sons were able to develop the enterprise into a firm of significance and distinction in British Columbia's lumber economy. The new partners increased the sawmill's capacity and in 1894 incorporated as a limited company. They continued to be progressive in outlook and skilfully formed the organization into a dynamic business enterprise.

The first major step taken by the new partners was to

incorporate as a limited company. The incentive probably came from William Munsie, the major shareholder in the new company. Munsie possessed extensive holdings in other enterprises and would not wish to risk them. British Columbia in 1894 permitted a company to incorporate under any one of three acts: The Imperial Companies Act, 1862-69; The British Columbia Company's Act, 1878; and the Company's Act, 1890.¹¹ The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was incorporated under the Imperial Act. William Munsie had close relationships with England through his sealing connections, and may have been more familiar with the English legislation or members may have had objections to particular aspects of the British Columbia legislation.

The legislation, itself, was of relatively recent origin. Prior to 1844 an English joint-stock company could only be incorporated by an act of parliament. In 1855 limited liability was established. The Imperial Act of 1862-69 was a consolidation of earlier legislation. The act was not designed to restrict companies in any way, except to act as a protector for both the company and the shareholder, as the introduction declared, in the act of 1855:

The principle we should adopt is this, not to throw the slightest obstacle in the way of limited company's being formed . . . and when difficulties arise to arm the courts with sufficient powers to check extravagance or roguery. . . . That is the only way legislation should interfere with the single exception of giving the greatest publicity to the affairs of such company's that everyone may know on what grounds he is dealing.¹²

The Imperial Act dealt with procedures regarding the Memoranda of Association and other requirements. It declared that a limited company under this statute must be a joint-stock company and that a joint-stock company must have "a permanent paid-up or nominal capital of

fixed amounts divided into shares also of fixed amounts."¹³ The members of the company, at least seven, held the shares. The act covered allowable types of shares and other such matters. The bulk of the act was concerned with the means by which a company was liquidated. The most significant aspect of the act stated that "no contribution shall be required from any member, excluding the amount, if any, unpaid on the shares in respect of which he is liable as a present or past member."¹⁴

The Memoranda of Association for The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was filed with the Registrar of Joint-Stock Companies, in Victoria, on the 12th of March, 1894. The firm of Belyea and Gregory acted as solicitors on behalf of the company. The memoranda consisted of five sections. Section I listed the company's name, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, Limited. Section II specified that the company's offices were in the City of Victoria or wherever else in the province as may be determined by company by-law. Section III established the objectives of the company. Section IV limited the liability of members. Section V established the company's capital as \$100,000.00 and divided it into 1,000 shares of \$100.00 each. The company was permitted to divide these shares "into several classes and to attach thereto respectively any preferential, deferred, qualified or special rights, privileges or conditions."¹⁵ The memoranda was then signed by the seven shareholders:

William Munsie	Merchant
Theophilus Elford	Lumberman
John W. Coburn	Lumberman
Lewis Mounce	Lumberman
Andrew Haslam	Lumberman
Michael King	Lumberman
G. F. Jeaneret	Accountant

The lengthiest and most revealing section was Section III which set out the company's objectives. This section was designed to bring current company activities within the protection of the act, while, at the same time, making allowance for any future developments the directors may have wished to undertake. The first two sub-sections were specific in aim, namely to "acquire the goodwill" of the company and to take over the company assets and liabilities as a "going-concern."¹⁷ Sub-sections three to seventeen displayed the prudence of the directors and their vision for the company's future. The caution contained in these sub-sections is based on the realization that if expansion was to be undertaken it had to be acceptable to the British Columbia Companies office and to the courts under the terms of the Memoranda. The company could "not legally undertake any business not authorized by its Memorandum, and even the fullest sanction given by shareholders [would] not make valid any act which is outside the powers of the company."¹⁸

The owners' desire for future expansion is revealed in the far-reaching objectives of the Memoranda. The shareholders were prepared to undertake "any . . . business" which they considered "calculated directly or indirectly to render profitable or enhance the value of the company's property or rights. . . ."¹⁹ The authors of the objectives generally limited themselves to dealing in wood products though allowances were made for the company to act as general merchants and as shipowners.²⁰ The shareholders could have attempted to use such inexact wording as 'general merchants' for expansion into other fields but the courts and the Registrar of Joint-Stock Companies at this time usually interpreted such statements in as limited a way as possible.

Thus, even the inclusion of such a statement and its allowance by the Registrar did not necessarily make it legally valid.²¹

The Memorandum also set forth the financial constraints within which the company was to operate and clearly attempted to ensure that all needed financial powers were available. Specifically, the company was authorized to borrow and lend money, to invest surplus funds, to cooperate with other organizations for their mutual benefit, and to buy the shares or securities of any such company.²² They were also authorized to undertake any of the numerous financial transactions required of any large organization including such items as bills of exchange, warrants, or debentures.²³

The Articles of Association, filed on the same day as the Memoranda, established the rules ensuring proper conduct of directors and shareholders. Among the many regulations were such matters as the payment for shares, the borrowing of funds, and when meetings must be held.²⁴ The Articles stated that the elected directors were to administer the company and ensure its proper performance. In order to carry out their duties these directors possessed wide ranging powers. They were the "management of the business and the control of the company."²⁵ Their only restrictions were those established by regulations instituted by the general meetings or by provincial law.²⁶ Even the regulations of the general meeting did not invalidate any prior act of the directors.²⁷ In reality, even without such powers it was extremely unlikely that any actions of the directors were ever in danger of invalidation as five of the seven shareholders were directors.

The greatest number of shareholders ever to invest in the

company occurred in 1912 when there were eleven shareholders, although most only held small amounts of shares. The Munsie and Elford families held the majority of the shares and as each share was worth one vote, it is clear that these two families had control of the company.²⁸ Members of both families were directors and were directly involved with the company operations. The Articles, therefore, only acted as a safeguard for the small shareholders, ensuring that the majority shareholders did not neglect their duties or undertake shady dealings.

The Memoranda revealed that a total of seven men initially invested in the incorporated company. William Munsie, the largest investor; T. Elford, the General Manager; and George F. Jeaneret, the Secretary; played crucial parts in the company's affairs. John Coburn, E. & N. conductor and later sawmill owner; Michael King, lumberman; Andrew Haslam, Nanaimo sawmill owner; and Lewis Mounce, Wellington lumber yard owner; appear to have been only slightly involved in the company beyond their initial investment.

William Munsie, the principal financial investor in the company, was a Victoria merchant. He was a typical businessman in a period "dominated by interest in commercial enterprise," and by men "who by hard work and shrewd judgment made their fortune."²⁹ William Munsie was born at Pictou, Nova Scotia, on January 4, 1849. His grandfather emigrated to Pictou as a young man. In 1870 Munsie married Catherine Dunn of Wallace, Nova Scotia. Trained as a pattern-maker he moved to California in 1874 to practice his trade. Four years later he moved to Victoria to assist Joseph Spratt in opening the stove manufacturing branch of the Albion Iron Works. By 1884 Munsie joined Fred Carne in a

prospering grocery business which in 1891 had a turnover worth about \$10,000.00 per month.³⁰

Munsie's most successful venture was in the sealing trade. Centred in Victoria, this industry yielded excellent profits for several years, following 1884. In 1883 the City of San Diego, an American schooner, hunted seal in the rich breeding grounds in the Bering Sea. In this same year there were nine schooners sealing from Victoria but none entered the Bering Sea. In 1884, the Victoria schooner Mary Ellen hunted the Bering Sea and in 1885 she was joined by another Victoria schooner. Rapid developments occurred in 1886 when twenty Victoria based schooners hunted the area. By 1892 the number peaked with a total of sixty-six schooners.³¹

William Munsie and his partner, Fred Carne, joined the rush in 1884, when they outfitted the pilot-boat Caroline. The next year they became the first to bring a schooner around the Horn, the Pathfinder, for use in the sealing trade. Their two vessels in 1886 brought in a catch of 2,743 skins out of a total catch of 38,917 skins for all vessels. Their interests grew and by 1890 they were operating three vessels out of a total sealing fleet of twenty-nine vessels; the Viva, the Mary Taylor, and the Pioneer (a renamed Pathfinder). They returned to Victoria with a catch of 5,646 skins valued at \$62,106.00, as compared with a total fleet catch of 54,853 skins valued at \$510,111.00. In 1891 Munsie and Carne shipped two railway cars of skins to London and expected a return of more than \$100,000.00.³²

Sealing was a risky business. There was no way of predicting the number of skins that would be available, market conditions were very

unstable, and a ship could easily and occasionally did disappear at sea, the Pioneer being such a case. The greatest handicap was the Bering Sea dispute and other territorial issues. In the Bering Sea, the Alaska Commercial Company, which had a twenty year lease on the Pribiloff Islands, became incensed at Canadian intrusion and appealed to the American government, which declared the Bering Sea an inclosed sea and therefore American territorial waters. In 1886 Munsie lost the Caroline when she was seized and sold by the Americans.³³ The Russians also posed a problem. Canadian vessels hunted the good sealing areas off their coast and were occasionally seized. In 1894, Munsie lost the May Bell to them.³⁴ The settlement of the Alaska dispute by tribunal in 1898 virtually ended the industry in Canada, the Canadian sealers were unable to secure sufficient pelts for profitable expeditions. The decline was not abrupt, but stretched out for several years. In 1900 Munsie reported that his schooners returned "with good success"³⁵ but by 1907, the industry was dead. Sixteen schooners still hunted but returned with a catch of only 5,397 skins, less than Munsie's three schooners brought home in 1890.³⁶ Fortunately Munsie had diversified his investments and was firmly entrenched in other areas by the time the sealing industry collapsed.

Munsie invested his grocery and sealing profits in a wide variety of business enterprises. In 1896, he established a store on Klayoquot Sound, mainly to serve the sealers but also the Indian inhabitants.³⁷ A dog-fish oil factory and a fish cannery were planned for Klayoquot.³⁸ A number of mining investments were scattered from the Kootenays to Port Alberni and the Yukon, and he was also involved in

drilling for natural gas.³⁹ He joined J. H. Todd, who began as a Victoria grocer, in building the first commercial salmon traps near Victoria.⁴⁰ His investments in lumbering were not limited to The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company. In 1901 he joined with Coburn and Elford to purchase Robert Kilpatrick's lumbering operation near Ladysmith and Extension. They called the new company the Ladysmith Lumber Company. Munsie put up the major portion of the funds, but by 1907 Coburn had bought out both Munsie's and Elford's interests.⁴¹ During 1903, Munsie also investigated the purchase of timber near Squamish and Agassiz.⁴² Apart from his sealing interest, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company seems to have been the most profitable and the most time-consuming part of his varied business enterprises. Munsie left the actual running of the sawmill and logging operations to Elford but supervised sales and company matters from his Victoria office.

Theophilus Elford, affectionately known as "Pop," figured prominently in the success of the company. He was the manager of both the sawmilling and the logging operations, taking over as soon as Morrison left. Pop was born in San Rafael, California, April 24, 1854. His parents had moved to California from Australia in 1849 and then followed the gold seekers to Victoria in 1859. Pop's father farmed in the area and then established himself as a building contractor. When his father returned to farming, one of his brothers took over the contracting business and established a brick works with William Smith. Pop farmed until he went into the lumber business with William Munsie.⁴³ The men who worked for Pop considered him not a "bad old stick" but reported that he seemed "up in the air all the time."⁴⁴ J. Potter, a

long-time employee at the sawmill, recalled that Pop was "bossy but not a bad old customer."⁴⁵ He would get worked up over little things.⁴⁶

Potter remembered that on occasion Pop "would walk up and down the mill floor cutting a plug of tobacco and then rolling the plug in his hand . . . finally throwing it on the floor and cut some more." Eventually Pop would get some in his pipe and Potter would then remind him that according to his own regulations no smoking was allowed in the sawmill.⁴⁷ Dan Hattie, who worked for the E. & N. Railway at the time, recalled that he and Elford "fought nearly everyday."

My orders from the E. & N. were not to accept any timber with more than one inch of sap on any corner. Old Pop thought the grade was too high. He was a good old scout, but sometimes hard to get along with. One day I culled four timbers, because of my instructions not to take any sapwood. This made Pop pretty angry who said they were getting better than they were paying for anyway.--I believe the price was just over \$7.00 a thousand. In a bit of a scuffle that followed Pop had his white shirt torn off his back, but he never held any personal grudge against me, although he never reconciled himself to the railway's way of grading timber.⁴⁸

Pop ran the operation until 1916 when he became very ill and retired to his farm at Foul Bay, where he died on July 25, 1917.⁴⁹ The employees always regarded Pop with special affection, and while his son Frank, who took over from him, was a "good head," it was Pop who held their memories.⁵⁰

Comparatively little is known about George Jeaneret. An accountant by trade, Jeaneret entered the company as secretary-treasurer and remained in this position until at least 1930, but possibly as late as 1936. He evidently lived at Shawnigan Lake for a time during the company's first years but later made his home in Victoria. He acquired a reputation as being both "secretive and meticulous."⁵¹ He certainly

acted in this manner when dealing with company concerns. When the auditors came to examine the company books Jeaneret would take all the records and papers and lock them in the office safe. He would then insist on the auditors doing all their work in the company office, allowing nothing to be removed.⁵² Jeaneret also insisted that all the directors be present when the company seal was used, and when he insisted on some matter he "made it stick."⁵³

William Munsie, Sr. died in 1906, and his son, William Munsie, Jr., then took over the duties his father had been performing for the company. Bill learned the business from the bottom up, beginning as an office boy, and in time he became a very respected businessman. He was much more involved in the activities of the lumber company than his father. While Bill was involved in other business organizations he did not have the varied holdings of his father to distract him from the lumber company. He continued as a shareholder of the Victoria Sealing Company, his other main investment, but by 1911 no ships in the Victoria Fleet were sailing.⁵⁴ He also shared Elford's interest in farming, being president of the British Columbia Agricultural Association and attending meetings of the Institute of Poultry.⁵⁵ The lumber company, however, was his first concern. He based his office in Victoria for many years and motored to the mill every few days to see how everything progressed. He was not one to waste time on the trip, for as the Western Lumberman noted, "occasionally he clips a few minutes from the record, but so far has not run foul of the country police."⁵⁶ In 1922, when Pop Elford's sons retired from the company, Bill Munsie took over management of all the company operations and moved his office from

Victoria to Shawnigan Lake. ⁵⁶ Upon his death Pop Elford left his interest in the company to his two sons, Frank and Ray. Like Bill Munsie, the Elford brothers had early gone to work for the company, learning all aspects of lumbering. Frank had a flair for management and upon his father's retirement became manager of the company's operations. Ray worked in the sawmill as sawyer and foreman until 1922 when both brothers left the sawmill. Ray remained in the Cowichan area for another two years as a sawyer, at which time he moved to the interior and continued working in the forest industry.⁵⁷ Frank kept up his involvement in local affairs at Shawnigan Lake. He remained on the Board of Trade and continued as a director of the Shawnigan Lake Athletic Association. In addition, he operated a ranch at the south end of the lake.⁵⁸

Bill Munsie gradually concentrated the company's shares into his hands, and shortly after leaving the company both Ray and Frank sold their shares to him. Bill's father started out with exactly one half of the issued shares, 360 shares. When he died in 1906, he left his wife 384 shares. Between 1907 and 1917 she gave or sold to Bill 161 of these shares. In 1916, Bill acquired 14 additional shares from E. M. Yardwood who had obtained these shares from Andrew Haslam, when he liquidated his Shawnigan Lake Company holdings in 1896. Following the purchase of Elford's shares in 1924, Munsie quickly acquired the bulk of the remaining shares. He bought 60 shares from Lewis Mounce, one of the original shareholders. In 1925 he purchased 131 shares from John Coburn, Ladysmith lumberman and another original shareholder. These shares he split by selling 50 to his mother and 50 to George Jeaneret,

who despite being one of the company founders had not owned any shares since 1894. In 1928, upon the death of his mother, Bill obtained all but 34 of the 273 shares she had held. The 34 went to a family friend, Laura B. Wilkerson. In 1930 Bill acquired Jeaneret's 50 shares. Thus in 1930 he owned 636 shares of a possible 720, with Laura Wilkerson holding her 34 shares and his sister, Catherine, holding 50 shares.⁵⁹ When the sawmill was sold in 1939, Bill Munsie had absolute control of the company, although he did not have a majority of shares until 1928.

¹ Fisher, *Forest Utilization, British Manual of Forestry*

Vol. V, 2nd ed. (London: Bradbury, Agnew & Co., 1906), p. 494.

² E. McNeil to G. E. Wellburn, February 12, 1948, Wellburn Collection, British Columbia Provincial Museum (WC, BCPM).

³ Losses, Reminiscences, PASC.

⁴ Invoice, E. & N. Railway, December 1, 1898, WC, BCPM.

⁵ Losses, Reminiscences, PASC.

⁶ The British Columbia Commercial Journal, XI (August 16, 1892), p. 13.

⁷ Miscellaneous Notes, WC, BCPM.

⁸ Regarding incorporation of his sealing interests Munsie wrote "I bought Carnes interests in the sealing business then transferred it into a company limited for the more security it affords in a business way." W. Munsie to H. Matthew, May 24, 1896, Munsie Letterbook, PASC, p. 129. Alexander Harold Douglas and George Kerr, A Manual of British Columbia Company Law (Calgary: Burroughs, 1913), p. 5.

⁹ Great Britain, House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates, Hansard, 3rd Series, Vol. 140 (Feb. 1, 1856), p. 131.

¹⁰ "The Companies Act, 1862," The Parliament House Book 1866-7 (Edinburgh: Wm. Green & Sons), p. E105.

¹¹ Ibid., p. E85.

¹² Memoranda of Association, Shewanigan Lake Lumber Company, Companies Office, Victoria, file 127 (62).

¹³ Ibid.

Footnotes

¹W. E. Lossee, "A Brief Account of the Lumber Mill at Shawnigan Lake," Reminiscences, Provincial Archives of British Columbia (PABC). Lossee was not the only one to see the possibilities at Shawnigan Lake. In 1889, an American named Banks tried to secure timber rights. British Colonist, April 13, 1889, p. 4, but undoubtedly Lossee had placed his claim first.

²Timber Inspector's Report, 1889, p. 151; 1890, pp. 172-173; 1891, p. 280.

³Lossee, Reminiscences, PABC.

⁴W. R. Fisher, Forest Utilization, Shlich's Manual of Forestry Vol. V, 2nd ed. (London: Bradbury, Agnew & Co., 1908), p. 494.

⁵B. McNeil to G. E. Wellburn, February 12, 1948, Wellburn Collection, British Columbia Provincial Museum (WC, BCPM).

⁶Lossee, Reminiscences. PABC.

⁷Invoice, E. & N. Railway, December 1, 1890, WC, BCPM.

⁸Lossee, Reminiscences, PABC.

⁹The British Columbia Commercial Journal, XI (August 16, 1892), p. 13.

¹⁰Miscellaneous Notes, WC, BCPM.

¹¹Regarding incorporation of his sealing interests Munsie wrote "I bought Carnes interests in the sealing business then transferred it into a company limited for the more security it affords in a business way." W. Munsie to H. Matthew, May 24, 1896, Munsie Letterbook, PABC, p. 129. Alexander Harold Douglas and George Rorie, A Manual of British Columbia Company Law (Calgary: Burroughs, 1913), p. 5.

¹²Great Britain, House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates, Hansard, 3rd Series, Vol. 140 (Feb. 1, 1856), p. 131.

¹³"The Companies Act, 1862," The Parliament House Book 1906-7 (Edinburgh: Wm. Green & Sons), p. E105.

¹⁴Ibid., p. E85.

¹⁵Memoranda of Association, Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, Companies Office, Victoria, file 127 (62).

¹⁶Ibid.

- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Douglas & Rorie, p. 18.
- 19 Memoranda, Companies Office.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Douglas & Rorie, p. 19.
- 22 Memoranda, Companies Office.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Articles of Association, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, Companies Office, Victoria, File 127 (62).
- 25 Ibid., p. 25.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Stock Ledger, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, MacMillan-Bloedel Ltd., Vancouver, B.C.
- 29 George Brooks, "Edgar Crow Baker, an entrepreneur in early B.C." (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1976), p. 7.
- 30 Victoria Illustrated (Victoria: The Corporation of the City of Victoria, 1891), p. 87.
- 31 E. W. Wright, ed., Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest (Seattle: Superior, 1967), pp. 426-427.
- 32 Canada, Sessional Papers #22, Marine & Fisheries (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1886), p. 249, (1890), p. 183. British Columbia Commercial Journal I (July 21, 1891), p. 5.
- 33 Lewis & Dryden, p. 428.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 W. Munsie to John W. Munsie, January 22, 1900, Munsie Letterbook, PABC, p. 304.
- 36 Canada: Sessional Papers #22, Marine & Fisheries (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1909), p. 233.
- 37 W. Munsie to H. Paxten, April 9, 1896, Munsie Letterbook, PABC, p. 137.

38 W. Munsie to H. Guillod, February 19, 1896 and W. Munsie to A. W. Vowell, March 20, 1896, Munsie Letterbook, PABC, pp. 99, 125 and 126.

39 W. Munsie to Edward Pritchard, May 29, 1896, W. Munsie to Henry Matthew, March 24, 1896, W. Munsie to S. A. Munford, January 15, 1901, Munsie Letterbook, PABC, pp. 141, 130, and 438.

40 R. E. Gosnell, A History of British Columbia (Victoria: Lewis Publishing Co., 1906), p. 364.

41 Ladysmith Lumber Company Papers, Companies Office microfilm, PABC.

42 W. Munsie to R. D. Minell, January 26, 1903, W. Munsie to Wilmot, March 3, 1903, Munsie Letterbook, PABC, pp. 485 and 500.

43 T. Elford, Vertical Files, PABC.

44 J. Potter, interviewed by G. Wellburn, Notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

45 Ibid.

46 Frank Elford, interviewed by G. Wellburn, Notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

47 J. Potter, interviewed by G. Wellburn, Notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

48 Dan Hattie, interviewed by G. Wellburn, Notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

49 T. Elford, Vertical Files, PABC.

50 Frank Elford, interviewed by G. Wellburn, Notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

51 Miscellaneous Notes, WC, BCPM.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 List of Stockholders, Papers, Victoria Sealing Company, PABC.

55 Cowichan Leader, October 20, 1924, p. 3.

56 Western Lumberman, XIV (August 1917), p. 38.

57 Ray Elford, interviewed by C. D. Orchard, transcript, Orchard Collection, Special Collection, Library, University of British Columbia.

58 Cowichan Leader, January 27, 1921, p. 2; July 21, 1921, p. 2.

59 All information relating to share transfers was obtained from Stock Ledger, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, MacMillan-Bloedel Ltd., Vancouver.

CHAPTER III.

FOREST TO YARD

The heart of a forest company is its logging and sawmilling operations. Upon these two operations the welfare of the industry resides. Each component can function separately from the other but each must be connected to the other in order to exist. There is no purpose to logging if the logs cannot be processed and there is no means of sawmilling if logs do not reach the sawmill. The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was an integrated firm, owning its own timber which it logged and owning its own sawmill to process the log into lumber. The processes of lumbering, that is cutting the tree down and moving it to the appropriate location and then cutting it into lumber, are straightforward but each process requires a complex technology and a separate set of skills. Technology was the base upon which the industry rested and developed once sufficient capital was available and possessed the objective of maximization of production.¹ The techniques and machinery changed and adapted to meet the varied demands under which the industry existed.

W. W. Peed, superintendent of the Oregon and Eureka Railroad, told the Pacific Logging Congress in 1910, logging was "primarily a matter of transportation," because it represented the "main expense."² Bloedel, Stewart and Welch, for instance, spent \$46,287.77 in moving and only \$8,033.53 in falling and bucking their logs in August 1927.³ The transportation of logs required more men, more time, and large machinery. Falling and bucking were the only productive logging

activities that were not methods of transportation, and the whole purpose of all logging activity was directly concerned with moving logs.

When William Lossee selected his site on Shawnigan Lake, he was not concerned with the scenic beauty of the area but rather with the commercial value of the timber. He selected the site without a detailed survey, a practice that was considered necessary by 1910. Instead he saw a business opportunity and went forward with all possible speed.⁴ The logging limits established, the first process was to convert the trees into movable logs. The falling and bucking techniques of 1889 were of recent origin and remained in use until after the late 1930's. Trees were felled by two men standing on springboards. A double-bitted axe was used to chop in the undercut and then a cross-cut saw was used to rip in the backcut. Wedges were driven into the cut to prevent the saw from binding and provided the final pressure to send the tree toppling. Kerosene sprinkled from oil bottles helped cut the heavy pitch.⁵ None of these tools were new; axes, saws, and wedges had been used in many parts of the world for centuries. The construction of falling platforms was also a widespread practice, although the springboard used in the Pacific Northwest was much lighter and more mobile. The first significant innovation occurred in the late 1870's when the cross-cut saw was discovered to be an excellent falling tool. No further change occurred until power saws, in the late 1930's, revolutionized the process of falling and bucking but they were not used at The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company until 1942 and were of small significance in the company's activities.⁶

Once the logs were felled and bucked, oxen were most commonly

used to transport the logs. The skidroad, developed on Puget Sound in the 1850's was the basis of ox logging.⁷ Eighteen inch diameter logs, ten to twelve feet long and spaced about eight feet apart, formed a pattern similar to that of railroad ties. The hollowed centres of the skids guided the log and prevented the nose of the log from gouging into the dirt. The logs were pulled individually by the oxen onto the skidroad and into a long line called a turn. Each log was connected to the one before and behind by two chains with iron hooks on each end; a longer chain extended from the lead log to the ox yokes. The lead end of the log was rounded and the bark removed from the underside to facilitate movement. The chains between each log were slacked so that each log jerked into motion independent of the logs behind, with the heaviest logs placed first to further reduce the difficulty of starting the turn in motion.

★ Logging crews were specialized. Each man in a logging crew had a particular job. The oxen, for instance, were preceded by a scruffy individual called a skid greaser. The skid greaser's job was the lowest in the logging hierarchy. He swabbed each skid with dog fish oil to help the logs slide, and on his return from the dump he swept the notches in the skids free of debris. The high man in the logging hierarchy was the bull puncher. He kept the oxen pulling the turn, and was privileged to ride the "pig," a hollowed out log for carrying the chains and rigging, back to the logging site. The successful bull puncher used an ox prod and a large repertoire of colourful language. One account of the early ox logging days at Shawnigan Lake records an occasion when a priest, who had rowed across the lake to the logging

camp, asked the push, Old Man Morrison, why the men could not refrain from using such terrible language. Morrison, a devout man himself, told his visitor that "oxen are like dogs and children--when the driver stops they stop. But if the driver keeps shouting and cussing they seem to like it and lean on their chains and pull steady."⁸

The bull puncher, despite his respected position, worked long hours to ensure the proper care for the oxen and in readying them for work. Mrs. Carlson recalled on Sundays she and her husband often rowed across the lake to Bald Mountain to cut young oaks for goad sticks.⁹ The sticks were peeled, a spike placed in the end, which was then wrapped with waxed thread. The oxen occasionally lay down and a jab from the goad was the only way to force them to move. The spike was a cruel instrument, and "the animals roared with pain when it was used."¹⁰ The standing orders from Morrison were to use the prod as little as possible.¹¹ Hank Robertson, the bull puncher at Shawnigan Lake, also shod the oxen. In contrast to shoeing horses, the ox had to be lifted with a block and tackle, tilted and then laid down on its side. The cleft hoof required a two part shoe, with the five nails placed very close to the edge of the hoof to prevent them from trampling on their own feet and cutting themselves.¹² Occasionally oxen were injured or developed sore feet. One time Frank Verdier, a former bull puncher who replaced Morrison as woods' boss, took over the teams and broke the neck of one of the oxen, this evidently was easy to do.¹³ The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company usually purchased their oxen in the Duncan area, though in 1891, the company was seeking oxen in Metchosin, for eighty to one hundred dollars a yoke.¹⁴ Sometimes bulls were used with the oxen, and

if carefully selected were no extra trouble.¹⁵ Nor was it particularly difficult to train green oxen. The unbroken steers were placed between trained leaders and trailers, from whom they quickly learned the routine.¹⁶

The distance over which oxen were able to drag a turn of logs was relatively short, about one mile maximum. Logging at Shawnigan Lake did not extend much beyond half a mile from shore, during the time the company depended wholly upon oxen. The introduction of horses enabled the company to log beyond this limit. Then oxen dragged the logs to the main skidroad, from which point the horses took over, dragging the turn down to the lake.¹⁷ The horses, while not able to pull as much as the oxen, could pull logs farther and faster. During the final years of the nineteenth century this greater efficiency of the horse overcame the greater expense and care they required. This was especially true as logging terrain became more difficult and more distant from the shore.¹⁸

A dramatic change occurred in 1889 when the company purchased a single horizontal drum donkey engine which permitted new areas to be logged at a greater speed. The donkey engine was a steam engine, one of the contraptions Peter Mathias called "the greatest of the technical innovations developed in the course of the Industrial Revolution."¹⁹ Usually placed on a large wooden sled, the donkey consisted of a boiler which supplied steam to the engines and a winch system powered by the engines. Machines of a very similar type appeared early in the nineteenth century as pile drivers or for loading ships, and many other similar types of work. Adapted to logging in 1883, by Horace Butler of Luddington, Michigan, donkeys first were used in the southern United

States, from where they soon spread to the Pacific Northwest. An unsuccessful vertical spool donkey was developed in California in 1889 but was very quickly replaced by the southern horizontal drum machines.²⁰

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was not slow to adopt new ideas and put them to work. The small single drum machine purchased in 1898, the first such machine on Vancouver Island, had only 7 x 9 inch cylinders, but it was a tremendous improvement over animal power. Shortly after acquiring the "7 x 9," the company added a second drum to the winch system, a haulback drum, which made this one of the first two drum machines in British Columbia.²¹ In late 1899 or early 1900, a second machine was purchased, a Washington Iron Works 10 x 12, the best and most powerful donkey engine then in British Columbia.²²

The acquisition of the first donkey did not significantly change the company's logging operation. Placed on a sled and towed across the lake, it merely replaced the oxen in dragging logs to the skids for the horses to road to the lake. Similarly, the addition of a second engine increased the distance of roading but did not change the method. At one site, for instance, the logs were yarded to the skidroad by the 7 x 9, roaded by the six-horse team to a bridge on the E. & N., and roaded by the 10 x 12 from the bridge to the lake dump.²³ The donkey engines directly took the place of the animals but were not utilized to full capacity.

Unlike animals, the new machines did not require food and care seven days a week, whether they worked or not, but they did bring new and additional problems. The single drum 7 x 9 initially required a line horse as haulback for the chokers. The line horses were generally

cantankerous and frequently refused to pull the cables far enough. The horse walked up to the log but refused to pass it, despite the struggling efforts of the chokerman to obtain further slack in the cable. The new 10 x 12 donkey arrived without a fairlead, which meant that a man stood at the front of the machine with a pole to guide the cable onto the drum.²⁴ The crews had to work harder, they resented the new machines which broke the tranquility of the forest with their screeches, and shattered everything, man or tree, which stood in their way. The old woods boss, Frank Verdier, grudgingly admitted that the new machines could pull better up hill but "weren't a bit better than the animals in the good shows." Verdier eventually quit, out of resentment for the new machines.²⁵ The French Canadian donkey engineer at Shawnigan Lake, Joe Martino, occasionally screamed his frustration, "get rid of that dribbling pot and bring back the bulls."²⁶

Another change in logging methods occurred in 1901 when the logging operation was moved to the west arm of Shawnigan Lake. The easily logged timber on the shorefront was removed by the old methods, but to remove the bulk of the timber toward the Koksilah River, a new log dump was constructed at the end of the arm and another team of horses was added. But the problems were so great that Pop Elford decided to build a pole railway such as he had seen in his travels in Washington.²⁷

The pole railway was a relatively simple contrivance both to build and to operate. It functioned similarly to the standard railway, except that poles were used instead of steel rails, and the wheels of the cars were concave to fit over the poles. The railway consisted of

peeled poles of twelve to fifteen inches in diameter, set eight feet apart. Each pole was notched to fit into the one before and behind it. The crossties were spaced six feet apart and were blocked up and wedged to eliminate hollow spots. A hole was drilled through the pole and crosstie at each joint, and a wood dowel was then driven through. Bridges were constructed with log stringers and a solid corduroy deck of split cedar. The cars were sets of four wheels with a bunk to carry the logs. The wheels ran free with a few inches of play to ride over rough spots and turn sharp curves. The distance between the wheel sets was spaced according to the length of the logs hauled. A load could contain as much as two or three thousand feet of timber and was initially pulled by an eight-horse team.²⁸

The combined use of horses and the pole road was useful for hauling relatively short distances only. The necessity of reaching ever farther for timber meant the use of horses was soon completely phased out in favour of a self-propelled steam engine also introduced by Pop Elford. Such engines were in use in other areas of the Pacific Northwest, but the one at Shawnigan Lake was probably the first used in British Columbia.²⁹

The little locomotive, built under the supervision of George Frayne, Sr., the sawmill foreman, was named "Betsey." Most of the locomotive was constructed from junk lying about the sawmill yard, but the boiler and the engine were purchased by William Munsie, Sr., and shipped "knocked down" from the United States.³⁰ The boiler was a vertical donkey boiler and the engine had a single vertical cylinder. The boiler and engine rested on a timber frame supported by four concave

steel wheels. The engine connected to the single drive axle through two sets of angle gears. Because it had a narrower gauge than the earlier horse railway, a mile of pole track had to be taken up and relaid.³¹

Ready to roll, the Walking Dudley, as such contraptions were commonly called, was loaded onto a raft and towed across the lake to the pole road. Steam was raised and all the logging crew, eager for a ride, climbed aboard. The throttle was opened by the engineer, but the engine did not move. More wood was thrown into the firebox without success, Verdier yelled to the crew to "get off . . . and give it a chance." The crew even tried to push the engine but she did not move. Loaded back onto the raft the engine was towed back across the lake to George Frayne's workshop, where it was rebuilt with a chain and sprocket drive. This time it worked.³²

The engine continued to be a problem. The men who worked on her viewed her with small favour. Frank Verdier described her to G. E. Wellburn and used numerous unprintable adjectives "she was just a damned old paraphernalia."³³ The machine had no springs and vibrated so badly, she shook herself apart. Her labourious groaning could be heard clear across the lake. The blacksmith frequently crossed the lake to refit keys which had worked loose in the sprocket wheels. The drive chain was even more of a problem, since it would stretch and break, and continually come off the sprocket. Verdier declared that the centre sprocket wheel was too big and would hit the dirt throwing the chain off. He added that far "too many days I lay on my back in the mud fixing that chain."³⁴ Another employee, Herb Hawking, claimed that he spent even more days than Verdier fixing that cursed chain.³⁵ Even the attempts to improve

the machine created additional problems. Someone suggested that as loggers wore caulk boots to keep from slipping, perhaps lugs could be placed on the locomotive wheels to prevent her from slipping. Once installed, they badly tore up the pole track and had to be quickly removed.³⁶

The worst problem the engine created was not mechanical failure but fire. Half the crew followed the engine with pails to douse fires that spread from the grinding wheels and the sparks that flew from her stack. In 1902, a bad fire was ignited and spread to the Koksilah River. The donkey was removed from the path of the fire and the logging rigging buried. Near the log dump an old sow, with a litter of pigs, lived. She rooted out a hole in the mud and covered the piglets with her body, only receiving a singed back for her fortitude. One young pig escaped and ran in front of the locomotive as it brought the crew to the dump. The pig was caught in the engine's sprocket, and the crew, covered with splattered pig remnants, at first believed the gore was the remains of a fellow logger.³⁷

A second locomotive, a Class A Climax, was acquired by The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company in July 1902 from the Climax Manufacturing Company of Corry Pennsylvania to replace the Walking Dudley. Pop Elford, soured on locomotives, bitterly opposed the purchase of the Climax, and only consented when William Munsie agreed to pay all the cost, if the locomotive was not a success.³⁸ Climax engines were durable, the Class A's lasted longer and worked harder than even the builders believed possible. They were originally intended as a starter engine, but were so successful that heavier engines were not always

required.

The fifteen ton Climax was constructed on a wooden frame with two 7 x 7 cylinders. Its most noteworthy feature was a tractive effort of thirteen thousand two hundred pounds in low gear (an equivalent tractive effort from a conventionally geared locomotive required a thirty ton locomotive).³⁹ The engine was shipped in a gondola car from Pennsylvania to Shawnigan Lake and was accompanied by a messenger to ensure that all was in order. The locomotive was twenty-four feet in length. The smokestack came with a jaunty diamond spark arrestor. The boiler operated at a pressure of 150 pounds and was centred over the front truck, and firewood was stacked alongside. The round water tank was built over the back truck to counterbalance the boiler. The geared engine operated shafts connected by universal joints to bevel gears at the centre of both front and rear trucks and provided better tractive effort and track holding ability though a slower speed than the conventional rod locomotive. Initially Climax was prepared to ship its locomotive capable of running on any one of three different track styles, steel, lumber, or poles. The locomotive purchased by The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was one of the last Climax manufactured to run on poles.⁴⁰

Again named Betsey, the new locomotive was an immediate success. Hauling two log cars at three miles per hour, at the end of sixteen foot reaches, the engine extended the economic distance of log hauls to four miles. The locomotive demonstrated versatility in a number of ways. The engine not only pulled carloads of logs, but also assisted with loading the cars. The steam donkey ground yarded the logs

to angled skids constructed beside the track. The first layer of logs was rolled up the skids and onto the car bunks by the crew using peavies. Betsey then parbuckled further logs on top of the first layer, permitting larger loads.⁴¹

Nevertheless, logging by pole railway still had problems. During hot weather the poles dried out and the dowels holding the joints loosened, causing no end of trouble. Herb Hawking, the fireman, remembered his dog walked the rails thirty feet ahead of the train, occasionally being thrown into the air by loose rails bouncing from the motion of the engine. Two men were constantly kept on track work, the engine crew shouting out the bad spots to the line crew as they travelled past.⁴²

Betsey's log cars had wood bunks faced with iron strips. Cheese blocks held the load in place and were secured by iron pins that were very difficult to release. Once, the Chinaman who released the pins was caught in the downrush of logs. He was thrown over and over but recovered unhurt from his "heels over teakettle" trip into the lake.⁴³ These primitive log cars were used by the company for many years. One ended its career as a tank car, while a second one, was attached on occasion to the end of the train to support extra long logs until the practice was stopped by the inspector of railways in 1923.⁴⁴

Steam equipment required fuel, water, and maintenance. Constant change in temperature combined with the mineral content of water resulted in the scaling and pitting of the boilers, but the company undertook very little preventive maintenance. Scaling weakened the metal, and the longer scale accumulated in the boiler, the more

difficult it was to raise steam and the machine operated less efficiently. At Shawnigan Lake the boilers were only washed out upon refusal to steam. All the water was carried from nearby creeks and because the company found few white men willing to undertake this work, Chinese were hired. Buckets of water were hoisted to the top of the boiler, and poured in through a funnel. Once the scale had been labouriously washed out, the boiler was filled with clean water and steamed up for the next morning. In later years, the introduction of pumps greatly improved this situation.⁴⁵ When logging at McGee, the swamp water was so impure it caused foaming in the boilers; as a result, water had to be obtained instead from a nearby well. Two Chinese were hired to pack this water when the logging crew refused to do it. Chinese were also hired to split firewood for the boilers and not long after, to do track work.⁴⁶

The company continued to improve its logging operations. In 1905 or 1906, the pole roads were replaced by steel. In 1910, a new twenty-five ton Class B Climax was purchased. When the engine arrived the British Columbia Boiler Inspector cut the operating pressure on the boiler, "Pop cursed and swore and stamped and walked up and down for half an hour."⁴⁷ Jack Neff, the sawmill engineer, finally quieted Pop by telling him not to worry as the engine still had plenty of steam left. In order to move the locomotive across the lake it had to be loaded onto a raft. When the locomotive started on to the raft, it tilted dangerously. Pop feared all was lost and screamed at Neff to "STOP STOP." Neff misunderstood and put the engine into full ahead, whereupon it settled nicely on the raft.⁴⁸ The new Climax allowed the company to double its logging operations.

In 1914 the company first experimented with high lead logging, a practise that revolutionized the logging industry by making it possible to transport logs over rough terrain. Pop Elford had become familiar with this method, which was first used in British Columbia by the Comox Logging Company in 1909 and had been frequently the subject of numerous discussions at Pacific Logging Congresses. By 1914, it was well established in Washington and Oregon, and in use at a number of other places in British Columbia.

High lead logging consists of attaching rigging and cables to the top of a spar tree and dragging logs to it by lifting one end off the ground, making it easier to transport over difficult terrain. It is much more complex than ground yarding. It is also very dangerous, and destructions of trees and terrain, but it allowed otherwise inaccessible timber areas to be profitably logged.⁵⁰

Setting up such an operation was a great deal more complex than the simple procedures of ground yarding. First, an appropriate tree was selected for the spar tree, marked by an X to set it apart so that the fallers would leave it standing. The rigger then climbed the tree, lopping off the branches on his way up, upon reaching the desired height, usually about one hundred and fifty feet, he chopped the top off. Down he came and then back up, but this time with a small line which he used to raise and secure the heavier blocks and lines to the top of the tree. The cables from the donkey passed through the blocks and out to the tailhold in the woods. Chokers were attached to the mainline to pull the logs into the landing. When the donkey puncher opened up

there [was] a great singing of taut cables as the powerful machine [went] into the pull, while the log, thick as a man is high, churns and groans in an upheaval that could be likened to a whale thrashing about in shallow water. Once in motion, it [was] a veritable juggernaut's car, crushing all before, including only too often a man who [was not] 'in the clear'.⁴⁹

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company ran into a problem, which led it to attempt high lead logging. An area of timber had been felled and bucked before it was discovered that the timber was too distant for ground yarding, and the terrain was too rough to run in a railway spur. Doug McGarry, Betsey's engineer, climbed a one hundred and twenty foot spar tree. He used railway bridge spikes to climb, as he had neither belt or spurs. McGarry tied himself to the top in order to hang the rigging.⁵¹ The operation was very successful but for the next few years the company found it more convenient to continue to construct railway spurs, and haul the logs to the spurs by ground yarding.

Following 1910, new donkey engines were purchased: a 9 x 10 Washington Iron Works machine, which was wrecked in 1924, a second Washington Iron Works 10 x 12, and a 10½ x 11½ Empire, manufactured in Vancouver, and used on Bald Mountain in 1920.⁵² Eventually high lead logging was commenced full time in 1919, because the mountains were getting steeper and railroad grade was more expensive to build.

Following the destruction of the sawmill by fire in 1918, logging operations deteriorated quite badly. When Cecil Gilbert "Gib" Draper was hired as woods boss he found the logging operations in an appalling state.

When I first went there, Bill Munsie met me at the station and we crossed the Lake in the steamboat and got on the loco for the McGee camp. The track was all light steel, about 28

lbs. and not much ballast and I wondered how the train ever stayed on it. The cars were single truck with bunks across and link and pin coupling. We got off and watched. The machines were pretty old and looked like wrecks. A Chinaman was loading with a white man. Logs were anything from 20 feet to 60 feet. Every other log had to be pulled around with a crotch line. "God it was a sad sight," I said to Bill Munsie, "I guess its no use me opening my knapsack here." 53

Draper changed his mind and stayed at Shawnigan Lake for several years, making many improvements in the company's operations. He fired many of the crew and with the remaining men operated one side, producing more logs than the old crew had been getting from two. He converted the detached trucks into proper skeleton cars. He purchased new logging cars, forty-eight feet in length, and added automatic couplers and air brakes to the old.

In 1923, a forty-five ton Class B Climax, later sold to the Mayo Lumber Company, was acquired. The company also used a seventy ton Class C Climax, purchased from Timberland at Ladysmith and sold to Green Point Logging. In 1930 Munsie purchased a Pacific Coast Shay. The Bank of Montreal later foreclosed on the engine and it was sold to Bloedel, Stewart and Welch Limited in 1937. Between 1923 and 1929 the company used three to five donkey engines and one logging locomotive and was logging in a "fine stand of fir with occasional cedar."⁵⁴ Operations were very uncertain during the early 1930's because of the depression and completely ceased with the destruction of the sawmill by fire in 1934. Logging cost figures for a six month period in 1923-1924, unfortunately the only ones available, show how much of the costs involved the transportation of logs as opposed to falling and bucking (see Table I).

Table I

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company
Logging Costs

	September 1923	December 1923	March 1924
Falling and bucking	1.25 per M	1.15 per M	1.15 per M
Swamping	1.00	1.00	1.00
Skidding/yarding	1.75	2.45	2.45
Hauling/roading	3.00	2.00	2.00
Loading	.50	.50	.50
Booming	.75	.50	.50
Towing	.50	.30	.30
Roads (maintenance)	.50	.75	.75
Overhead	.50	.50	.50
	9.75	9.15	9.15

Source: "Forest Branch Report," April 14, 1923, transcript, Wellburn Collection, British Columbia Provincial Museum.

These costs were well above those of Bloedel, Stewart and Welch, whose total costs for 1925 were \$6.92 per M.⁵⁵

Unlike the logging operations, the changes that occurred in converting the logs into lumber, though still important, were much less dramatic. The same basic machines used in the sawmill of 1890 were also used in 1920 and later. The head-rig, the edger, the trimsaws, and the planers had all been developed earlier in the nineteenth century. A few new machines did become available, such as the straddle truck lumber carrier, but most of the technological change occurred in improvements to already existing equipment or methods, rather than by the introduction of new equipment. The most visible modifications were the conversion from circular headsaws to a bandsaw, and the change from direct drive steam power to electric power.⁵⁶

Initially logs were hauled directly to the sawmill by oxen,

but logging proceeded farther from the sawmill, logs were dumped into Shawnigan Lake and then towed to the sawmill. Initially a boat was hired to tow the logs to the booming grounds, but the company quickly realized the advantage of owning a boat and obtained a small steamer, the Crow. She was used both to transport people and supplies to and from the logging camp and also to tow logs to the sawmill. She eventually sank in the West Arm and was replaced by the Eliza, which in turn was followed by the Lady of the Lake, so named by Mrs. Elford. This trim little steamer was a lovely craft but during her final years she was often found submerged on the bottom. A chain winch was secured to the boathouse to facilitate her rising. One occasion, when the boiler inspector was crossing the lake and wished to stop to admire the scene, he was informed that the craft could not be stopped or she would sink. In 1923, the Lady of the Lake was replaced by the Shawnigan.⁵⁷

The first sawmill to which the logs were transported was very crude. The frame had been constructed in Victoria and moved on the E. & N. when Lossee decided the mill site was ready.⁵⁸ Just "a little coffee pot," the sawmill had a double head-rig of two fifty-six inch circular saws, designed for the large timber of the Pacific Coast, where a single circular saw was not always sufficient to cut the logs.⁵⁹ One circular saw was placed above and slightly ahead of the other saw so that their cut overlapped and cleanly sliced the large logs. The log carriage operated by a friction feed until 1904, when the sawyer convinced Elford of the advantages of steam feed. There was an edger, trimsaws, and a log saw on the log deck. A planing mill and a lath mill were attached. Two 6 x 16 Hamilton boilers supplied steam for two steam

engines. One engine drove the head end and the other engine drove the rest of the mill. The second engine also powered the planing mill through a long mule belt. About 1904, this engine ran away, shearing off several 12 x 12 timbers under the log deck. Lumber moved in the sawmill on dead rolls and was hauled about the yard on hand powered two wheel carts. A new siding was constructed in 1904, the yard and shipping platforms extended, and a jitney added to tow the lumber carts about the yard.⁶⁰ The layout of the sawmill was simple and without flourish, possessing an initial capacity of 20,000 feet, which was shortly increased to 27,000 feet per day by the purchase of additional machinery from the William Hamilton Manufacturing Company.⁶¹

The logs were boomed off shore before being hauled up the jack ladder and onto the log deck. At the log deck they were loaded onto the carriage, which ran on rails and was pulled by a cable, three men rode the carriage to operate the set works to position the log. The double circular headsaw slabbed the log and passed it to the edger for the removal of bad edges, at the trim saw any bad ends or pieces were removed.⁶²

Planing mill production initially depended upon two machines, a surfacer and a matcher. The surfacer cut a smooth surface on the boards, one side at a time. Two boards could be fed into the surfacer, one on each side of an eighteen inch roller, wider sizes such as 2 x 8 had to be sized on the matcher prior to entering the surfacer. Usually only one side was surfaced, one inch lumber being reduced to seven-eighths. The matcher cut shiplap, flooring, and siding. A moulding machine was added shortly after the operation went into production to

to meet the "great run on mouldings." The planerman worked ten hours a day running his machines, and frequently spent up to two hours sharpening knives. In order to joint the knives, planerman John Baker stood on the planer-belts and the blower sucked his hair straight up from his head.⁶³

The company found the sawmill to be totally inadequate by 1909 and decided to construct a new mill. In June 1911, the old sawmill was finally closed and the machinery moved to the new mill. The basic form of the machinery remained similar to the previous sawmill; a double circular head-rig, band resaw to cut the large timbers into one inch boards for the Victoria market, and a chain canting gear turned the logs on the log deck.⁶⁴ The main improvements were three sixty-six inch by sixteen foot boilers of seventy-five horsepower supplying steam to three engines of two hundred and fifty horsepower.⁶⁵ Live rolls replaced the dead rolls on both sides of the platform and down the middle of the platform.⁶⁶ In 1912, two new Berlin machines were purchased for the planing mill.⁶⁷ A refinishing plant was set up at the lumber yard in Victoria, including three McGregor-Gourlay planers and matchers, large lumber planers, a resaw and other machinery.⁶⁸ The new sawmill had a daily capacity of 75,000 feet, and gave Pop Elford "great satisfaction owing to its steady output and smooth running."⁶⁹

The new sawmill increased company lumber production. This sawmill became noted for excellent big timbers and the mill to a certain extent specialized in their production. The larger ones were exceptionally hard to handle and while being sawn they were removed from the carriage and reloaded when it was necessary to change the angle of

the cut, as they were too large for the carriage track. The mill could cut up to three hundred smaller logs per day. The usual size of the timber ranged between forty and eighty feet in length and 24 x 24 inches in size.⁷⁰ One of the old sawyers recalled that the two best timbers he cut in the mill were 24 x 24 and eighty-two feet long. He "was proud as punch with those timbers. One had hardly a blemish, but the other was hard to get as the saw ran and made it a bit off-size at one end." Two Pacific Lumber Bureau inspection agents watched the timbers sawn, having come down from Chemainus for the event. They spent some time "with their rules flashing" but passed the timbers. Such an inspection was necessary as Bureau standards were the recognized grade, world wide.⁷¹

Round spars were also sold occasionally. These were pulled up the log slip, rolled on to the carriage and pulled through the mill to a railway car. Occasionally, the length necessitated the removal of the head saws in order to move the "sticks" through the sawmill.⁷²

The destruction of the sawmill by fire in 1918 was a serious loss considering the short interval since its construction. The source of the fire was unknown but a major contributing factor occurred when "the so-called fire-proof roofing caught fire and slid off the roof and went flying through the air, lighting fires all around."⁷³ A bucket brigade, fortunately, saved the planing mill with its new P. B. Yates No. 91 profile matcher, the recently remodelled dry kilns and the lumber yards.⁷⁴

Optimism pervaded the period and William Munsie, Jr., did not hesitate to rebuild his sawmill. In February 1919, he announced that reconstruction had commenced and that "considerable material was now on

the ground, and that it was his intention to go ahead with all speed and get the new mill going at the earliest possible date."⁷⁵ Since times were prosperous, Munsie opted to construct a larger mill, with a shift capacity of 75,000 feet. The new equipment remained basically the same, two sixty inch headsaws, eight by sixty inch edger, and an eight inch band resaw.⁷⁶ A new lath mill, with a capacity of fifty thousand feet was constructed along with a new "first class" machine shop. The dry kilns were expanded to eighteen thousand feet per day by Walsh Construction and power was provided by three six by sixteen horizontal boilers.⁷⁷ Even the construction of a completely new mill did not negate the trend of constant change and improvement. Change and improvement were continuous necessities for the sawmill to compete in the turbulence of the 1920 markets. During the 1920's sawmill technology entered a period of rapid improvement.

Sawmill machinery is quickly outmoded, and during the years following 1910 great advances were made in mill equipment and mill layout. . . . The greatest advances came after 1922, when highspeed electrically operated machinery was introduced.⁷⁸

Throughout the 1920's the sawmill closed every year for major repairs and each shutdown was marked by additional alterations and improvements to "augment the daily cut."⁷⁹ In July 1925 the company closed to undertake "extensive repairs and alterations to the mill." In 1926 "The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company started operations again after being shut down for two weeks, during which time several important improvements were effected which will enable the company to increase their output." In 1927, 1928, and 1929, similar shutdowns for improvements to the sawmill were reported. Some of these efforts were very extensive and

all possessed the end objective of increased production and efficiency.⁸⁰

It is probable these trends would have continued except for the violent market change of the 1930's depression, a period most sawmills were fortunate to survive, and were unable to carry out further improvement programs.

Unfortunately no detailed record of these improvements exists. The local newspaper, however, did record some of them. In 1920, a new conveyor was installed to carry sawdust to the boilers. Another conveyor was constructed to the timber deck where it was expected to save the labour of three men.⁸¹ A sidewalk slab trimmer was added and the planing mill capacity was increased to forty thousand feet. In 1922, power was supplied from four boilers to the 18 x 24 Hamilton engine on the head-rig, the 14 x 18 Hamilton engine for the edger, and other machines.⁸² In 1924, several new devices were acquired as well as another boiler, and a second engine for the planing mill. A "better device" was also installed to deliver logs to the head-rig.⁸³ In 1926, another boiler was installed along with a large high speed planer and a flume to carry waste to the burner. The yard was increased to ten acres.⁸⁴ In 1927, the lumber yard was expanded again to accommodate the passage of a new Ross straddle carrier, and a crane was purchased, mainly to move lumber to the dry kilns.⁸⁵ The repairs in 1928 included the replacement of three of the five boilers and the purchase of a Sumner Iron Works "Automatic 25" trimmer, all installed with the able work of a "big gang of millwrights."⁸⁶ A new log carriage and several new chutes to facilitate a lumber movement were placed in 1929.⁸⁷ Despite many improvements, much of the original equipment remained virtually unchanged, and costs

were cut where possible, as when the drum from the old 1899 10 x 12 donkey was used in the log haul.⁸⁸ While this list of work is not complete, it indicates that major work was done every year, and suggests that smaller repairs were a continuous proposition.

The company, throughout the 1920's, was "one of the live-wire organizations of the island, and operating . . . a plant for its size second to none,"⁸⁹ but hard times descended after the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. The depression greatly curtailed company lumbering operations but other sawmills re-emerged into the 1940's as viable operations. The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company did not because of two major reasons. The poor judgment of William Munsie in extending his logging operations into the poor country and timber, he had earlier acquired. Logging costs were too high in comparison to other operations and the sawmill was not designed to cut the smaller timber profitably.

Serious as the move into poor timber was, a tragic disaster presented the final blow. On August 10th, 1934, the sawmill and other facilities were totally destroyed by fire. This event made front page news, not only in the Cowichan Leader, but also in the Victoria Daily Times which announced in glaring headlines, "FIRE WRECKS SHAWNIGAN MILL."⁹⁰ The most sensational aspect of the affair was that the mill was burned as a result of incendiarism, and not by accidental fire. This fire had not been the first attempt to destroy the mill; on July 7, two men fled the property when spotted by the night watchman, Harry Warwick, leaving behind dynamite and coal oil. The fire of August 10th originated behind the planing shed and was noticed by the night watchman about 2:50 a.m. He gave the alarm and tied the mill whistle down. By

7:00 a.m. all was in ruins; the firefighting equipment so hopefully installed had not been effective.⁹¹ The sawmill, six acres of platforms, machines, and lumber, along with a small summer cottage and the Japanese settlement at the north end of the mill were lost. Fortunately, the wind had not been blowing or many other buildings would have been burned. During the height of the fire an E. & N. locomotive attempted to pass the sawmill, but was driven back. The sight of the roaring inferno was spectacular:

Flames rose at least 100 feet in the air, and a shower of burning debris went straight up higher, then spread like a mushroom in every direction. The lake was like a brilliantly lit crystal bowl. The dark hour before the dawn was light as day. It was possible to read newsprint by the light of the flames at the Forrest Inn on the opposite shore.⁹²

An official enquiry was at once initiated to investigate and to report on the circumstances surrounding the fire. The hearings began on October 3, 1934. The evidence produced indicated that a Mr. Richards of Nanaimo, an employee of the Western Fuel Company, was responsible for setting the fire. The dynamite, which had been found in July, had been stamped W.F.Co. Caps, cotton gloves, and fuse were also found near the mill site. Mr. Richards had been seen in a rented car near the mill site, a fact he denied. Richards was also the friend of a former night watchman who had been hired following the July incident, and then dismissed for suspicious actions. While no doubt existed that the fire had been set, it was decided that the evidence was not strong enough to lay charges.⁹³ It was suggested, at one point, that William Munsie might have been the instigator of the fire, but this was never a serious consideration. Another suggestion was that one of Munsie's creditors burned the sawmill to ensure that he would be repaid a loan.⁹⁴

The sawmill was rebuilt in 1936 and went into production in September of that year. It was a small sawmill with a capacity of 40,000 feet per shift, and employed twenty men. Two of the boilers from the previous sawmill were used, but in general the equipment was very poor. The mill was constructed with the idea that it could be expanded once conditions improved but this was never undertaken.⁹⁵ The cost of rebuilding was just over twelve thousand dollars. In 1937, over seventy thousand dollars worth of lumber was sold, but the company still sustained a net loss of more than seven thousand dollars.⁹⁶

Logging operations recommenced in 1936, following the reconstruction of the sawmill. The Munsies, Bill's son Jack was now in charge of logging, must have started with great expectations, which soon disappeared. In November, they logged on block 291 with one locomotive, two donkeys and with a crew of forty-five whites, but the operation closed in January 1937 under a cloud of uncertainty.⁹⁷ When it finally reopened in August 1937, it was under much different circumstances, Munsie was salvage logging with one steam donkey for loading, three trucks, and one tractor for yarding.⁹⁸ By December, Munsie once again tried high lead, but the whole operation closed for most of 1938.⁹⁹ In 1939, a small tie mill was constructed and logs were yarded directly to the mill, the whole operation only required a crew of seven men, which is in significant contrast to the pre-1930 mill, which employed fifty men in the sawmill.¹⁰⁰

Bill Munsie, Jr., had been a gambler, building inventories of lumber he could not afford to hold. The destruction of the sawmill and its poor replacement spelled the end. In 1939, Munsie sold the company,

which floundered along for years, but even the prosperous war years did not rectify the situation and the sawmill was finally and permanently closed.

¹ There is no detailed study of technological change in logging but Frederick Toumala, "The Evolution of Logging on The Pacific Coast" (Unpublished B.Sc. in Forestry, 1960), is probably the best available.

² W. W. Peed, "Necessity For The Logging Engineer in Modern Logging Operations," Pacific Coast Logging Congress, July 21-23, 1910 (Portland), p. 28.

³ Cost Statement, Bloedel, Stewart & Welch Ltd., August 31, 1927, Wellburn Collection, British Columbia Forest Museum, Duncan, B.C. (WC, BCFM).

⁴ When Lossee commenced operations, standard cruising practice was for a skilled man to examine an area and estimate the value of the timber based upon his own knowledge. This era soon ended as increasingly accurate cruises were required. See J. J. Donovan, "Important Functions of Spine Railroads in Modern Logging Operations," Pacific Coast Logging Congress, July 21-23, 1910 (Portland), p. 35.

⁵ There is an excellent description of falling and bucking in Gus Griffiths, Now You're Logging (Malden Park: Harbour Publishing, 1978), pp. 91-96. Bucking and falling were difficult operations, requiring skilled workmen. This is especially true in falling where breakage has been known to run as high as fifty percent. William H. Gibbons, Logging in the Douglas Fir Region, Department of Agriculture, Bulletin 711 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), p. 38. The major problem for buckers was cutting the log the right length to take into account damage incurred in transit. Gibbons, p. 59.

⁶ Richard I. Williams, The Loggers (Alexandria: Time-Life Books, 1977), p. 91. The earliest entry in the company's ledger for this period appears in August, 1942, when \$60.43 was paid to Reed-Prattice Ltd., a chain saw manufacturer. Purchase Journal, Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company (July 1940-December 1942), WC, BCFM, p. 40.

⁷ Williams, p. 98.

⁸ Mrs. W. Carlson, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCFM.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Dan Hattie, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCFM.

¹¹ Mrs. W. Carlson, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCFM.

¹² Dan Hattie, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCFM.

Footnotes

- ¹There is no detailed study of technological change in logging but Maurice Frederick Toumala, "The Evolution of Logging on The Pacific Coast" (Unpublished B.Sc. in Forestry, 1960), is probably the best available.
- ²W. W. Peed, "Necessity For The Logging Engineer In Modern Logging Operations," Pacific Coast Logging Congress, July 21-23, 1910 (Portland), p. 28.
- ³Cost Statement, Bloedel, Stewart & Welch Ltd., August 31, 1927, Wellburn Collection, British Columbia Forest Museum, Duncan, B.C. (WC, BCFM).
- ⁴When Lossee commenced operations, standard cruising practice was for a skilled man to examine an area and estimate the value of the timber based upon his own knowledge. This era soon ended as increasingly accurate cruises were required. See J. J. Donovan, "Important Function of Steam Railroads in Modern Logging Operations," Pacific Coast Logging Congress, July 21-23, 1910 (Portland), p. 35.
- ⁵There is an excellent description of falling and bucking in Bus Griffiths, Now You're Logging (Madiara Park: Harbour Publishing, 1978), pp. 91-96. Bucking and falling were difficult operations, requiring skilled workmen. This is especially true in falling where breakage has been known to run as high as fifty percent. William H. Gibbons, Logging in the Douglas Fir Region, Department of Agriculture, Bulletin 711 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), p. 38. The major problem for buckers was cutting the log the right length to take into account damage incurred in transit. Gibbons, p. 59.
- ⁶Richard I. Williams, The Loggers (Alexandria: Time-Life Books, 1977), p. 91. The earliest entry in the company's ledger for this period appears in August, 1942, when \$60.45 was paid to Reed-Prentice Ltd., a chain saw manufacturer. Purchase Journal, Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company (July 1940-December 1942), WC, BCFM, p. 40.
- ⁷Williams, p. 98.
- ⁸Mrs. W. Carlson, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCFM.
- ⁹Ibid.
- ¹⁰Dan Hattie, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCFM.
- ¹¹Mrs. W. Carlson, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCFM.
- ¹²Dan Hattie, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCFM.

- ¹³ Mrs. W. Carlson, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ¹⁴ Dan Hattie, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ¹⁵ Mrs. W. Carlson, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ¹⁶ Dan Hattie, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ¹⁷ G. E. Wellburn, "1896, Logging with Bull teams and Horses," Ms., WC, BCPM.
- ¹⁸ See Nelson C. Brown, Logging (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949), pp. 138-139.
- ¹⁹ Peter Mathias, The First Industrial Nation (London: Methuen & Co., 1969), p. 134.
- ²⁰ Stewart Holbrook, Holy Old Mackinaw (New York: MacMillan, 1946), p. 102. Two vertical spool donkeys were used in British Columbia, one on the mainland and one at Chemainus on Vancouver Island. The one at Chemainus arrived in 1894 but it was not a success and not used long.
- ²¹ W. Munsie, Jr., interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ²² G. Wellburn, "1900--Two Steam Donkeys and a Six Horse Team," Ms., WC, BCPM.
- ²³ F. Verdier, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ²⁴ H. Hawking, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ²⁵ F. Verdier, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ²⁶ W. Munsie, Jr., interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ²⁷ G. Wellburn, "The Pole-Road on the West Arm," Ms., WC, BCPM.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ There were a number of examples of railroad logging in B.C. to inspire Pop Elford. Probably the first logs hauled over a railway in B.C. were on the E. & N. in 1887 for the sawmill at Chemainus. The first logging railroad was reportedly on Thurlow Island in 1893, operated by Hastings sawmill. R. E. Swanson, A History of Railroad Logging (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1960), p. 3.
- ³⁰ G. Wellburn, "1902--The First Logging Locomotive at Shawnigan Lake," Ms., WC, BCPM.
- ³¹ Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³F. Verdier, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵H. Hawking, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

³⁶G. Wellburn, "1902--The First Logging Locomotive at Shawnigan Lake," Ms., WC, BCPM.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸W. Munsie, Jr., interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

³⁹Thomas Taber III and Walter Casler, Climax--An Unusual Steam Locomotive (Morristown, N.J.: Railroadians of America, 1960), pp. 14, 15.

⁴⁰Ibid. The locomotive boiler was of a Tee design introduced by Climax in 1895. It consisted of a large round firebox, which resembled a horizontal drum, attached to a vertical section containing the flues.

⁴¹G. Wellburn, "Betsey--An Early Shawnigan Lake Locomotive," Ms., WC, BCPM.

⁴²G. Wellburn, "1902--The Geared Locomotive," Ms., WC, BCPM.

⁴³H. Hawking, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

⁴⁴W. Munsie, Jr., interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

⁴⁵H. Hawking, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷J. Neff, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Holbrook, p. 184.

⁵⁰See Griffiths, pp. 11-20 for an excellent description of rigging, also Tuomala, pp. 19-24.

⁵¹F. Verdier, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

⁵²G. Carlsen, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

⁵³C. Draper, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

- ⁵⁴F. Verdier, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM. "Forest Branch Report," April 18, 1923, September 28, 1923, December, 1923, March 11, 1923, transcripts, WC, BCPM.
- ⁵⁵Cost Statement, Bloedel Stewart and Welch Limited.
- ⁵⁶See H. B. Oakleaf, Lumber Manufacture in the Douglas Fir Region (Chicago: Commercial Journal Co., 1920).
- ⁵⁷Mrs. W. Carlson, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM. Cowichan Leader, August 9, 1923, p. 4.
- ⁵⁸Lossee, Reminiscences, PABC.
- ⁵⁹Mrs. W. Carlson, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ⁶⁰Wellburn, "First Sawmill at Shawnigan Lake," WC, BCPM.
- ⁶¹Lossee, Reminiscences, PABC.
- ⁶²See Oakleaf, pp. 1-83.
- ⁶³J. Baker, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM. R. Elford, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ⁶⁴Western Lumberman, VIII (July 1911), p. 79.
- ⁶⁵Ibid.
- ⁶⁶Ibid.
- ⁶⁷J. Baker, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ⁶⁸Western Lumberman, VIII (July 11, 1911), p. 79.
- ⁶⁹Ibid., IX (May 1912), p. 27.
- ⁷⁰J. Baker, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ⁷¹Ibid.
- ⁷²Ibid.
- ⁷³Cowichan Leader, December 19, 1918, p. 1.
- ⁷⁴Ibid.
- ⁷⁵Western Lumberman, XVI (March 1919), p. 38.
- ⁷⁶Ibid., XVI (July 1919), p. 33.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Edwin T. Coman and Helen M. Gibbs, Time Tide and Timber: A Century of Pope and Talbot (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949), p. 244.

⁷⁹ Cowichan Leader, December 25, 1924, p. 10.

⁸⁰ Cowichan Leader, July 3, 1925, p. 5; January 26, 1926, p. 4; April 14, 1927, p. 7; March 8, 1928, p. 2; January 10, 1929, p. 3.

⁸¹ Pacific Coast Lumberman, IV (January 1920), p. 26.

⁸² V. Palmer, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

⁸³ Cowichan Leader, January 8, 1925, p. 8; November 6, 1924, p. 9.

⁸⁴ British Columbia Lumberman, X (September 1926), p. 72.

⁸⁵ Cowichan Leader, April 14, 1927, p. 7.

⁸⁶ Cowichan Leader, February 16, 1928, p. 2; April 5, 1928, p. 7; May 3, 1928, p. 1.

⁸⁷ Cowichan Leader, January 10, 1929, p. 3.

⁸⁸ R. McClurg, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM. Some problems, however, were never solved, the saws continually broke off the shoulders because of too many teeth in the saw and too heavy a feed. V. Palmer, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

⁸⁹ Western Lumberman, XIX (December 1922), p. 33.

⁹⁰ "Fire Wrecks Shawnigan Mill," Victoria Daily Times, August 10, 1934, p. 1.

⁹¹ Cowichan Leader, August 16, 1934, p. 1. In 1911, a major fire-fighting system was installed throughout the sawmill. At this time, an additional water system was installed, water was pumped by a duplex ram pump, capable of delivering three hundred and fifty gallons of water per minute. Seven new hydrants were added to eight previously installed hydrants and lengths of two and one half inch hose were stored at each hydrant. This system, at the time, was believed to make the sawmill virtually immune to fire. Western Lumberman, IX (May 1912), p. 27. Fire was a major concern to all sawmill operators. In 1925, for instance, the Cowichan Leader reported five fires; a damaging fire at Hillcrest Lumber Company, the almost total destruction of three other local sawmills (Tansor, one at Glenora, and one at Cobble Hill), and the total gutting of the large Robertson-Hackett export mill in Vancouver. Cowichan Leader, May 14, 1925, p. 1; May 28, 1925, p. 1; June 5, 1925, p. 4; June 18, 1925, p. 1; October 1, 1925, p. 1.

⁹²Cowichan Leader, August 16, 1934, p. 1.

⁹³Cowichan Leader, October 4, 1934, p. 1.

⁹⁴V. Palmer, interviewed by R. Griffin, tape, 1977.

⁹⁵Cowichan Leader, September 17, 1936, p. 1.

⁹⁶Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, Ledger, BCFM.

⁹⁷P. Sweatman, Forest Branch Report, transcript, November 21, 1936; May 18, 1937.

⁹⁸Ibid., August 9, 1937.

⁹⁹Ibid., December 22, 1937; April 11, 1938; December 5, 1938.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., January 6, 1939; May 22, 1939; P. Sweatman to D. B. Taylor, Forest Branch Report, transcript, March 6, 1940.

rough lumber per M	\$12.00
best quality dressed lumber	\$20.00
second quality dressed lumber	\$17.50
laths	\$ 2.50
shingles	\$ 2.50

The low production costs (\$5.15 per thousand feet of dressed lumber in 1894) meant that an excellent profit was made.

Economic depression began in 1891. This was a very severe world wide depression which lasted several years, into the mid 1890's.

CHAPTER IV

MARKETING AND PROFITS

The central purpose of lumber production is its sale at a profit. Marketing presented the sawmill owner with his most difficult task. He was subject to many uncontrollable factors such as car shortages, the goodwill of the wholesaler and retailer, in distant locations. The existence of the company depended upon the success of profitable marketing.

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was successful from the start. Lossee would not have travelled to Ontario for additional machinery if he had not considered the business to be prospering. The sawmill, initially, catered to one market, the local Victoria trade, with smaller sales at such places as Duncan and Nanaimo. The local lumber trade in Victoria did very well in 1889, 1890, and 1891. The B.C. Commercial Journal pointedly remarked in April 1891 that "the local mills are doing a good trade."¹ Lumber sales were good at Shawnigan Lake with "increasing demand . . . for their freshwater lumber."² In June, lumber sold in Victoria at:³

rough lumber per M	\$12.00
best quality dressed lumber	\$20.00
second quality dressed lumber	\$17.50
laths	\$ 2.50
shingles	\$ 2.50

The low production costs (\$5.15 per thousand feet of dressed lumber in 1894) meant that an excellent profit was made.

Economic depression began in 1891. This was a very severe world wide depression which lasted several years, into the mid 1890's,

and probably influenced Lossee in his decision to sell his holdings in The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company. Despite the depression, local markets, at first, remained steady, with the result that export mills competed for the relatively small local sales, which brought about price cutting. In September, 1891, the Victoria Lumber and Manufacturing Company reduced the price of rough lumber to nine dollars a thousand feet and "the local mills . . . met the cut."⁴ Competition from the large sawmills in Vancouver reduced prices further. Due to price cuts, local sales continued brisk into 1892, but severe competition placed a strain on the lumber industry, particularly when prices crept below production cost. To combat this situation, a lumber exchange was organized and prices fixed at:⁵

rough lumber per M	\$10.00
dressed	\$18.00 & 14.00
lath & shingles	\$ 2.25.

The troubled economic conditions continued without letup and by March 15, 1892, the agreement, formed in late February, was broken.⁶ On April 5, 1892, the price of rough lumber sank to a new low of eight dollars per thousand feet.

A second association was organized at the end of May, 1892, and it gave "considerable satisfaction" to the lumberman.⁷ Prices were set at:⁸

rough per M	\$12.00
dressed	\$22.25 & 18.00.

Higher prices and improving conditions provided the incentive for this agreement to last several months, which, considering the chaotic times, individualistic attitudes toward business, and the record of the previous association, was a lengthy existence. Price cutting did not

reappear until October, 1892, and the association did not finally collapse until November, when a new American syndicate refused to join.⁹ The year 1892 was exceptionally hard on sawmill owners, mills only operated about fifty percent of the time, but the year 1893 was even more severe and brought a new low in prices. Rough lumber sold at seven dollars per thousand feet.¹⁰ The only active business deals were the few builders who could afford to buy on speculation. Another association formed in May, 1893, was unable to raise prices.

These were the difficult times in which The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company matured, emerging to take advantage of future market developments. In March, 1894, the price of rough lumber increased to seven dollars and fifty cents per thousand.¹¹ This point marked the commencement of the long climb to prosperity in the lumber industry. By March 27, 1894, the price for rough lumber had risen to eight dollars per thousand feet.¹²

The journal of The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company lists a number of the sales made in 1894, the year the company incorporated. The list is not complete as it includes only sales of \$10,652.60, while total company sales in that year were \$51,435.14.¹³ The amounts of money are small, the largest purchase was that of W. H. Ireland for \$539.79 but this could represent over fifty thousand feet of rough lumber (approximately one half that amount of dressed lumber), a large quantity. The second largest purchaser was C. Esplin, whose purchase was worth \$471.73. Most of the sales were less than one hundred dollars. Accounts involved all classes of people and companies, ranging from the Honourable M. B. Begbie, to Chinese merchants, to the Victoria Coal and

Lumber Company, to the Sayward Mill and Timber Company. Robert Dunsmuir purchased \$96.00 worth of lumber. The accounts were all local Victoria sales.¹⁴ The sales listed indicate a wide variety, a factor which lessened the effect of the depression.

The depression was not as severe for The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company in 1894 as prevailing general economic conditions indicated. One of the owners, John Coburn, wrote that the company was "doing a good business." Coburn stated again in 1895 that business was "good."¹⁵ The company balance sheets support these statements. The first year for which figures are available is 1894. The company, during this year, amassed debts totalling \$4,553.76, more than covered by receivables in the amount of \$15,103.71, the net profit was \$11,491.87. In 1895, debts remained small, \$12,241.49, while receivables stood at \$24,443.24.¹⁶

The depression continued to influence the economy and not until 1896 was there significant general improvement in the business climate. As late as 1896, the lumbermen were still attempting price control, an effort which again ended in failure.¹⁷ Conditions definitely improved by 1897. In that year E. J. Palmer of the nearby Chemainus sawmill declared:

Business is rushing so much so that we are running night and day and even then find it hard to keep up with orders. Oh yes, the lumber trade is looking up at last I am glad to say.¹⁸

The improvement of the lumber economy in 1897 resulted from a change in lumber markets. Sawmills commenced producing for the booming prairie rail trade. All sawmills participated and the boom was of such dimension that the prairie market dominated the British Columbia lumber trade for the next decade. The new markets improved the total economic

situation. Local lumber consumption between 1897 and 1898 more than doubled from 35,000,000 to 75,000,000 feet.¹⁹ In 1899, conditions further improved, so much so that:

To say the mills are busy does not fully explain the situation. The fact is that orders are being refused owing to inability to supply the lumber at the time the customer requires it.²⁰

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company emerged from the depression strong financially and quickly took advantage of the new markets. The ratio of debts to receivables remained good and even as late as the severely depressed year of 1915, debts only totalled \$7,244.84.²¹ Profits in 1897 dropped to a low of \$2,913.22, but by 1899, as the influence of the developing prairie market became noticeable, profits rose to \$13,373.85. The trend of increasing profits continued until 1915, when the company experienced the first net loss in the amount of \$19,964.53.²²

Company lumber sales closely related to the general economic trends within Canada.²³ Variations occurred as sales fluctuated from year to year, but this was true between different sawmills as well as between different industries. A comparison of The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company and the Port Moody Cedar Company yields a number of instances of such differences.²⁴

Port Moody Cedar Company	Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company
1910-11 slight drop in sales	slight rise in sales
1911-12 large drop	large rise
1912-13 slight rise	large drop
1913-14 drop	large rise
1923-24 good rise	sharp drop
1924-25 sharp drop	large rise
1926-27 slight rise	slight drop
1928-29 slight drop	good rise

These discrepancies are a result of lags in production and the many factors which influenced marketing, such as rail car shortages.

The first major market of The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was Victoria, with other local districts, such as Duncan and Wellington, constituting less significant markets. The Victoria yard was opened first. In 1894, when Lewis Mounce joined the company, he contributed the Wellington yard. The prairie markets dominated the company sales following 1897, but some lumber was sent further east to Ontario and occasionally to other parts of Canada, several big timbers went to the Yukon as dredge spuds.²⁵

The export trade was very profitable, but there is no evidence that the company was ever deeply involved. Exports were a problem, they required extensive documentation before a purchaser would buy, and lumber had to be hauled from the company's Victoria yard to a ship by wagon, later by truck, a very time consuming and expensive procedure.²⁶ The first evidence of interest in the lumber export trade was when William Munsie, Sr., in 1895, requested one of his overseas seal contacts to locate anyone interested in purchasing spars. Unfortunately, it is not clear what developed from this enquiry though the company did send spars overseas.²⁷ No further reference to export is available until 1919, when William Munsie, Jr. was a founding member of Associated Timber Exporters Ltd.

The Association was formed when the British Timber Controller approached British Columbia lumbermen, following the Great War, with an order for seventy million feet of timbers and ties to reconstruct British railways. No sawmill was capable of supplying this order in the

time allotted and so the Association was organized. The order was distributed to members on a share basis. The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company owned ten shares, which placed the company among the smallest shareholders. Among the original thirty companies, only eight held as few as ten shares. The two largest shareholders were the Victoria Lumber and Manufacturing Company with one hundred and sixty five shares and the Canadian Western Lumber Company with one hundred and forty shares.²⁸

William Munsie, Jr. continued his interest in exports. In 1926, he participated in the organization of Coast Sawmills Limited. This association aimed to exploit the eastern seaboard markets. Each of the original eight members held one share.²⁹ It is very unlikely that The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company exported lumber in quantity, despite its participation in the export associations. Local markets were adequate, and the difficulties of export along with problems within the company, made it probable that the company only participated in the large orders for which the associations were originally established.

The decade 1921 to 1931 was the last prosperous decade of The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company. The company had no significant production throughout the depression and the war years were but a feeble interlude prior to the final demise. The decade was a period of economic uncertainty, commencing with a depression which lasted until about 1924. Even the prosperous years following 1925 lacked solidity, some industries prospered while others languished. The precarious wheat boom of the 1920's provided a semblance of prosperity to British Columbia's lumber industry, prior to the forced readjustment caused by the Great Depression and World War II.

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was much weaker financially during the 1920's than in the earlier decades. Total sales rose dramatically, never falling below \$200,000.00 after 1922, but such indicators as the ratio between debts and receivables had dramatically worsened. Total debt between 1915, the first year of net loss, and 1925, increased more than 12 times to \$97,774.91. The accounts receivable were only \$27,436.99, though a lumber inventory worth \$90,410.09 existed.³⁰ Net profits were negligible in comparison to total lumber sales. In the eight years between 1924 and 1931, net losses occurred in four years, and in 1926, the profit was only \$670.71.³¹ In 1930, 1931, and 1932 lumber sales were still over \$200,000.00, but major losses occurred in 1930 and 1932 with only a profit of \$56.56 in 1931.³² The large scale production with so little yield was a major contributor to the collapse of the company.

The year 1921 opened slowly, the economy still in a slump, though as early as February, the company was shipping carloads of lumber.³⁴ Despite continued unstable conditions, businessmen were optimistic. "We face the troubled seas of business readjustment. Our lumber mills are reopening and it is ultimately inevitable that obstacles to the profitable development of our immense timber resources will be overcome."³⁴ By June 1921, the optimism was somewhat justified as orders reached the sawmills. The orders were, generally, from local sources, which often meant from Shawnigan Lake residents, but by June 16, the orders were sufficient to exceed the capacity of the sawmill.³⁵ Shawnigan Lake orders combined with Victoria orders were the mainstay of the company, especially as prairie demand became more erratic

following 1911.³⁶ The resumption of the local trade did not overcome the effects of the depression but the local Board of Trade faced the future with optimism:

After the feverish activities of the past few years, the lumber industry is suffering from reaction which has overtaken all commodities and from oppressive freight rates. But this depression can only be of short duration and when a stabilizing of exchange conditions places the purchasing power of Europe on a normal basis, Cowichan with its many well equipped mills and its vast resources of timber, should reap a golden harvest.³⁷

But by December industry has still "not recovered its former standard."³⁸

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company opened 1922 with enquiries for lumber from local residents and "quite a boom in . . . demand."³⁹ Out of province orders increased and in June, sixteen railway cars were dispatched east, in one week.⁴⁰ This quantity was exceptional, but by the end of July an average of two carloads of lumber each day were heading east.⁴¹ By the end of 1922, markets were excellent with mills working at "high pressure" in order to fill orders.⁴² The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company shipped to points in eastern Canada, the Prairies, and the Middle States. William Munsie, Jr. provided able leadership, "he knows all about lumber markets so far as North America is concerned and for that reason he generally has all the orders he wants."⁴³

In 1923, Munsie expected conditions to continue to improve:

We are very optimistic for the future and feel that for the first six months of the year we are going to have a very good business at good prices and in making it brief we look for 1923 to be one of the best years that has confronted the lumberman for a considerable period.⁴⁴

His prediction was fulfilled, by August, the company received more orders than the sawmill could handle, while operating at full capacity.⁴⁵

In December:

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company made a record shipment when ten or eleven cars of lumber were shipped, containing upwards of 25,000,000 feet. This shipment was for a vessel loading in Victoria. In addition, several cars were also shipped to points east. The mill is busy working on another order of large magnitude.⁴⁶

Markets continued to be excellent though fluctuating until 1929. A "steady flow of orders" carried into early 1924,⁴⁷ but by July 1924 a bad slump occurred and on July 5 the company suspended operations when lumber prices dipped below the cost of production.⁴⁸ In late August conditions improved though The Shawnigan Lake sawmill did not open.⁴⁹ It was not until 1925 that conditions were again satisfactory, by May 14, the sawmill was running at full capacity.⁵⁰ In May, the company shipped timbers to Toronto, timbers so large they were loaded onto two flat cars.⁵¹ Conditions continued good through to October at which time the company sawmill was cutting so fast the woods crew were unable to keep them supplied with logs.⁵² Victoria alone consumed close to half a million feet of mixed lumber per month from The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company and shipments were still going to the Prairies and further east.⁵³ In early November, these conditions altered and the sawmill again closed.⁵⁴ The mid-season shutdown was a standard occurrence in the twenties, as by early 1925, the sawmill was once more "running at capacity."⁵⁵ The orders for lumber flowed in but by September prices were unsatisfactory. The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, at this time, was shipping an average of three railway cars per day, about 28,000 feet.⁵⁶ In late December 1926, once again the sawmill closed due to unprofitable markets,⁵⁷ and in May 1927 it reopened.⁵⁸ Conditions remained stable throughout 1927, though winter slowdown again

forced closure with reopening in March 1928.⁵⁹ The usual winter slack occurred in September of 1928, though demand returned earlier than usual in 1929.⁶⁰

Trade continued excellent until late 1929, so good that the company installed heavier rails in their siding in order to handle additional freight cars.⁶¹ During November the company was busy with a large export order.⁶² In 1930, winter shutdown was longer than normal but demand picked up despite the economic problems, although the prices were very low, a condition that continued.

The lumbering industry is passing through a very difficult time. The demand for lumber is very poor and in the words of one lumberman, 'what business is offering is below cost of production, so that it is difficult for mills to carry on and keep out of the sheriff's hands.'⁶³

The lumber industry by July 1930 curtailed production 65 percent.⁶⁴ Almost all sales in 1931 were made below production cost.⁶⁵ Optimism was ever available, "present conditions cannot last forever,"⁶⁶ but by the time markets recovered it was too late for The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company.

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was an important producer during the 1920's. (See Table II.) Vast quantities of lumber were sold without strengthening the financial situation of the company, which significantly contributed to the company's inability to survive an extended depression. The relationship between sales and profit depended upon outside factors, with the result that large sales did not mean survival.

Table II

Cut of Major Vancouver Island Sawmills in 1928

<u>Sawmill</u>	<u>Cut</u>
Alberni Pacific Lumber	83,000,000 feet
Victoria Lumber & Manufacturing	59,000,000
Canadian Puget Sound	52,500,000
Great Central	45,000,000
Hillcrest	45,000,000
Sidney Lumber Company	34,500,000
Cameron Lumber Company	33,000,000
Straits Lumber Company	29,000,000
The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company	29,000,000

Source: British Columbia Lumbermen, XIII (February 1929), p. 28.

¹⁰ Ibid., III (August 9, 1893), p. 5.

¹¹ Ibid., III (March 6, 1894), p. 5.

¹² Ibid., IV (March 27, 1894), p. 3.

¹³ Annual Reports, and accompanying journal, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, MacMillan-Bloedel Ltd.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ John W. Coburn, Diary, July 2, 1894; August 13, 1895, PABC.

¹⁶ Annual Reports, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company.

¹⁷ Canada Lumberman, XVIII (January 1897), p. 13.

¹⁸ Ibid., XVIII (April 1897), p. 10.

¹⁹ Ibid., XX (October 1899), p. 25.

²⁰ Ibid., XX (December 1899), p. 15.

²¹ Annual Reports, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company.

²² Ibid.

²³ See Appendix for tables.

²⁴ Statistics, Port Moody Cedar Company, PABC. Annual reports, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company.

Footnotes

- ¹The British Columbia Commercial Journal, I (April 7, 1891), p. 12.
- ²Ibid., I (June 2, 1891), p. 5.
- ³Ibid., p. 12.
- ⁴Ibid., I (September 1, 1891), p. 4.
- ⁵Ibid., II (March 1, 1892), p. 5.
- ⁶Ibid., II (March 15, 1892), p. 4.
- ⁷Ibid., II (June 7, 1892), p. 5.
- ⁸Ibid.
- ⁹Ibid., II (November 1, 1892), p. 5.
- ¹⁰Ibid., III (August 9, 1893), p. 5.
- ¹¹Ibid., III (March 6, 1894), p. 5.
- ¹²Ibid., IV (March 27, 1894), p. 5.
- ¹³Annual Reports, and accompanying journal, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, MacMillan-Bloedel Ltd.
- ¹⁴Ibid.
- ¹⁵John W. Coburn, Diary, July 2, 1894; August 15, 1895, PABC.
- ¹⁶Annual Reports, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company.
- ¹⁷Canada Lumberman, XVIII (January 1897), p. 13.
- ¹⁸Ibid., XVIII (April 1897), p. 10.
- ¹⁹Ibid., XX (October 1899), p. 25.
- ²⁰Ibid., XX (December 1899), p. 15.
- ²¹Annual Reports, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company.
- ²²Ibid.
- ²³See Appendix for tables.
- ²⁴Statistics, Port Moody Cedar Company, PABC. Annual reports, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company.

²⁵L. Shannon, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM. Cowichan Leader, May 12, 1906, p. 3.

²⁶F. Elford, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

²⁷W. Munsie to I. M. Laffin, April 23, 1895, Munsie Letterbook, PABC, p. 48.

²⁸Associated Timber Exporters Ltd., Companies Office, microfilm, PABC.

²⁹Coast Sawmills, Ltd., Companies Office, Victoria.

³⁰Annual reports, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Cowichan Leader, February 24, 1921, p. 2.

³⁴Ibid., March 10, 1921, p. 3.

³⁵Ibid., June 9, 1921, p. 9; June 16, 1921, p. 2.

³⁶Ibid., April 16, 1914, p. 6.

³⁷Ibid., July 14, 1921, p. 4.

³⁸Ibid., December 29, 1921, p. 4.

³⁹Ibid., February 16, 1922, p. 10; March 23, 1922, p. 6.

⁴⁰Ibid., June 22, 1922, p. 8.

⁴¹Ibid., July 20, 1922, p. 8.

⁴²Western Lumberman, XIX (December 1922), p. 23.

⁴³Ibid., p. 33.

⁴⁴Ibid., XX (January 1923), p. 40.

⁴⁵Cowichan Leader, August 2, 1923, p. 4.

⁴⁶Ibid., December 6, 1923, p. 8.

⁴⁷Ibid., January 10, 1924, p. 8; February 7, 1924, p. 4; February 14, 1924, p. 4.

⁴⁸Ibid., July 10, 1924, p. 4. British Columbia Lumberman, VIII (August 1924), p. 26.

- ⁴⁹ Cowichan Leader, August 21, 1924, p. 3.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., May 14, 1925, p. 9.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., May 21, 1925, p. 9.
- ⁵² Ibid., October 22, 1925, p. 9.
- ⁵³ Ibid., October 1, 1925, p. 7.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid., November 10, 1925, p. 2.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid., February 4, 1926, p. 5.
- ⁵⁶ British Columbia Lumberman, XX (September 1926), p. 72.
- ⁵⁷ Cowichan Leader, December 20, 1926, p. 7.
- ⁵⁸ British Columbia Lumberman, XI (May 1927), p. 27.
- ⁵⁹ Cowichan Leader, March 15, 1928, p. 6. British Columbia Lumberman, XII (April 1928), p. 28.
- ⁶⁰ British Columbia Lumberman, XII (September 1928), p. 21; XIII (January 1929), p. 25.
- ⁶¹ Cowichan Leader, October 3, 1929, p. 2.
- ⁶² Ibid., November 29, 1929, p. 8.
- ⁶³ Ibid., May 15, 1930, p. 1.
- ⁶⁴ British Columbia Lumberman, XIV (July 1930), p. 13.
- ⁶⁵ Cowichan Leader, January 1, 1931, p. 1.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., October 2, 1930, p. 4.

CHAPTER V

THE MEN AND THE COMMUNITY

The Shawnigan Lake community developed largely because of the lumbering operation. Employees of the company were the early permanent residents. Gradually farmers and others arrived, but they, also depended upon the company to supply funds for basic needs. The community eventually divided into separate groups, the transitory full-time lumber workers and the permanent and summer residents. These groups, while separate, interacted to form a viable community.

Every enterprise attracts its own style and tradition of people and the lumber industry was no exception. The men engaged in sawmilling and especially logging have a more distinctive and unsavory reputation than most other social or employment groups. Some of these individuals gloried in the rather disdainful title of "timber beast," which was frequently attached to them. Sometimes the men deserved their reputation; they fought hard and they drank hard. When Doctor John Antle, an Anglican missionary boated into Rock Bay on Vancouver Island one fine Sunday morning in 1904, he found the

only sound sort of a subdued roar coming from the saloon, and occasional groans from perhaps fifty or a hundred loggers lying around in the grass, in all stages of intoxication.¹

A Vancouver lawyer, a year earlier, wrote that Rock Bay "put Hell to blush."² The commonest disfigurement was "logger's smallpox," marks on the face and body from being tramped upon by caulked boots. The Union Pacific steamships plying the coast relegated the logger to the hold as

being unfit association for decent passengers.³ The popular writer, Stewart Holbrook, set this image in a wonderful graphic statement: "It was said of loggers that they lived in trees, hanging by their tails, and that they would eat and digest hay, if you but sprinkled whiskey on it."⁴ Another old-time logger when recalling his experiences in the early British Columbia camps reported that they were a very poor place for a young person, the environment was "unhealthy for the young mind."

The general conversation between the men in the Bunkhouse was about who could drink the most whiskey and remain on his feet, tell the most filthy story and get the loudest laugh, play the crookedest game at cards, and make the most money, relate their experiences with wild women while in town, and what followed this, and much more, and all mingled with the most obscene language.⁵

It is apparent that the forest industry attracted a rough class of men and that their image contained elements of truth. Around Duncan and especially at Shawnigan Lake the image does hold true, but it is much milder than the story tellers would have us believe. In 1900, for instance, the men at one camp presented the Reverend Nelsen with \$13.50 in appreciation of his visits and the reading material he brought to them, not an insignificant sum in 1900.⁶ It was further remarked that, while loggers might be "rough and ready fellows," their heart was in the right place.⁷ They were "noted for their wholehearted way of doing things."⁸ The logger was looked up to by boys in the country, whose main ambition was "to head off to the logging woods to become an expert logger."⁹

Sawmill workers have traditionally been a less boisterous group than loggers. Possibly this was a result of these men being located closer to communities and thus able to blow off steam more

gradually, instead of in one tremendous explosion. Sawmill workers generally led a more stable existence and were more frequently married. The logger led a roving existence, rarely staying long in one location but travelled from camp to camp. This was especially true during the 1920's when good times and plenty of jobs sparked this movement of men. On the up-coast operations some foremen reputedly fired part of the crew, merely to ensure the arriving Union steamship of passengers, as without such revenue the company would cease to provide service.¹⁰

Men employed at The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company were typical of the lumber industry. Saturday nights were spent in the bunkhouse drinking whiskey and playing cards to all hours. Herb Hawking was fearful to bring his wife and children from Cornwall to such a wild place, but he saved his money and brought his family out.¹¹ The men were respectful of women. Mrs. George Orr recalled that her mother, who arrived about 1902, never heard "a logger swear in front of her."¹² In later years the company attracted steadier married men such as locomotive engineer, Doug McGarry, Herb Hawking, Jack Hepworth, Hank Robertson, and a number of others. Many of these men built their homes at Shawnigan Lake and remained with the company for many years. Others, such as Sam Hagen the hook tender, yearned for the bright lights of bustling Victoria, and who on at least one occasion talked John Verdier into covering his job while Hagen went to town on a spree. The men were all nationalities, "Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, French Canadian, Half Breeds, Americans, Swedes and a Negro." The first cook was a Chinese and later many of the sawmill employees and woods crews were Chinese and Japanese.¹³

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company drew many characters, colourful individuals like John Verdier, who were remembered years after everyone else was forgotten. Verdier left Shawnigan for a time and went falling for George Lewis at Lake Cowichan, where a falling snag crushed his foot and his leg had to be removed just below the knee. John was not deterred and went back to farming and logging, despite his wooden leg. While again working at The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, the "hinge contraption" of the wooden leg occasionally broke and Verdier would row across the lake to the sawmill and have Jay Potter, the blacksmith, fix it. When he walked the leg "squeaked like the devil" and sometimes could be heard clear across the lake. When working in the filing shack, Verdier hung his leg up on the wall with the long crosscut saws.¹⁴

Early living conditions were very primitive. The first bunkhouse was a rough two-storey structure, near the sawmill. The men brought their own bedroll and straw from the barn was used as a mattress. Heat was supplied by a central wood stove. In later years, conditions improved, especially after 1910, when the camps began to use single metal bunks and even supply clean bedding. A bullcook was usually available to clean the bunkhouse out, and to light an early fire in the morning, prior to breakfast. Even as late as the 1920's and 1930's some camps were neglected and the stench of drying underwear and filthy bedding were an offence to fastidious noses.¹⁵

The first cook at The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was Chinese but frequently a wife or widow of one of the men would take over the job. Two such occurrences were the hiring of Mrs. Bert Henschall and

Mrs. Jim Burdess. Mrs. Burdess' daughter was also hired as a flunkie for a time.¹⁶ Meals were eaten from enamel plates which were set upside down on the table with a tin mug on top. The fork and knife were of a black metal, the fork having very short prongs.¹⁷ Food was simple but plentiful. The cook was extremely important to the crew; a good cook meant the difference between a happy crew and good production and a cranky crew with poor production. When Mrs. Henschall was hired as cook, on the first morning, she served each man only two pieces of toast and a cup of coffee. Later in the day, Frank Elford noticed Potter, who was on the edger at that time, rush out and buy some biscuits from the company store, while his saws were being charged. When Elford asked why, Potter suggested that he come for breakfast at the cookhouse. Elford learned that Mrs. Henschall had cooked for a well-to-do family in Victoria who only ate a piece of toast for breakfast. Mrs. Henschall changed her ways and from then on, Potter found everything fine, with "plates of potatoes to help out the bacon and eggs."¹⁸

The logging camp was the heart of any outfit. A few years after the company commenced operations the camp was constructed on rafts. These rafts were towed around the lake to house the crews within easy access of the timber, and made it unnecessary to construct a new camp for each move. During the 1920's the logging sites moved further from the shore, the company commenced railroad logging on a larger scale, and buildings were constructed on skids that could be hauled on railway cars when the camp location was shifted.

Hard work, rough living conditions, and tragic accidents were all part of the normal life of a lumberman. Almost all accidents that

occurred at Shawnigan Lake resulted from men taking extra risks. In December 1904, two loggers fell out of a rowboat, one was able to save himself, but the other, known as "Old John," drowned. The area was dragged but the body could not be found. It was decided to try dynamite, (hoping the explosion would bring the body to the surface), but as the dynamite was wet some of the crew carried it to the bunkhouse and piled it into the stove oven to dry and thaw. When Pop Elford saw this he exploded, "you damn fools haven't we enough trouble without you trying to blow up the bunkhouse." Even with the help of the dynamite the body was never located.¹⁹

In 1914, on the day Pop crossed the lake to close the camp, Jim Burdess was killed by a log. Injuries occurred frequently throughout the whole industry. Between 1922 and 1927 at least five men were killed and many others injured at The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, and other men were killed or injured at the numerous logging camps and sawmills in the surrounding district.²⁰ In 1928, the Cowichan Branch of The Canadian Legion reported that at least 286 logging accidents occurred in the district, 11 of which resulted in death. At the same meeting in which these figures were listed, Mr. Winn from the Workmen's Compensation Board, stated that this was a lower rate than that of most districts in the province. "The experienced loggers will insist upon taking chances. In other words, familiarity with their work breeds contempt."²¹

The death of Chow Chuck at Shawnigan Lake cannot be attributed to human error. He was struck in the chest by a flying piece of wood from the edger, and died about one half hour later.²² Other accidents

that occurred do not have such extenuating circumstances. Willie Bell, for instance, over-balanced while riding the log carriage and fell down a chute onto a slab conveyor, fortunately escaping with only bruises.²³ Gustav Vickson was killed when "the tree he was falling struck a dead one, part of which fell on him."²⁴ On another occasion, G. Hansen was killed when struck on the head by a log being dragged through the brush by the steam donkey, when it hit a standing tree and swung around, killing Hansen. Another man, S. Neff, was missed by a "hair's breath."²⁵ The faller, Frederick Beaumont, was killed when the tree he was falling struck another which swung around and killed him. Gum Wah fell from the log train and was killed.²⁶ All these accidents occurred because someone was not acting with due care and attention, though not necessarily negligent. The visitation committee of the Cowichan Branch of the Canadian Legion found "that the local hospital resembled a field hospital as a result of the number of cases from accidents in the woods."²⁷ All accident cases were sent to the hospital in Victoria, an arduous trip for an injured man. Thus safety was a prime consideration and the company concern is demonstrated by the well-stocked first-aid room and by an arrangement made in 1928 for a monthly contribution to a doctor to ensure medical attention for the employees.²⁸

Lumber workers, generally, considered themselves adequately paid. As prices rose so did wages, particularly in the 1920's. In 1900, a hook tender earned an average of \$3.50 for a ten hour day, the head faller earned from \$3.00 to \$3.50 a day, donkey engineers and head loaders \$2.75 a day, and the lowest paid workers earned about \$2.00 a day.²⁹ In the sawmill, a sawyer earned \$5.00 a day, filers between

\$3.50 and \$6.50 a day, but ordinary labourers earned between \$2.50 and \$3.50 a day.³⁰ Herb Hawking reported that the hook tender at Shawnigan Lake earned \$50.00 a month with board and the donkey puncher and fallers \$45.00 a month with board. Hawking earned \$30.00 a month for the standard ten hour day as a swamper.³¹

Information is not available regarding The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company's pay scales during the 1920's but presumably the rate was similar to rates elsewhere. In 1919 Comox logging paid their crews (eight hour day):

Head rigger - eight dollars per day
 Head loader - seven dollars per day
 Head faller - five dollars and seventy-five cents per day
 Bull buckler - six dollars per day.³²

Wages were substantially higher in the 1920's and wages of British Columbia lumber workers were higher than those of other provinces. A census in 1922 showed that the average yearly wage was:

saw-milling	- Quebec	six hundred eighty-four dollars
	Ontario	eight hundred and ninety dollars
	B.C.	one thousand and ninety-five dollars
logging	- Quebec	six hundred and thirty-one dollars
	Ontario	five hundred and sixty-two dollars
	B.C.	one thousand three hundred and twenty-seven dollars.

Eighty three percent received over nineteen dollars per week and forty-three percent received over twenty-five dollars per week.³³

The year 1919 was a dramatic year for the labour movement.

Not only did the Winnipeg General Strike demonstrate the organization of traditional labour groups, but a series of strikes occurred in the British Columbia lumber industry, an area that was traditionally unorganized. The first strike to occur in the Cowichan area appears to

have been in 1905 when the men at Camp 6 of the Victoria Lumber and Manufacturing Company walked off the job. These men were fighting a reduction in hours of work. They argued that there was little enough time during the wet season for logging and that a reduction to a nine hour day from ten would work a hardship on them.³⁴ The establishment in British Columbia of the Lumber Worker's Industrial Union in 1919 (a reorganized B.C. Logger's Union) resulted in an outbreak of strikes and disputes. Throughout 1919, at least fourteen major strikes occurred in British Columbia logging camps. The Union's major complaint was the poor camp conditions and occasionally they sought shorter hours. Part of the central Union effort was to force all camps to supply their employees with blankets for the bunkhouse.³⁵ The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was not one of the outfits struck and relations with the crew seem to have been good, but the existing labour agitation must have encouraged the company's management to conform to improved practices.

Labour problems were not limited to Union activities. Asiatic and foreign labourers caused resentment, and many residents spoke against the use of non-white labourers.³⁶ E. J. Palmer of the sawmill at Chemainus dismissed all the East Indian workers claiming they were "the most undesirable class of people to have here."³⁷ Most businessmen did not follow in Palmer's steps and even Palmer was forced to hire Chinese and Japanese labourers for many jobs. The disagreement was between those who needed cheap labour and the rest of the population who competed against the cheap labour or else did not require it. Most employers agreed with the farmer who wrote, in 1916, that in order to clear his land he had to use cheap oriental labour, and he believed that

"the Chinaman was the salvation of British Columbia."³⁸ The majority of lumbering companies found, as The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company did, that it was necessary to hire Chinese and Japanese for at least some jobs. In certain instances they were more reliable than the white worker who, quite literally, left the job at the drop of a hat.

The provincial government became concerned with the workers' welfare and with his opinions. Workmen's Compensation was introduced in 1917. The board worked closely with other departments to reduce unnecessary risks. Government sanitary inspectors aimed to improve living conditions. In 1920 the Provincial Board of Health reported:

The inspection of industrial camps is the chief work of this department. The worker of today is no longer satisfied with pioneer methods of life, no matter how far his work may take him from the cities he very rightfully demands all that the law allows in sanitary conveniences and general comfort.³⁹

Pressure from organized labour resulted in a shortened workday. The greatest pressure came from mining rather than the forest industry but the net benefit was for all. This was a reduction of the workday from ten hours to eight, with a six day week, making forty-eight hours per week. In 1920, the British Columbia Department of Labour reported that the majority of firms were on a forty-eight hour week. In 1926, the minimum wage act became law. The minimum rate thereafter was forty cents per hour and while many supported this measure, the district sawmill operators were in strong opposition. The sawmill operators agreed "that the minimum wage [meant] all the difference between profit and loss."⁴⁰ The supporters of the act retorted that "even forty cents per hour [was] not much for a married man and, if the industry [would] not stand this, there [was] something wrong."⁴¹

As the community at Shawnigan Lake developed, a close connection grew up between it and the company. On July 4, 1908, telephone service commenced. In 1924, radio was greatly appreciated when Mr. Drapper bought "a fine set which gave great pleasure to the men" at the logging camp.⁴² In 1928, representatives from the company and the community met with the postal inspector seeking rural mail delivery.⁴³ The company, its employees, and community members intertwined and gained strength from each other. All that happened at the company's operation and to its owners interested the rest of the community.⁴⁴

In 1924, the Cowichan Leader demonstrated the community's interest in the sawmill and its owners by reporting that Betty Munsie won first prize at the girl of 1850 contest held at the Empress Hotel.⁴⁴ When Lyle Pelland, a tallyman, was married, five paragraphs of a short column were devoted to this event.⁴⁵ The community depended upon the company in numerous instances. When a house burned on the Sylvester farm, the whole mill crew turned out to fight the blaze.⁴⁶ Again, when a cottage rented by Mr. and Mrs. Lamb caught fire, the mill crew formed a bucket brigade and afterward took up a subscription for financial aid.⁴⁷ The company operated a store at Shawnigan Lake, mainly for their employees, but also for the benefit of other local residents. The building structure was enlarged several times and a delivery system instituted.⁴⁸ When a new store was constructed in 1930 a special letter of invitation was sent out for all the lake residents to inspect it.⁴⁹

The Elfords, as with many other company employees, were involved in the community on an individual basis. Their children

attended the school and they adopted the community as their own. Mr. and Mrs. Frank Elford were noted for their hospitality and their good works. They held very successful parties where they "dispensed lavish hospitality" with "much fun and frolic."⁵⁰ Frank Elford provided the tables, seats and stove for at least one school picnic and much of the transportation for another.⁵¹ Mr. and Mrs. Elford held a number of positions in various local organizations and enterprises. Mrs. Elford was a church warden, President of the Shawnigan Women's Institute, and acted as the community representative at a convention on child welfare in Victoria.⁵² Frank Elford was a vice-chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, a director of the Shawnigan Lake Athletic Association, and was one of three representatives to meet with Premier Harlan Carey Brewster regarding clearing the lake's outlet.⁵³ When Frank Elford severed his connection with the company, people at the lake expressed much regret but were most happy that he was going to remain in the area. During his twenty-five years at the sawmill he had "endeared himself to one and all."⁵⁴ Such concern and interest was also expressed when Ray Elford, L. Pelland, H. M. Stewart, who was the bookkeeper, and the popular A. J. Neff left the company.⁵⁵

The men and families of company employees participated in a tremendous variety of activities and it was largely because of their participation that Shawnigan Lake became a viable community. The first church, for instance, was the direct result of a company employee's enthusiasm. John Baker, a staunch Methodist, arrived and found no church. He organized a group, paid one dollar to The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company for lumber, and built a church.⁵⁶ Many other employees

involved themselves in smaller ways. Mr. Pelland joined with others to take children to Duncan to see a motion picture of the travels of the Prince of Wales.⁵⁷ Ray Elford and Herb Hawking were one half of a successful dance committee.⁵⁸ Mr. P. G. Twist, the mill machinist, was the "genial" secretary of the social club and was "presented with a peace pipe in recognition of his services."⁵⁹ As a result of interest shown by company employees, the few other permanent residents and the many summer residents, the community developed quickly and dynamically. As early as 1905, "Bachelor Dances" were held.⁶⁰ The many other dances and events knit the community together. Some events, such as the card party and community sing in 1925 were specially organized to allow other residents to become acquainted with the families and men of recently arrived employees of The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company.⁶¹

Sports formed a large part of the organized activities in which members of the company played an important role. These events ranged from cricket matches between the company and the Shawnigan Lake Cricket Club to a tug-of-war between The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company and the Sylvania Logging Company, held at the annual regatta.⁶² Basketball was a very popular pastime in the district but the prosperity of the sawmill directly affected these games. The closing of the mill resulted in the loss of valuable players, who usually did not return when the mill re-opened.⁶³ Likewise, the re-opening of the mill could lead to the organization of a new basketball club.⁶⁴

While individual participation of company employees in the community meant a great deal to the survival of the community, the company was also active. When it snowed, only the company removed

snow.⁶⁵ The company sponsored prizes in the Duncan Logger's contests and organized sports and picnics for employees and other lake residents.⁶⁶

On occasion the company chartered or loaned a boat for special excursions.⁶⁷ The company, however, did not meet every request, despite

their desire to support Shawnigan Lake community. In the Diamond Jubilee Parade they were unable to enter a float as one had already been entered in the Victoria parade.⁶⁸ Occasionally the company acted as

host to various groups interested in lumbering. These groups ranged from the government motion picture team which filmed the "'flying machine' system of handling logs," to the Hundred Per Cent Club, which was treated to lunch and afterward shown "a demonstration of modern methods of logging."⁶⁹ The most spectacular visit occurred in 1912 when the

Duchess of Connaught, on her tour of Canada, spent some time at Shawnigan Lake. A special lunch was served in the cookhouse with various local women supplying china, silverware and other essentials.

An open railway car was constructed and carried the Duchess and her party into the woods to view the logging operation. Mrs. Elford

received a personal letter of thanks and an enamel tie pin in appreciation; Mrs. Burdess, who served the lunch, received a broach.⁷⁰

A problem that faced the company was the accumulation of debris in the lake from the years of logging and sawmilling. Debris was to be found all around the lake, splinters of logs, sinkers and bark; but it especially collected around the mill stream and prevented fish from reaching the lake. Mr. J. McHugh, the Dominion fisheries engineer, suggested that the benefit would be very great if the logs could be cleared and "one place altered at the falls."⁷¹ Frank Elford was part

of a committee which approached the premier regarding the problem. Over the next years the company went to great efforts to clean up the lake. They burnt some of the debris and placed a boom across the mouth of the stream.⁷² The company also removed many of the sunken logs, which were a hazard to boaters.⁷³

When the company flourished the whole community thrived, but when the mill closed it was a serious matter. In 1924, "the shutting down worked quite a lot of hardship in the families residing at the lake. Several . . . had to leave and seek employment elsewhere."⁷⁴ In 1926,

the notice of closing down of the mill was causing considerable anxiety among those who . . . built themselves permanent homes. A shutdown would prove a hardship to many families and seriously affect the population of the district.⁷⁵

A few were able to take advantage of the shutdowns and headed into the woods to hunt, "looking for cougar and adventure."⁷⁶ It did not take as serious an occurrence as the mill closure to bring the hunters out in full force. On one occasion, "members and friends of the logging camp accounted for six fine deer."⁷⁷ Relief work sometimes helped to keep families together and road appropriations were greeted with joy.⁷⁸ The recommencement of the company's operations were always "much to the relief of many citizens. The operation of the mill meant a lot to the economic life of the community" and to its social life.⁷⁹

A close relationship between a sawmill and a community was a fairly common happenstance in British Columbia. The men of the industry shaped many communities and made them flourish. When the industry departed, often so did much of the community life. The final

closing of the sawmill at Shawnigan Lake was a severe blow to the community, but its long recognition as a resort centre, and a growing ease of travel, enabled this community to survive better than many of the interior towns, which completely disappeared.

³ A. Waldie, interviewed by R. Griffin, notes, 1975.

⁴ Wellbrook, p. 44.

⁵ D. H. Grigg, From One to Seventy (Vancouver: Mitchell Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd., 1953), p. 21.

⁶ Weekly Enterprise, Oct. 27, 1900, p. 2.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ F. Copley, Autobiography, FABC, p. 3.

¹⁰ J. Kerron, interviewed by R. Griffin, notes, 1978.

¹¹ H. Hawking, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPN.

¹² Mrs. G. Orr, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPN.

¹³ H. Hawking, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPN.

¹⁴ G. Wellburn, "1838--Steam Donkey Logging at Shawnigan Lake," Notes, WC, BCPN.

¹⁵ There is no complete description of logging camp conditions. See Grigg, pp. 20-21, and Miscellaneous Notes, WC, BCPN.

¹⁶ Mrs. G. Orr, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPN.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ J. Potter, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPN.

¹⁹ F. Elford, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPN.

²⁰ F. Elford, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPN.

²⁰ The newspapers of the various logging communities record numerous accidents, e.g. Cowichan Leader, September 4, 1921, p. 1; May 22, 1930, p. 1.

²¹ Cowichan Leader, June 26, 1924, p. 4.

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- 1 "Memoirs of Dr. John Antle," transcript, PABC, p. 38.
- 2 Ibid., p. 10.
- 3 A. Waldie, interviewed by R. Griffin, notes, 1975.
- 4 Holbrook, p. 44.
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- 16 Mrs. G. Orr, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- 17 Ibid.
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- 20 The newspapers of the various logging communities record numerous accidents, e.g. Cowichan Leader, September 4, 1921, p. 1; May 22, 1930, p. 1.
- 21 Cowichan Leader, June 26, 1924, p. 4.

- ²²Ibid., April 13, 1922, p. 10.
- ²³Ibid., June 14, 1923, p. 10.
- ²⁴Cowichan Leader, May 3, 1923, p. 10.
- ²⁵Ibid., November 27, 1924, p. 2; May 1, 1924, p. 1.
- ²⁶Ibid., September 29, 1927, p. 9.
- ²⁷Ibid., October 6, 1927, p. 1.
- ²⁸Ibid., December 6, 1924, p. 9.
- ²⁹Labour Gazette, I (December 1900), pp. 173-174.
- ³⁰Ibid.
- ³¹H. Hawking, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ³²The Camp Worker, I, 4 (June 28, 1919), p. 5.
- ³³T. D. Pattulo, Premiers Papers, Vol. 17, No. 6, Census of Industry, 1922, p. 15.
- ³⁴Cowichan Leader, December 9, 1905, p. 4.
- ³⁵The Camp Worker, I, 8 (October 15, 1919), p. 1.
- ³⁶A great deal of research has been done on this topic. See Margaret A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Vancouver: MacMillan, 1971), pp. 350-351, for a brief discussion. Cowichan Leader, January 20, 1906, p. 2; October 6, 1921, p. 1.
- ³⁷Cowichan Leader, Sept. 8, 1906, p. 3.
- ³⁸Ibid., December 16, 1921, p. 4.
- ³⁹British Columbia, Sessional Papers, Board of Health, 1920, p. B13.
- ⁴⁰Cowichan Leader, December 9, 1926, p. 6.
- ⁴¹Ibid., December 23, 1926, p. 5.
- ⁴²Ibid., December 18, 1924, p. 11.
- ⁴³Ibid., January 19, 1928, p. 6.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., January 8, 1931, p. 8.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., December 15, 1927, p. 2.

- ⁴⁶Ibid., July 11, 1929, p. 2.
- ⁴⁷Cowichan Leader, March 11, 1926, p. 4.
- ⁴⁸Ibid., April 24, 1924, p. 4; May 8, 1930, p. 9.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., June 5, 1930, p. 2.
- ⁵⁰Ibid., August 18, 1921, p. 2; February 17, 1921, p. 3.
- ⁵¹Ibid., June 30, 1921, p. 2; August 3, 1923, p. 3.
- ⁵²Ibid., May 12, 1921, p. 2.
- ⁵³Ibid., February 7, 1918, p. 3.
- ⁵⁴Ibid., June 15, 1922, p. 8.
- ⁵⁵Ibid., September 3, 1925, p. 3; June 3, 1926, p. 8; October 22, 1925, p. 4; June 7, 1923, p. 10.
- ⁵⁶J. Baker, interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.
- ⁵⁷Cowichan Leader, February 4, 1926, p. 5.
- ⁵⁸Ibid.
- ⁵⁹Ibid., April 7, 1921, p. 2.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., December 9, 1905, p. 3.
- ⁶¹Ibid., February 19, 1925, p. 2.
- ⁶²Ibid., July 25, 1918, p. 1; August 14, 1925, p. 2.
- ⁶³Ibid., October 27, 1921, p. 2; February 3, 1921, p. 2.
- ⁶⁴Ibid., January 22, 1925, p. 7.
- ⁶⁵Ibid., December 23, 1926, p. 5.
- ⁶⁶Ibid., September 15, 1927, pp. 3-5; June 7, 1928, p. 3.
- ⁶⁷Ibid., August 30, 1923, p. 8.
- ⁶⁸Ibid., June 2, 1927, p. 6.
- ⁶⁹Ibid., June 28, 1923, p. 4.
- ⁷⁰T. H. Rivers Bulkely to Mrs. F. Elford, 2-10-12, transcript, WC, BCPM. F. Elford interviewed by G. Wellburn, notes, 1945, WC, BCPM.

⁷¹Cowichan Leader, July 11, 1918, p. 1.

⁷²Ibid., October 26, 1922, p. 8.

⁷³Ibid., July 8, 1926, p. 7.

⁷⁴Ibid., December 4, 1924, p. 10.

⁷⁵Ibid., December 16, 1926, p. 8.

⁷⁶Ibid., July 10, 1924, p. 4.

⁷⁷Ibid., September 16, 1926, p. 2.

⁷⁸Ibid., December 11, 1924, p. 11.

⁷⁹Ibid., February 6, 1929, p. 7.

William Munzie, Jr. sold his Shawnigan Lake shares in 1939, and a new and distinctive, if short, era brought the company to its end. The purchaser was Christopher Boyd, who had previously logged in the area of Mill 60, near Lake Cowichan. After several years, he sold out and moved his operation to Sooke. In September 1939, his sawmill in Sooke burned, which along with high stumpage rates caused him to move again. The low price of the timber at Shawnigan Lake was attractive and Boyd decided to buy Munzie out.¹

Boyd commenced operations at Shawnigan Lake in March 1940. He was as unsuccessful as Munzie in reviving the company, and despite war demands, the company operated at a net loss of \$3,209.48, during Boyd's first year. He continued despite the poor record, and even made several purchases of timber, in 1940. On September 26, 1940, Block 522, Malahat District, five hundred and thirty-seven acres were purchased for \$6,563.65 (\$1.75 per N foot). On October 1, he purchased Block 571,

CHAPTER VI

THE SAWMILL CLOSED

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company emerged from the depression so enfeebled, financially and physically, that during the first years of World War II four different operators were unable to bring the company into profitable production. The war years were prosperous years for Canadian industry. Peak production was not achieved until 1943, but conditions sufficiently improved for most operations to be successful, but The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was too poor to be a success and operations ceased.

William Munsie, Jr. sold his Shawnigan Lake shares in 1939, and a new and distinctive, if short, era brought the company to its end. The purchaser was Christopher Boyd, who had previously logged in the area of Hill 60, near Lake Cowichan. After several years, he sold out and moved his operation to Sooke. In September 1939, his sawmill in Sooke burned, which along with high stumpage rates caused him to move again. The low price of the timber at Shawnigan Lake was attractive and Boyd decided to buy Munsie out.¹

Boyd commenced operations at Shawnigan Lake in March 1940. He was as unsuccessful as Munsie in reviving the company, and despite war demands, the company operated at a net loss of \$3,209.48, during Boyd's first year. He continued despite the poor record, and even made several purchases of timber, in 1940. On September 26, 1940, Block 522, Malahat District, five hundred and thirty-seven acres were purchased for \$6,663.65 (\$1.75 per M feet). On October 1, he purchased Block 571,

Helmcken District, three hundred and sixty acres for \$11,722.50 (\$1.75 per M feet). Boyd purchased timber, not property, which made Block 571 the better buy, having more timber on less land, probably making logging easier. In December 1940, he also purchased a small area north of Block 522 for \$350.00.² The only report available for 1940 indicates that Boyd used a Washington Iron Works 10 x 12 steam donkey, in combination with trucks.³

In October 1940, Boyd commenced logging Blocks 291 and 571. He logged 57 acres with a steam donkey yarding, and a gas donkey loading two trucks, employing only fourteen whites. By the middle of April 1941, he finished logging Block 291, and only worked in Block 571. This was a different style of operation from The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, before the Great Depression. The company had fallen from a thriving railroad operation to two small trucks. The District Ranger observed how difficult and inefficient the operation was:

Area is situated in Basin at top of high ridge, area is distinctly a summer show, snow and steep roads preclude the possibility of winter operations. Two trucks have recently run away and become total losses.⁴

Under these conditions it is hardly surprising that the company operated at a financial loss.


The loss in 1941 was nearly double that of 1940, being \$6,361.57. Boyd gave up hope of making a profit and on January 1, 1942, sold his interests to a partnership of E. L. Robson, Fred Price, and Grant Hawthorne. Robson was the major instigator of this move. Price acted as bookkeeper and Hawthorne was woods boss. Robson moved quickly to shift his logging equipment to Shawnigan Lake from Ladysmith, where

he had been operating previous to the purchase. He did not start logging until July, when thirty acres of Block 571 were logged by two gas donkeys, three trucks and twenty-six men. Robson's opportunity to rebuild the company occurred in the summer of 1942, when the E. & N. Railway offered him the Shawnigan Lake option (a large timber block). Robson did not agree to the E. & N.'s condition that the capacity of the sawmill be increased, and so lost the opportunity.⁵ In September 1942, Robson decided to accept an offer from the H. R. MacMillan Export Company and sold his shares.

In November 1942, MacMillan appointed G. E. Wellburn manager of the operations at Shawnigan Lake. Wellburn, a neighbouring lumberman, operated a sawmill on the C.N.R. line to Lake Cowichan, and previously dealt extensively with H. R. MacMillan Export Company. In 1942, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company again ended its year with a net loss, this time \$3,336.29. The MacMillan company decided to continue to operate the sawmill in 1943, but after eight months, on August 14, the sawmill finally and permanently closed.⁶

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was purchased by the H. R. MacMillan Export Company as a source of sawlogs for its Canadian White Pine mill in Vancouver. Mr. MacMillan readily admitted this, when questioned before the Provincial Forestry Commission, in 1944. This was a time of major shifts within the forest industry. The large log buying sawmill was becoming a relic and a burden. Traditional sources of logs disappeared, either through depletion, or through sales to competitors, and it was difficult to purchase sufficient logs on the open market. Throughout this period, the more progressive firms purchased logging

operations and sawmills to secure log supplies, and to expand their own operations. Some of the major loggers, such as Bloedel, Stewart and Welch, entered the sawmilling trade, which further reduced the availability of logs. At least sixteen companies, from whom the H. R. MacMillan Export Company had been purchasing logs, either went out of business or were sold to competitors, following 1939. These included several of the largest loggers in the province: Merril, Ring; Merrill, Ring & Wilson; Campbell River Timber Company; Vedder Logging; Consolidated Timber Company; Spring Creek Logging Company; Chehalis Logging Company; H. & R. Timber Company; Clarke Bros. Timber Company; Vancouver Bay Logging Company; B & K Logging Company; Thompson & Clarke Timber Company; Stolzee Logging Company; Tanski Logging Company; Export Logging Company; and Buck & Turner Logging Company. Such circumstances made the MacMillan interests sharply aware of their vulnerable position and confronted them with the necessity of securing an adequate log supply for their mills. Their first purchase was the Canadian Robert Dollar Company. Along with the timber tracts, the company owned an antiquated sawmill at Dollarton, near Vancouver. This mill, MacMillan closed down as unsuitable for the present market conditions. It possessed no rail connections, no dry kiln, and no planing mill. The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was purchased in the belief that the company still held the option from the E. & N., on about two hundred and eighty million feet of timber (the Shawnigan Option). It was discovered, following the purchase, that Robson had allowed the option to lapse and that parts had already been sold by the E. & N. to other companies such as Kapoor Lumber. The H. R. MacMillan Export Company was, therefore, forced to re-negotiate for the



remaining lumber.⁷

The MacMillan interests decided to operate the small sawmill provided it was placed on a profitable basis. Over the years, MacMillan had loaned considerable sums to various operators throughout the Coast, some had made good and others gone bankrupt. MacMillan always believed those who went broke did so because of poor management, not because of other uncontrollable conditions. Thus, they reasoned that in spite of years of loss, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company could be made profitable for, at least, the war years. The bulk of the better timber was to be transported to the Canadian White Pine sawmill in Vancouver, but enough timber remained that The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company could operate. The situation rapidly proved to be uneconomic and the mill was shutdown sooner than expected. The logging operations also closed at this point, but they reopened under more favourable circumstances.⁸

The closure of the sawmill and the logging operation can be traced to G. E. Wellburn. In his evidence, before the Forestry Commission in 1944, Wellburn reported that he had arrived at the company's operations and found the sawmill "almost falling to pieces."⁹ Wellburn also considered the logging situation to be exceptionally difficult. The timber was small, and the last mile of road grade was very steep, ten to fifteen percent. By August of 1943, not only was the sawmill falling apart but the logging equipment was fast reaching the point where it would no longer be worth maintaining. In addition, the low level in the lake necessitated the construction of a new log trestle and dump. Mr. Wellburn told the Commission that the final straw, as far as he was concerned, occurred when a light delivery van collided with a

loaded logging truck, causing the logging truck to completely overturn. Wellburn, with the vision of three dead men before his eyes (fortunately there were no serious injuries in the accident) "blew up" and shut everything down. Exasperated, he recommended that the sawmill be closed permanently, as the remaining timber could be cut by a small portable "mill."¹⁰

Mr. MacMillan and the officers of the company decided to agree with Wellburn, believing that "it was economically unsound to do anything else."¹¹ A study had shown MacMillan that the modern and better machinery at Canadian White Pine yielded a higher product value of three dollars and forty cents per thousand feet of lumber cut. The value of the lumber at Shawnigan Lake was \$26.13 per thousand and the value of the lumber cut at Canadian White Pine was \$29.53 per thousand feet cut. A higher recovery rate per log also existed at the Canadian White Pine sawmill.¹² The final list of the problems at The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company sawmill is a dismal record of what was once a vital industrial plant:

In the Shawnigan Lake Mill, the engines were second hand when installed, two of the boilers were out of service, and not fit for use, and the other three were not practical for those purposes. There was a double head-rig in the mill, the head-rig and carriage in poor condition; both units required complete rebuilding. The edger was too small, the planers both obsolete, neither one of those planers entirely satisfactory, and shut down seventy-five percent of the time. The locomotive for the train required repairs totalling six thousand dollars. . . . The mill was in this condition for twenty years, lost money for fourteen years, and several owners had it, and none of them corrected those weaknesses, we purchased it, knowing some of the weaknesses, tried to run it for nine months, and lost money, and then decided it was uneconomical, and closed it down.¹³

The closure of the sawmill was not without repercussions. The

Shawnigan Lake Board of Trade protested to the Forestry Commission that the closure was unjustified, and deprived Shawnigan Lake of its economic mainstay. The Forestry Commission questioned MacMillan and Wellburn closely about the operation. There is no doubt, however, given the existing situation, that MacMillan was justified in permanently closing the sawmill. It possessed "inherent defects" which could not be corrected under war conditions nor could it be rebuilt.¹⁴ The effect at Shawnigan Lake was actually negligible, as most of the employees were transported from Duncan or else lived outside of the immediate district. The total number of employees was small. Such conditions existed since at least 1934, which spread out the effect on the community over a period of nine years. Therefore, there was small justification for the attack by the Board of Trade on MacMillan's closure of the sawmill, the only justification being the remembrance of past glories.¹⁵

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company had begun optimistically, in 1889, and had flourished, once past the early development problems. It was a sad comedown, mainly as a result of the 1930's depression and the disastrous fire in 1934, to end its days as a poor rundown operation. The company still exists on paper, and for several years following its takeover, operations at Shawnigan Lake were still called The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, but the only sawmilling was done at small tie mills. The logging operation, which originated with MacMillan's takeover exists today (Shawnigan Division of MacMillan Bloedel Limited), but is presently logging areas some distance from the timber limits of the old company. The individuality of the company has been lost and its history, following 1943, is that of the H. R. MacMillan Export Company, not The

Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company. There were a number of significant factors connected with The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company. In a period when most B.C. lumbermen thought in terms of ocean transportation, William Lossee deliberately chose a site that was entirely dependent upon rail transit and that was at some distance from his nearest market. This choice presaged future lumber industry development in B.C. when the majority of the province's sawmills were situated along railroads and the bulk of B.C.'s lumber moved in railroad cars. The enterprising businessmen who operated the company, used this situation to best advantage and as long as the timber held out and markets were satisfactory the sawmill remained profitable.

The company was most successful in the area of technological innovation. Munsie and Elford realized that to remain competitive they had to be aware of developments in the industry and to take advantage of them. Elford regularly attended the Pacific Coast Logging Congresses where he heard many new ideas freely discussed. These two men were not leaders in technology development but rather they waited for the appropriate time, when difficult logging conditions forced them to adopt the new techniques. Sawmill technology had reached a relatively advanced state prior to 1890, the required improvements were to increase productivity not to overcome difficult conditions.

The community and the company formed a closely interrelated structure. Employees of the company were a prominent section of the community, participating in and organizing many events. Many of these employees were married, permanent residents who had made their home at Shawnigan Lake; they greatly mitigated the influence of the transient

worker so common in other B.C. lumber communities. Unlike many other single industry communities, the loss of the mill did not completely destroy Shawnigan Lake; the area had an established reputation as a resort centre and a number of other individuals had taken up residence. Throughout most of its existence the company had been ably managed by the Munsie and Elford families. When Bill Munsie Jr. became sole manager, the poor timber and his decision to stockpile inventories at the commencement of the 1930 depression brought difficulty. The final destruction of the sawmill by fire in 1934 combined with relatively poor profits from 1922 resulted in financial overextension and an inability to rebuild a successful enterprise. New ownership and changing conditions for the lumber industry as a whole resulted in the final and permanent closure of the sawmill in 1943.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, H. R. MacMillan, p. 1293.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 1290-91.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1302-03.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1303.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, March 27, 1944, H. G. Webber, pp. 730-733.

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¹ Miscellaneous Notes, WC, BCPM.

² Ibid.

³ P. Sweatman, Ranger, Forest Branch Report, March 25, 1941, transcript, WC, BCPM.

⁴ Ibid., August 1941.

⁵ Ibid., January 21, 1942; July 30, 1942; Miscellaneous Notes, WC, BCPM.

⁶ Evidence, presented before the British Columbia Royal Commission on Forestry, April 4, 1944, H. R. MacMillan, pp. 1289-90.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 1265, 1275-6.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 1292-93.

⁹ Ibid., March 27, 1944, G. Wellburn, p. 749.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 776.

¹¹ Ibid., H. R. MacMillan, p. 1293.

¹² Ibid., pp. 1290-91.

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¹⁴ Ibid., p. 1303.

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The British Columbia forest industry lacks a definitive history. A great deal of research has been undertaken upon various aspects of the industry, but much of the published historical research is very general and of limited value. Two theses at U.B.C. form a basic introduction to the topic: Lawrence's "Markets and Capital" and Toumalala's "The Evolution of Logging on the Pacific Coast." The recently published works by Taylor and Gould are popular history and add very little to what was previously known. Even more needed are studies of particular firms. Only one company history is available, A Cedar Saga and the Man Who Made It Possible by W. Guy Flavelle, the story of the Thurston-Flavelle operations near Port Moody.

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was selected for this study because it was the company about which the most material was available. (The Special Collections Division of the University of British Columbia Library now has some papers of the Victoria Lumber and Manufacturing Company, but these only recently became available.) The information regarding The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company was obtained from three major sources. The G. Wellburn Collection, currently housed at the British Columbia Forest Museum, and at the British Columbia Provincial Museum, consists of transcripts of now destroyed Forest Service records, and notes of interviews conducted in 1945 with individuals long since deceased. A second major source is the British Columbia Companies Office, where the incorporation papers and records of mortgages are kept. A third major source is the periodical literature, especially

The Cowichan Leader, which commenced in 1905, The Western Lumberman, and the B.C. Lumberman. Many general accounts--economic histories, company histories, and local histories--provided material and insights for the general framework of this paper. These works are not all included in this bibliography but are included in footnotes as appropriate.

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Munsie, William Sr.	1894-1906.
Elford, T.	1894-1817.
Cebura, J.	1894-1923.
Baslan, A.	1894-1896 - 1901-1903.
Mounce, L.	1894-1924.
King, H.	1894-1894.
Jesperet, S.	1894-1894 - 1923-1930.
Williams, G.	1896-1901.
Caldwell, E.	1897-1899.
Simpson, B. A.	1899-1899.
Yardwood, E. H.	1899-1916.
Elford, F.	1903-1924.
Elford, B.	1903-1924.
Munsie, C.	1906-1928.
Munsie, H.	1907-1907.
Munsie, W. Jr.	1907-1939.
Grant, R.	1912-1913.
Wilkerson, B.	1928-1939.
Boyd, C.	1939-1941.
Nobson, E. L.	1941-1942.
H. E. MacMillan Export Co.	1942- --.

(From Stock Register, MacMillan-Bloedel, Vancouver).

APPENDIX I

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company Shareholders

<u>Assets</u>	
Munsie, William Sr.	1894-1906.
Elford, T.	1894-1817.
Coburn, J.	1894-1925.
Haslam, A.	1894-1896 - 1901-1903.
Mounce, L.	1894-1924.
King, M.	1894-1894.
Jeaneret, G.	1894-1894 - 1925-1930.
Williams, G.	1896-1901.
Coldwell, E.	1897-1899.
Simpson, H. A.	1899-1899.
Yardwood, E. M.	1899-1916.
Elford, F.	1903-1924.
Elford, R.	1903-1924.
Munsie, C.	1906-1928.
Munsie, H.	1907-1907.
Munsie, W. Jr.	1907-1939.
Grant, R.	1912-1913.
Wilkerson, B.	1928-1939.
Boyd, C.	1939-1941.
Robson, E. L.	1941-1942.
H. R. MacMillan Export Co.	1942- -.

Personal a/c	\$ 4,323.76
Bills Payable	230.00
Capital Stock	100,000.00
Surplus	11,491.87
(From Stock Register, MacMillan-Bloedel, Vancouver).	
	<u>\$116,045.63</u>

<u>Loss</u>	
Victoria Yard	\$ 1,899.80
Office Expenses	4,567.76
Discount & Interest a/c	302.79
Fire Insurance	237.75
Machinery a/c	746.00
Buildings a/c	246.52
Lost Accounts	89.26
In Balance with Surplus a/c	11,491.87

<u>Profit</u>	
Lumber a/c	19,548.37
Wellington Business	11.81
Store	11.07
	<u>\$ 19,571.25</u>
	<u>\$ 19,571.25</u>

APPENDIX II

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company

Balance Sheet

1 Jan. 1895

Assets

Personal Accounts owing us	\$ 13,307.84	
Bills Receivable notes on hand including	1,795.87	
Cash on Hand	2,523.17	9,566.33
Logs & Lumber stock at mill	6,609.35	1,462.13
Victoria Yard stock	4,807.40	4,468.60
Camp outfit	3,500.00	677.55
Kitchen " " with Lumber profits	300.00	19,548.37
Office	400.00	
Wellington Business year	2,250.00	
Fire Insurance unexpired	252.00	
Machinery a/c	27,400.00	531,435.14
Building a/c	11,900.00	
Real Estate	3,000.00	
Timber Lease	10,000.00	
Treasury Stock <u>to Sales</u>	28,000.00	

Liabilities

Personal a/c <u>we owe</u>	\$ 4,323.76	
Bills Payable note we owe	230.00	
Capital Stock	100,000.00	
Surplus a/c	11,491.87	
	<hr/>	
	\$116,045.63	\$116,045.63

Loss

Victoria Yard	\$ 1,899.80
Office Expenses	4,562.26
Discount & Interest a/c	302.79
Fire Insurance	232.75
Machinery a/c	746.00
Buildings a/c	246.52
Lost Accounts	89.26
In Balance with Surplus a/c	11,491.87

Profit

Lumber a/c	19,548.37
Wellington Business	11.81
Store	11.07
	<hr/>
	\$ 19,571.25
	<hr/>
	\$ 19,571.25

APPENDIX III

Logging Operations and Sawmill Production

Year	Logging Method	Area Being Logged	Land Purchases	Cost	Discount	Total Cost	Area	Logging Production	Cost per M	Sawmill Production	Cost per M	Total Cost per M
1890	Ox logging	Sawmill vicinity	1 mile from shore around lake									
1891	Ox logging											
1892	Ox logging											
1893	Ox logging											
1894	Ox logging						5,496,242		\$2.85	5,496,242	\$3.15	\$ 5.15
1895	Ox logging						6,931,307		2.80	6,931,307		4.60
1896	Ox logging, horses doing roading by this year	West side of lake					4,677,321		3.25	4,677,321	3.25	5.00
1897	Oxen and horses						3,272,638		2.85	3,634,801	3.35	4.70
1898	Horses and first steam donkey	West side of lake					2,517,646		3.25	3,289,833	3.30	5.05
1899	Horses and 2 steam donkeys	South East side of lake					5,516,487		2.80	5,381,487	3.00	4.40
1900	Horses and 2 donkeys	South East side					4,327,733		4.10	4,327,733	3.35	6.00
1901	Horses and 2 steam donkeys	Summer west arm - winter west arm										
	Pole road locomotive	frozen and work South east side										
1902	Climax locomotive purchased for pole road	West Arm					4,225,400		4.50	4,510,400	3.50	6.50
1903	Pole road and donkeys	West Arm					5,502,341		4.25	5,517,341	3.65	6.65
1904	Pole road and donkeys	McGee Swamp, Block 86	Blocks 87,86, 36, and 88	\$5.00 p/acre	10%	\$8,861.50	1,916	6,440,651	3.30	5,440,657	3.20	6.50
1905	"	"						6,796,479	3.50	7,421,479	2.80	6.30

Year	Logging Method	Area Being Logged	Land Purchases	Cost	Discount	Total Cost	Area	Logging Production	Cost per M	Sawmill Production	Cost per M	Total Cost per M
1906	Pole road and donkeys	McGee Swamp, Block 86	Blocks 91, 92, 89, and 90	\$10.00 p/acre	\$852.00	\$11,928.00	1,278	720,981 (Gurnetts)	\$3.75	7,123,885	\$3.31	\$ 7.90
1907	"	"						6,577,904 (own camp)				
		also move to Green Mtn. area, South end blocks						5,458,648	5.68	5,538,648	4.37	10.05
1908	"	"						5,921,061	4.12	4,741,061	4.62	8.74
	Conversion to steel rails											
1909	"	"						5,421,465	5.53	5,721,465	4.60	10.13
1910	"	"	Block 141	\$25.00 p/acre		7,250.00	290	5,926,746	5.54	6,326,746	4.70	10.49
	purchase of Class B Climax											
1911	Donkey & rail	South end						8,070,257	4.84	6,770,257	5.12	10.21
1912	"	"	Block 156	\$30.00 p/acre		2,400.00	80	9,093,460	4.96	9,793,460	4.75	9.97
			J.E. Grise pur. Lot 50			1,500.00	370					
1913	"	"						10,786,921	4.12	9,480,921	4.84	9.21
1914	Try high lead and return to ground lead	"						102,277 (Total)				
	Donkey & rail	"						4,511,688	5.24	5,613,965	5.14	10.64
1915	"	"						4,634 (Stratton)				
	"	"						3,037,371	4.87	4,042,055	4.45	9.87
1916	"	"						522,666 (Winter)	5.00			
	"	"						9,972,435	3.70	8,995,101	3.95	7.71
1917	"	"	Move to East side behind sawmill					278,672 (Winter)				
	"	"						9,596,510	5.90	10,767,565	5.40	11.55
1918	"	"						8,785,344	9.71	8,263,832	11.32	21.28
1919	High lead full time	East side - Bald Mtn. commence setting up West side						8,114,994	6.40	6,868,881	9.00	15.40
1920	High lead & rail	"						9,670,469	10.75	10,915,251	9.12	22.37
1921	"	West side of lake						2,758,988	8.23	1,918,864	14.07	22.30

Year	Logging Method	Area Being Logged	Land Purchases	Cost	Discount	Total Cost	Area	Logging Production	Cost per M	Sawmill Production	Cost per M	Total Cost per M
1922	High lead & rail	West side of lake (McGee Swamp)						8,326,697	\$ 9.22	10,896,688	\$10.00	\$19.22
1923	"	West side,						1,710,131 (Carlins)	12.00			
	Class B Climax purchased 4 donkeys, 1 loco, 4 miles of track in-use	Blocks 86,87,91,92						14,085,249	9.57	14,352,179	8.65	19.70
1924	"	"						9,500,000	10.00	8,022,095	10.00	20.58
1925	"	"	Blocks 214, 215					10,500,000	11.33	13,421,799	10.00	21.33
	5 donkeys, 8 miles of track											
1926	"	"						15,055,830	11.00	16,100,000	9.37	20.37
	reduce to 3 donkeys											
1927	"	Lot 87						16,942,359	9.40	18,536,858	7.78	18.18
1928	"	"						16,080,505	10.00	19,000,000	8.47	18.47
1929	"	Blocks 87, 92, 91, 215						18,600,000	11.00	18,966,350		19.35
1930	4 miles of track 4 donkeys, 2 loco	Blocks 215 & 259	Blocks 259, 266, 299					18,500,000	8.00	17,546,173		13.50
1931	3 donkeys, 1 loco	Block 266						3,700,000 - over		7,000,000		13.50
1932	5 donkeys, 1 loco, 10 miles of track	"						16,000,000				
1933	2 donkeys, 1 loco	Block 266						3,000,000				
1934	3 donkeys, 1 loco	Block 266 & 291						6,000,000				
1935	No logging							Nil				
1936	2 donkeys, 1 loco	Block 291						2,500,000				
1937	1 tractor, donkeys & trucks	Lot 31, Blocks 291 & 439						3,600,000				

Logging and Sawmill Production
(in Million Board Feet)

Year	Logging Method	Area Being Logged	Land Purchases	Cost	Discount	Total Cost	Area	Logging Production	Cost per M	Sawmill Production	Cost per M	Total Cost per M
1938	No logging							Nil				
1939	Donkey & truck	Block 439						3,040,000				
1940	Donkey & truck	?	Block 522	\$1.75		\$ 6,883.65	537	6,713,510				
			Block 571	per M		11,722.50	360					
			Block 585									
			area north of 522			3,500.00						
1941	Donkey & truck	Blocks 291, 571	East of Block 87 timber sale					8,186,849				
1942	Donkey & truck	Blocks 439, 571	Block 649	\$1.85		19,217.75		10,745,725				
				per M								
1943	Donkey & truck							5,418,401				

OPERATIONS CLOSED

- Date Uncertain
- Lot 103 (1910)*
- Lot 70G (1910)
- Lot 15 (1890)
- Lot 93 (1905)
- Lot 158 (1906)
- Bk 228
- Bk 273 (1931)

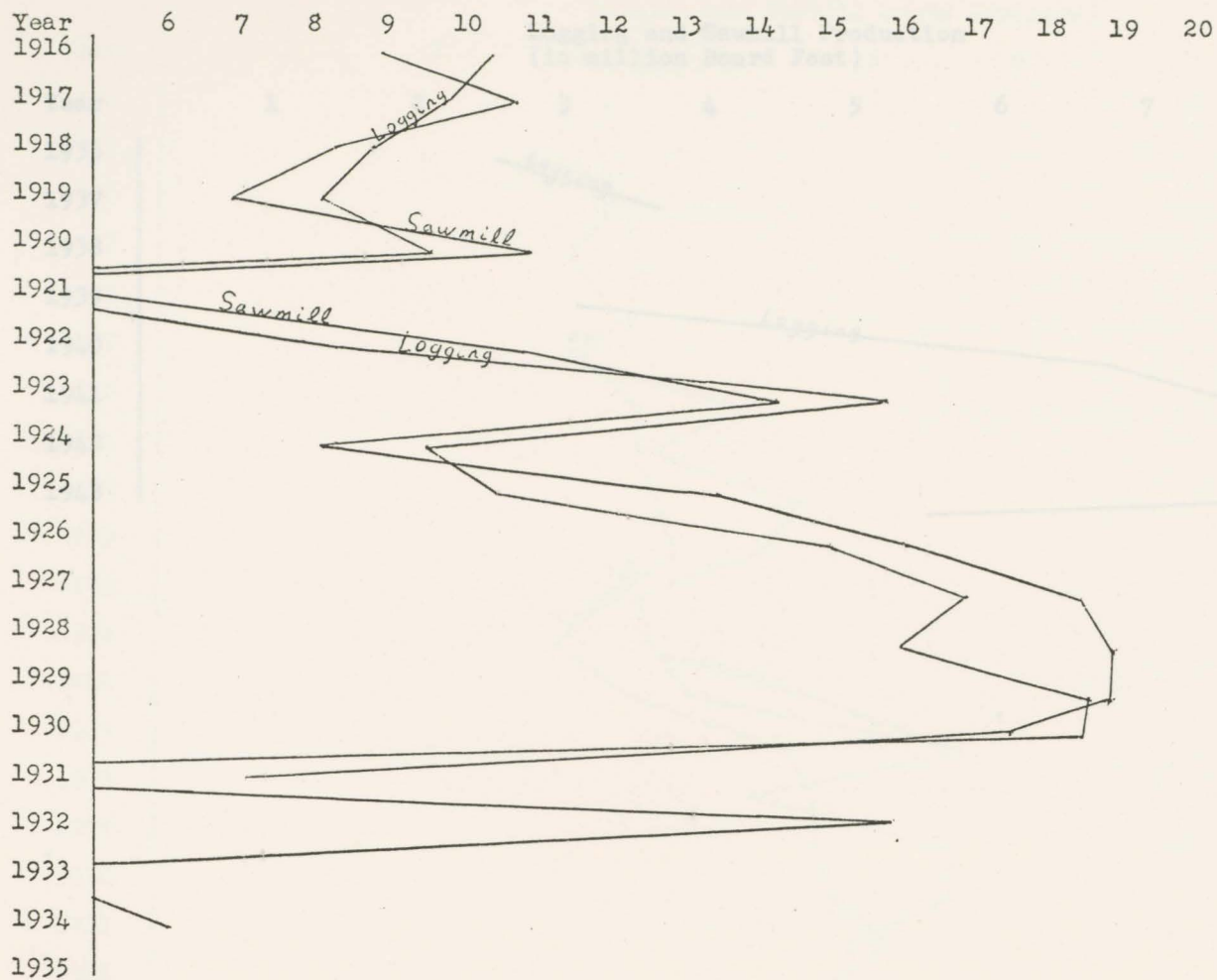
(From Notes, Wellburn Collection and Annual Reports, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company).

*possible date of purchase

Logging and Sawmill Production
(in Million Board Feet)



Logging and Sawmill Production
(in million Board Feet)



Year
 1936
 1937
 1938
 1939
 1940
 1941
 1942
 1943
 1944
 1945
 1946
 1947
 1948
 1949
 1950
 1951
 1952
 1953
 1954
 1955

Logging and Sawmill Production
 (in million Board Feet)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Logging

Logging

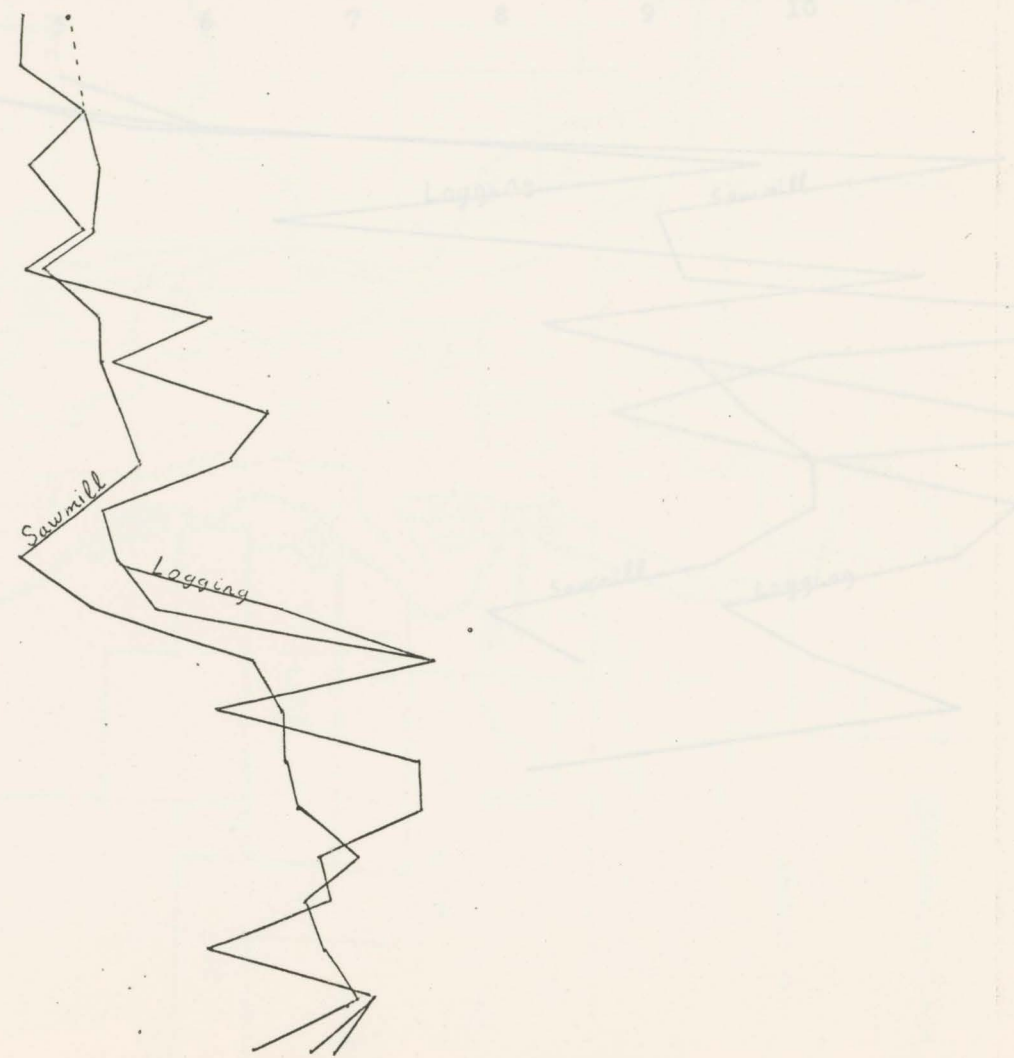
Sawmill

Logging

Logging and sawmill costs (dollars)

Year
 1894
 1895
 1896
 1897
 1898
 1899
 1900
 1901
 1902
 1903
 1904
 1905
 1906
 1907
 1908
 1909
 1910
 1911
 1912
 1913
 1914
 1915

1 2 3 4 5 6



Logging and sawmill cost (dollars)

Year

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

1916

1917

1918

1919

1920

1921

1922

1923

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

Logging

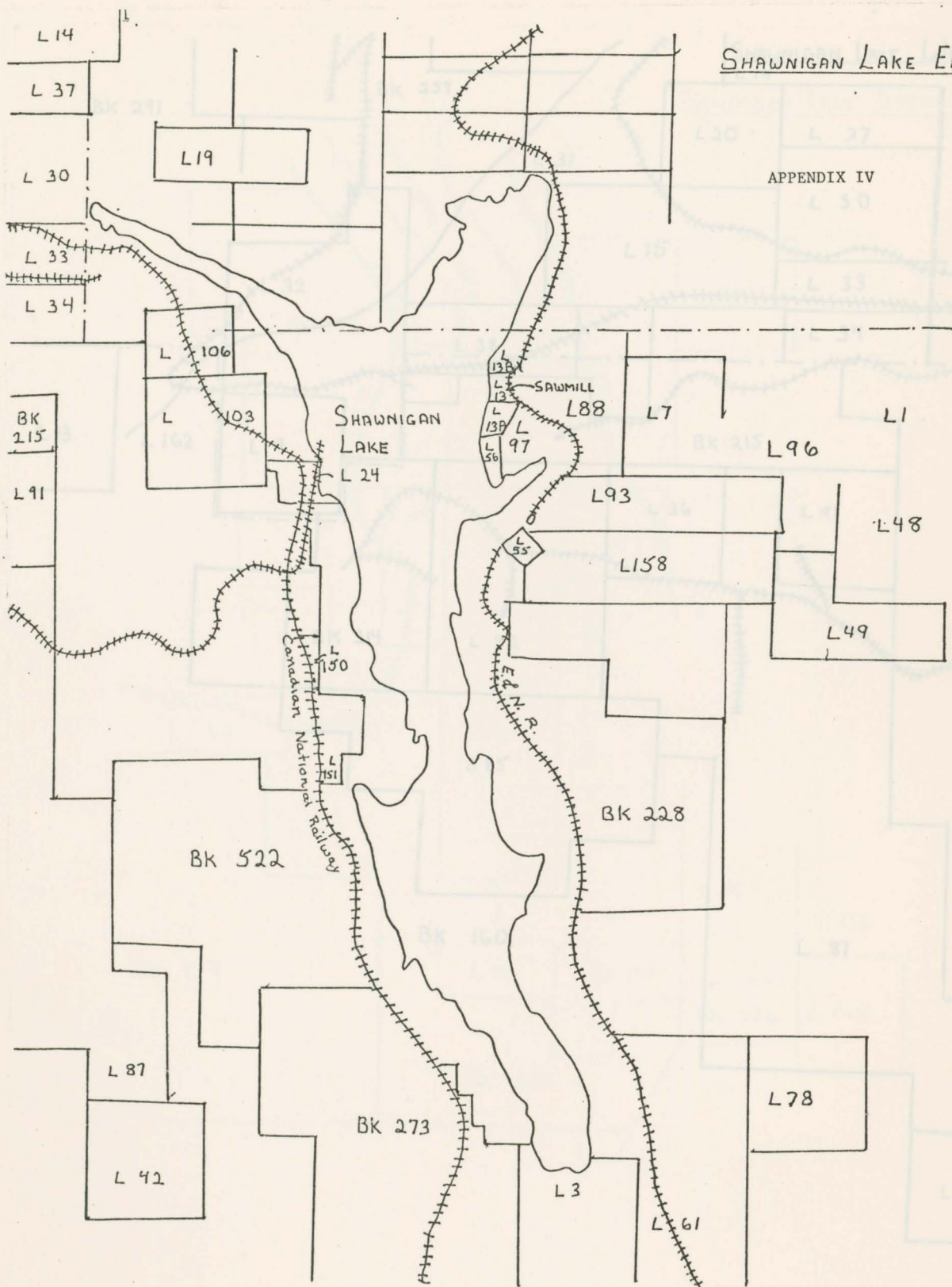
Sawmill

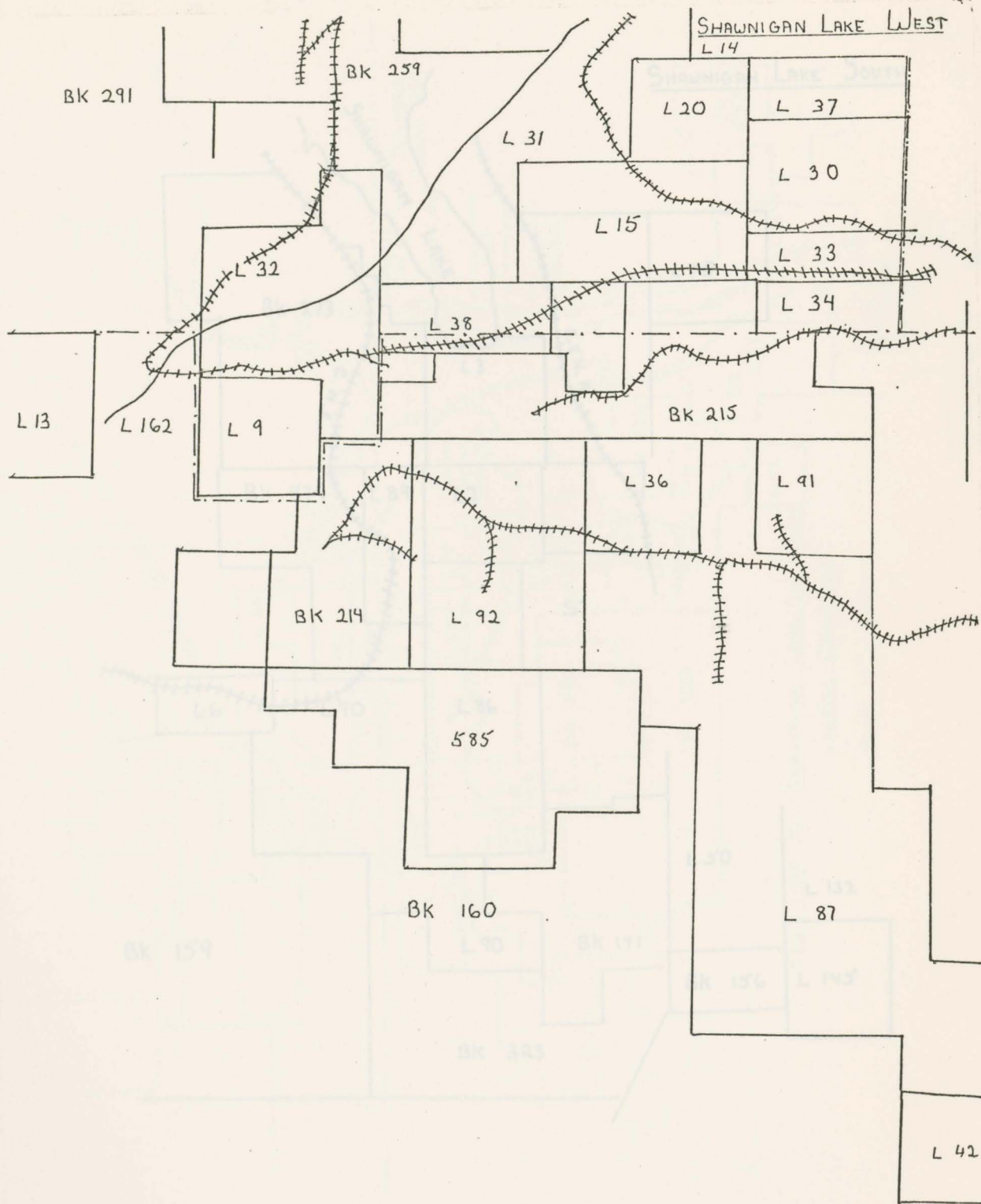
Sawmill

Logging

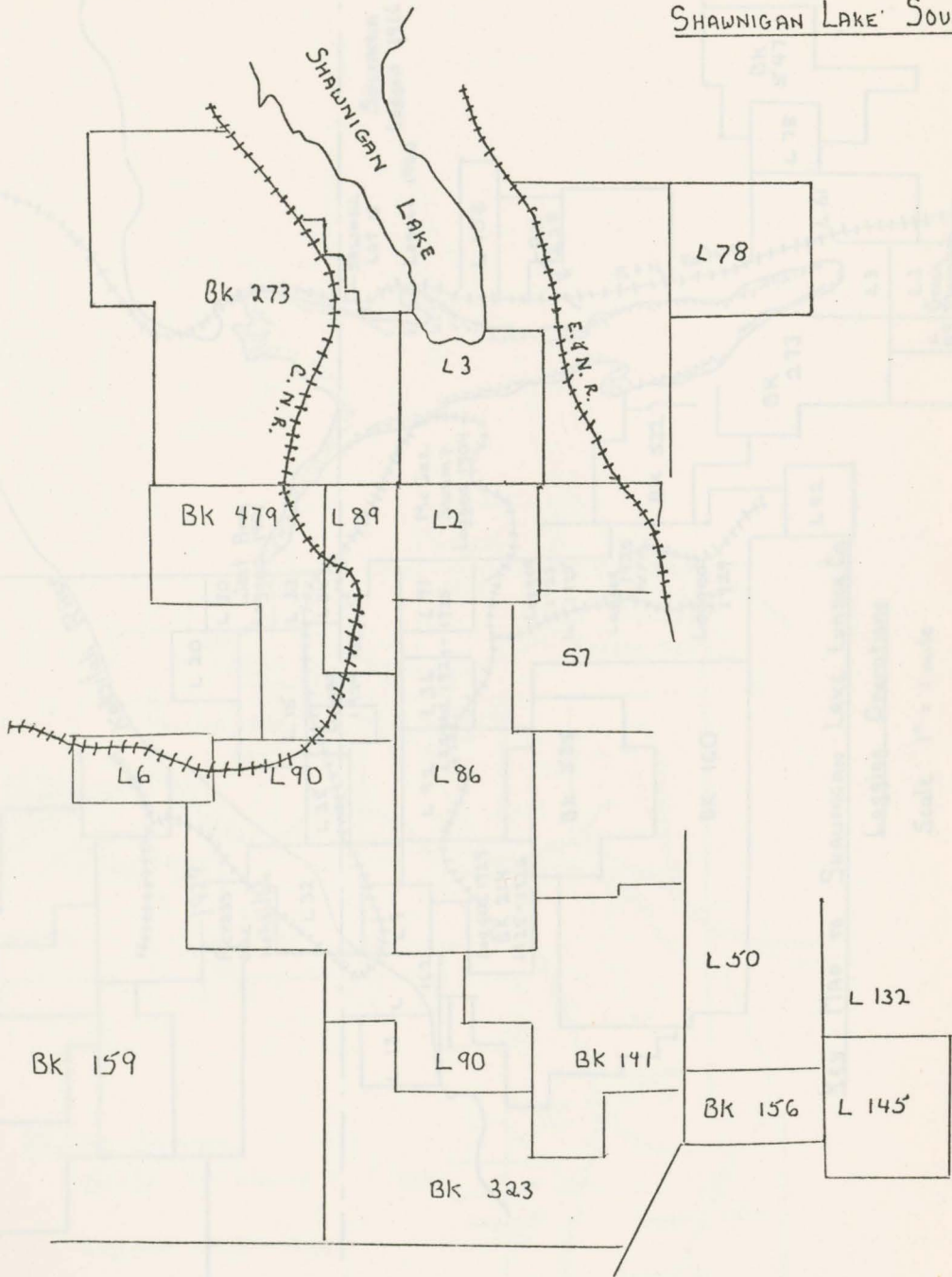
SHAWNIGAN LAKE EAST

APPENDIX IV

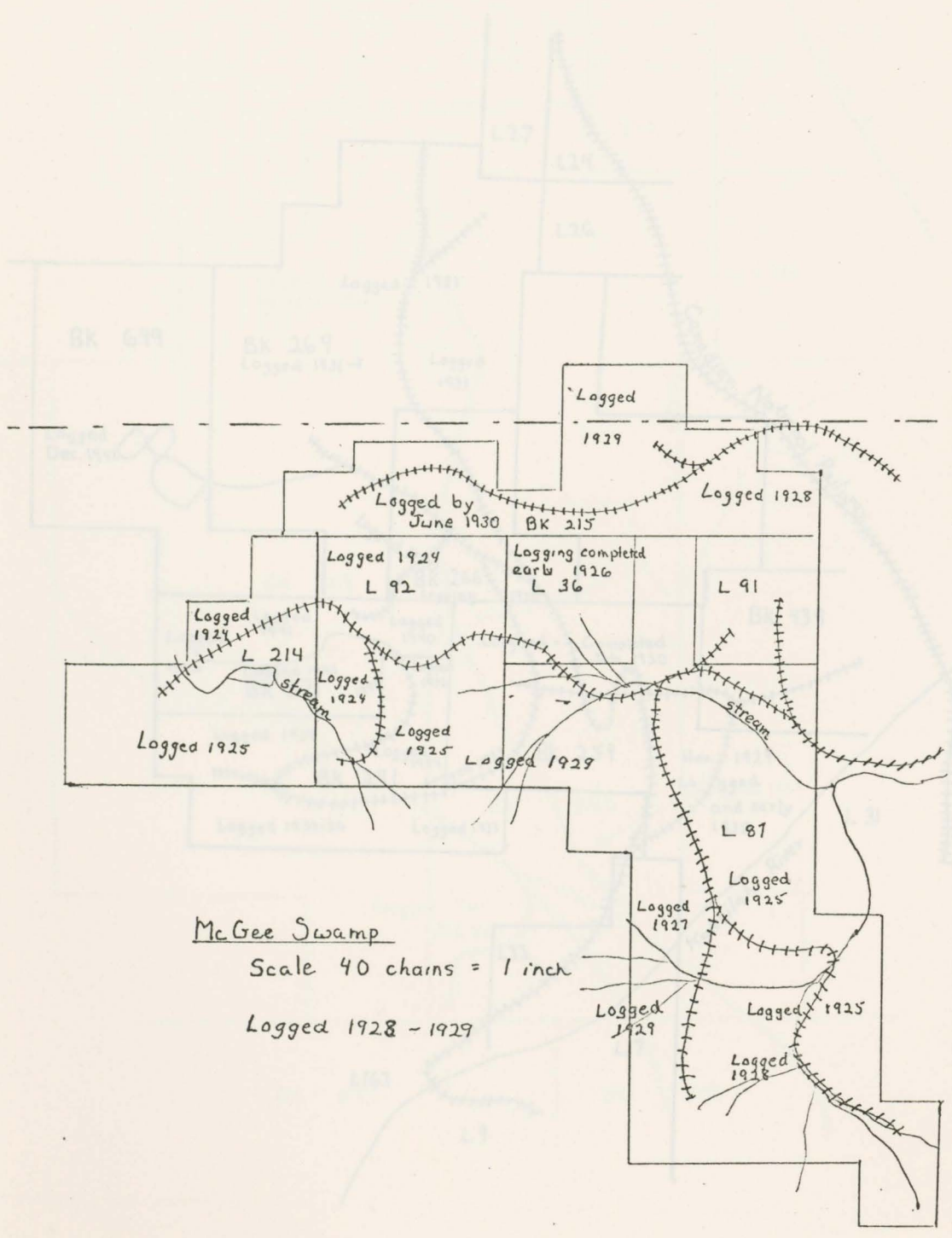




SHAWNIGAN LAKE SOUTH



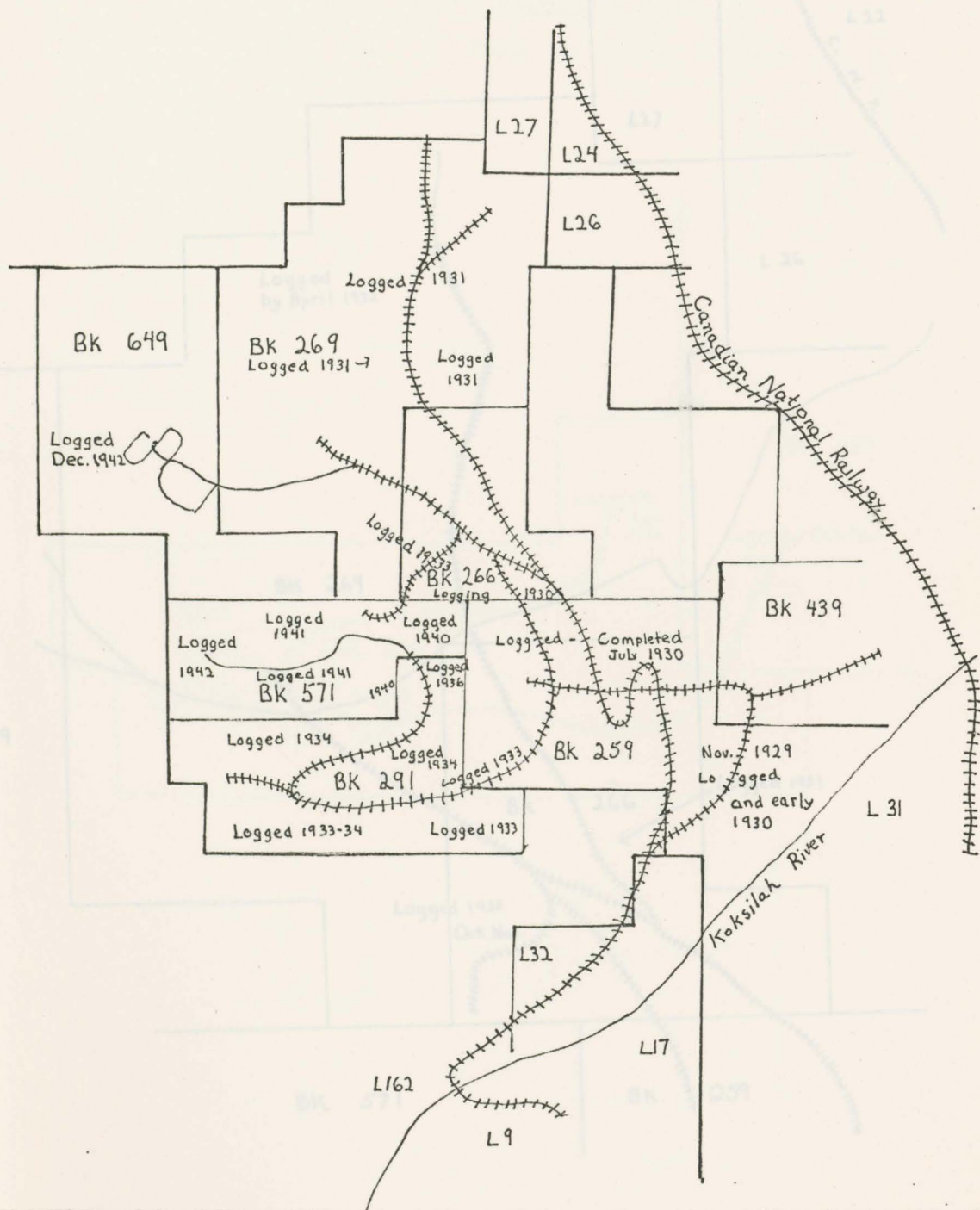
Blocks 259 and 269 Hancock Dist.
Scale 40 chains = 1 inch



McGee Swamp
Scale 40 chains = 1 inch
Logged 1928 - 1929

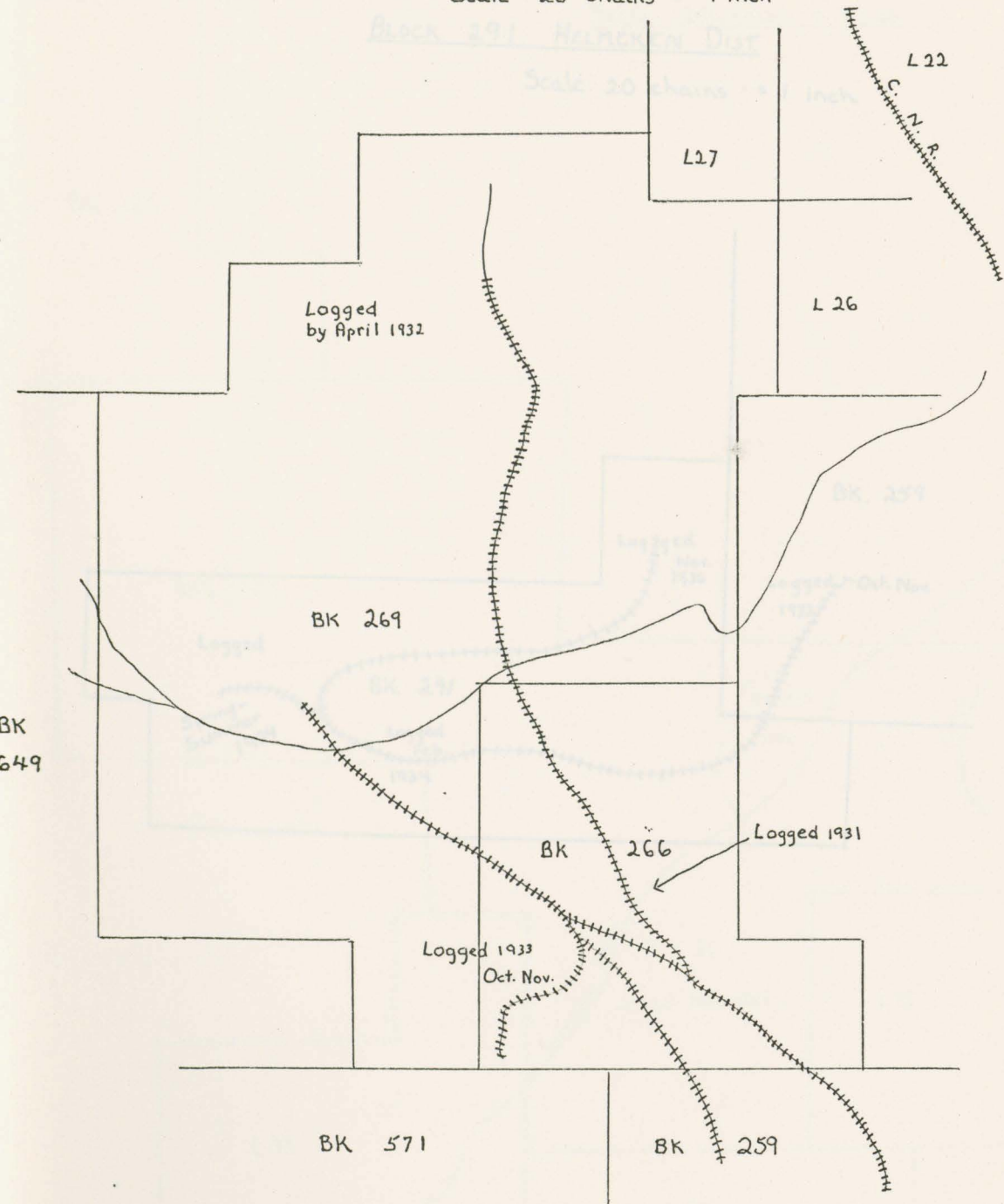
BLOCKS 259 AND 269 HELMCKEN DIST.

Scale 40 chains = 1 inch



BLOCKS 266 AND 269 HELMCKEN DIST.

Scale 20 chains = 1 inch



Block 291 HELMCKEN DIST

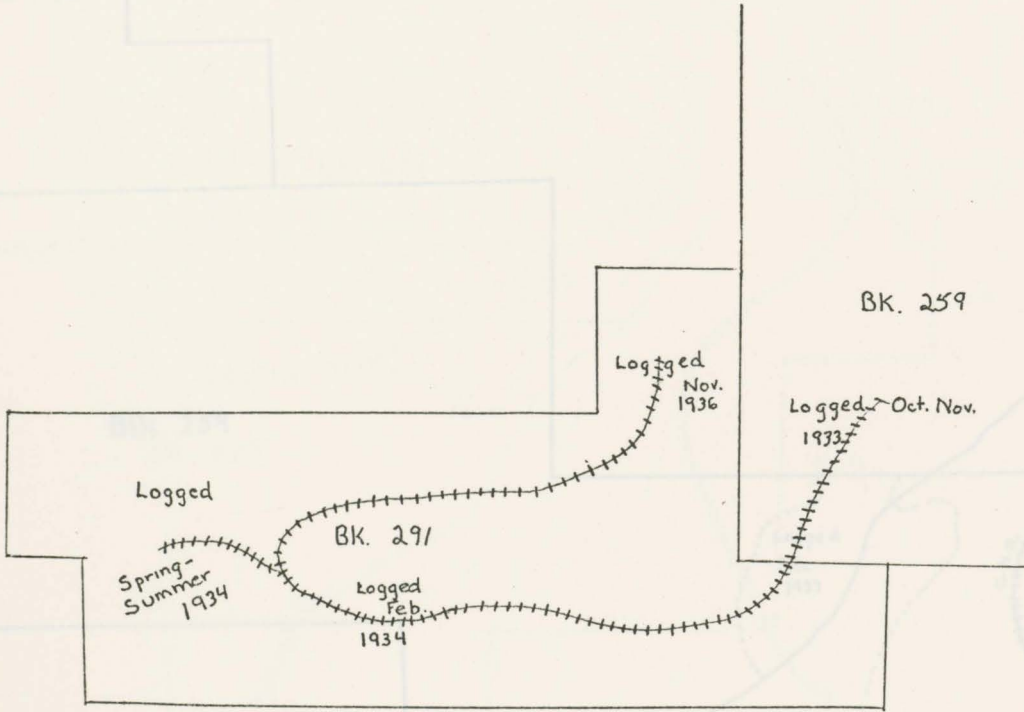
Scale 20 chains = 1 inch

Block 291 HELMCKEN DIST.

Scale 20 chains = 1 inch

BK 266

BK. 259



L31

L32

L33

L34

BLOCK 259 HELMCKEN DIST.

Scale 20 chains = 1 inch.

Bk. 166

Blk 259

Kokislah River

Logged late 1937

Logged late 1937

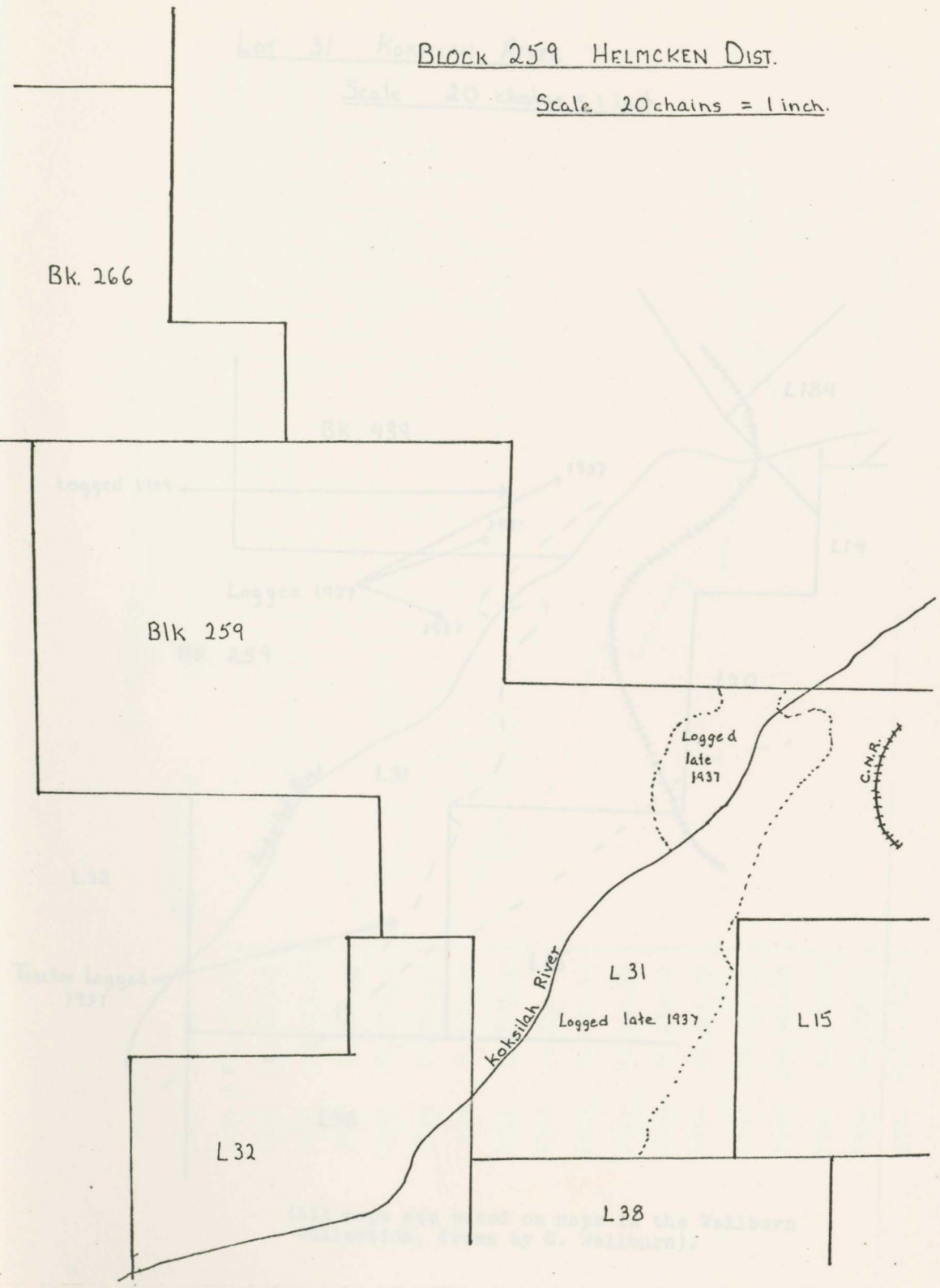
C.N.R.

L 32

L 31

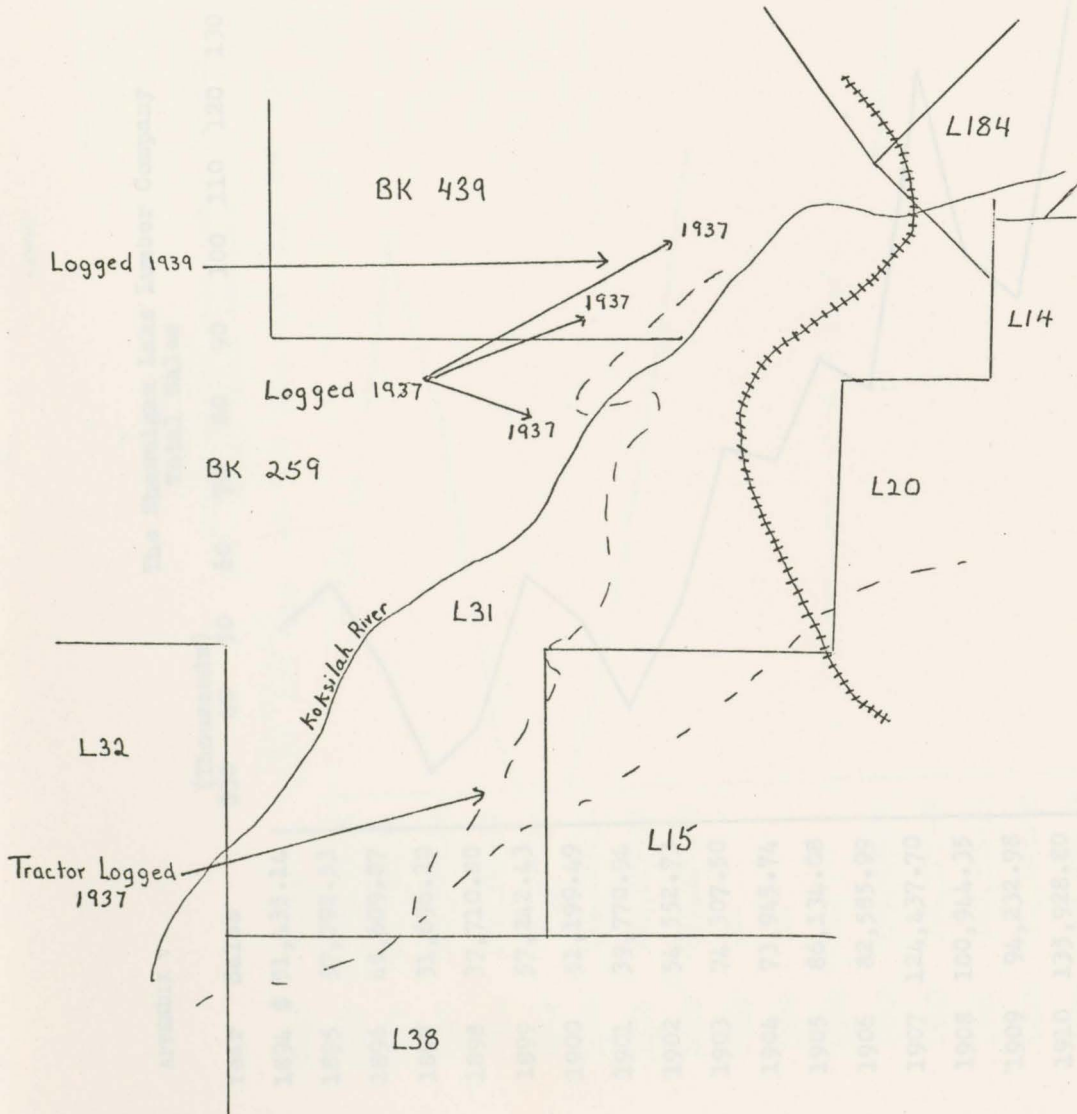
L 15

L 38



Lot 31 KOKSILAH RIVER

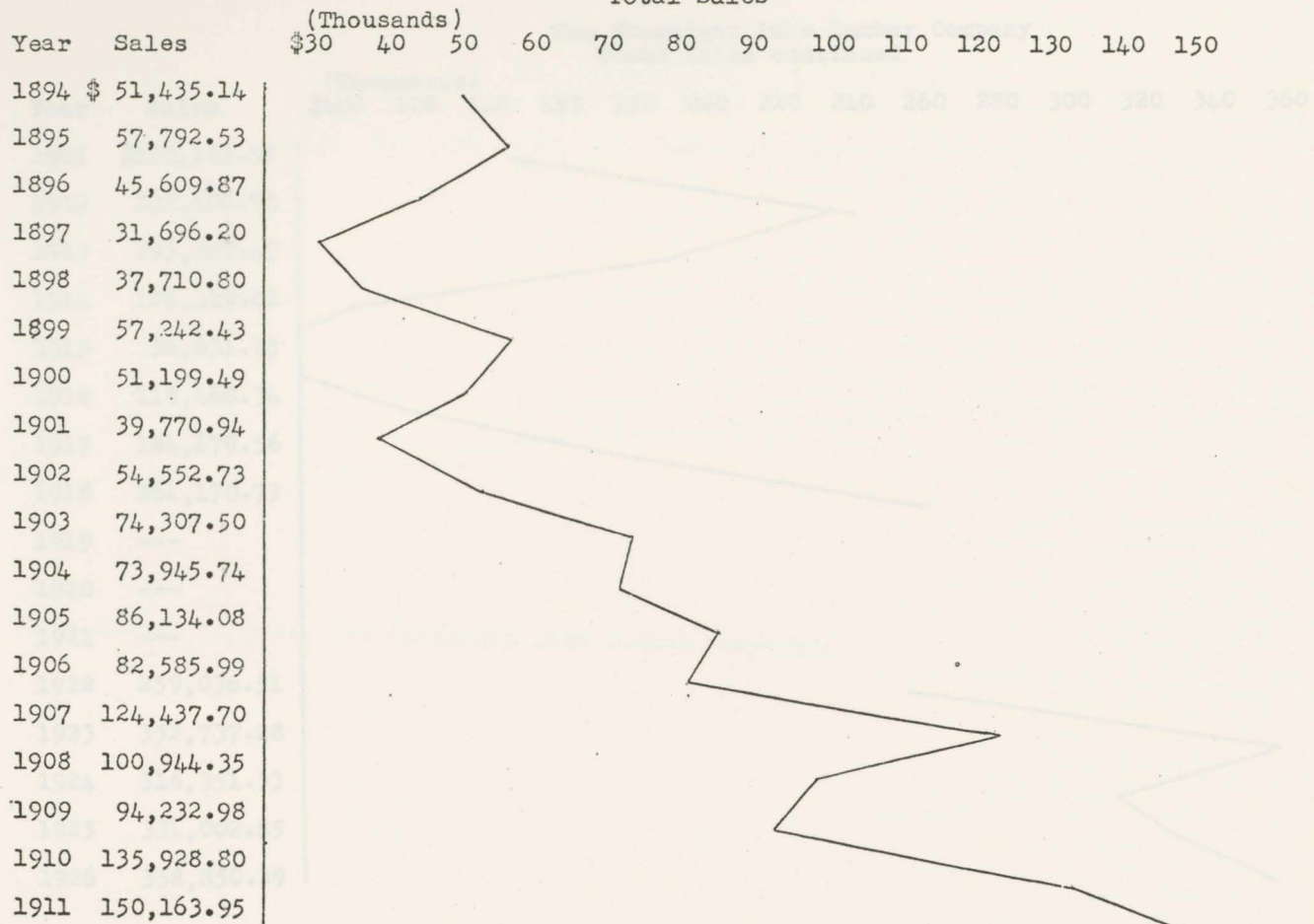
Scale 20 chains = 1 inch



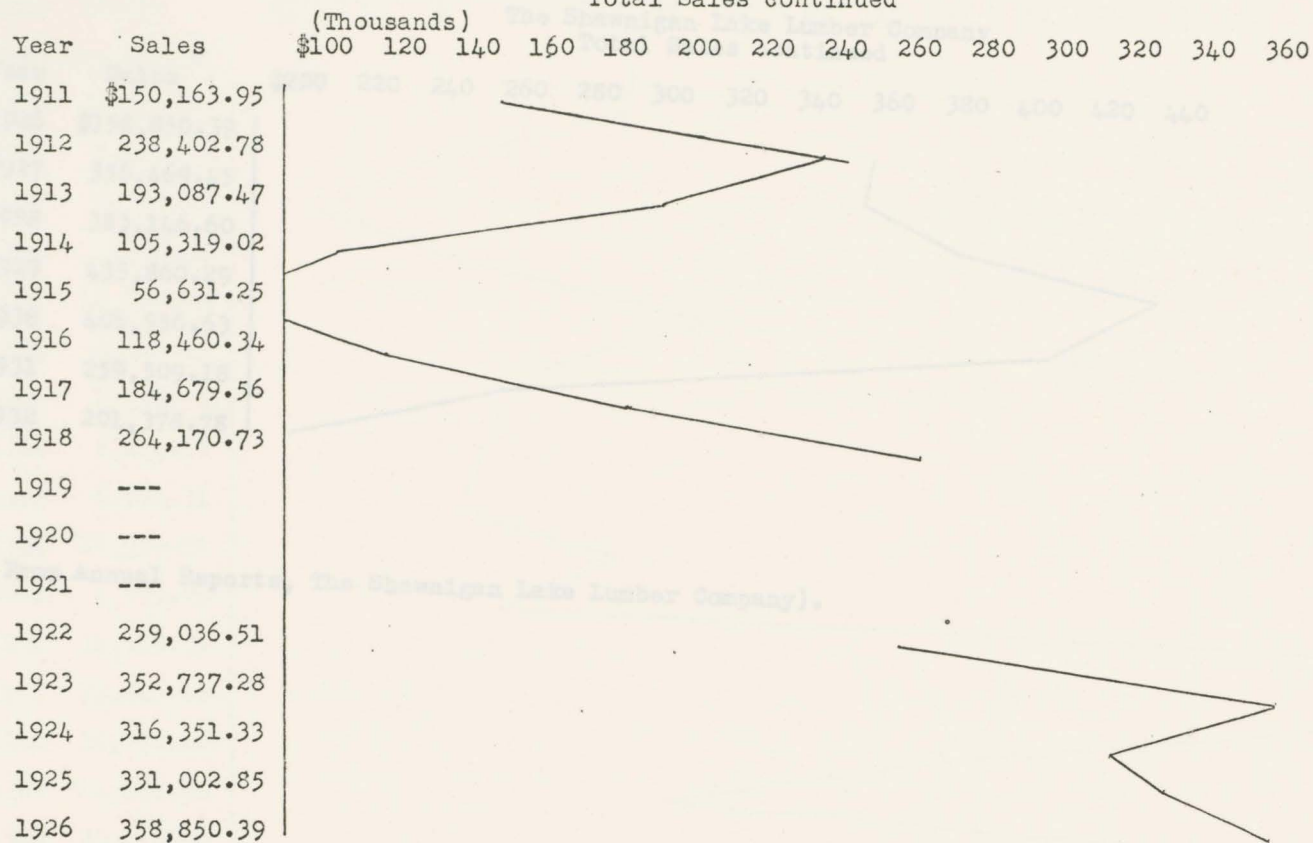
(All maps are based on maps in the Wellburn Collection, drawn by G. Wellburn).

APPENDIX V

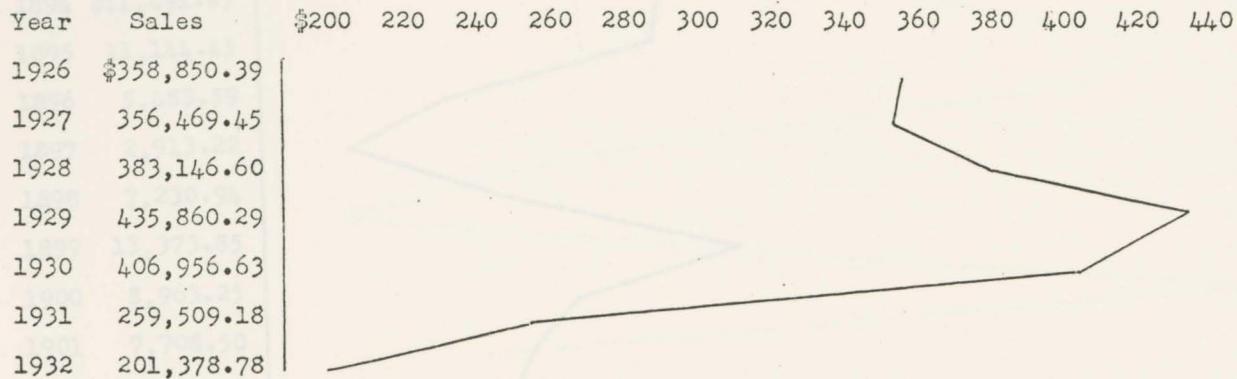
The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company
Total Sales



The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company
Total Sales continued

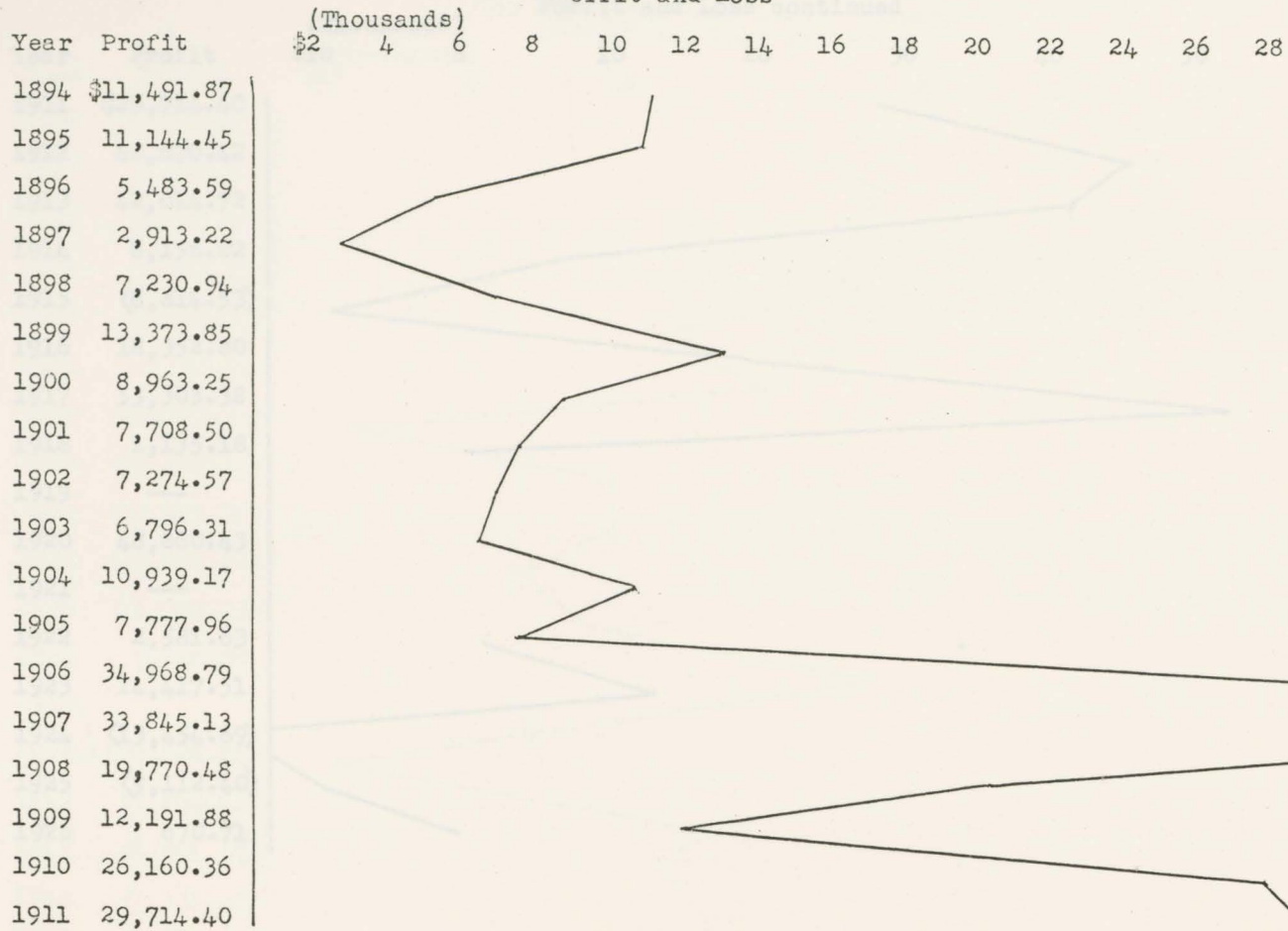


The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company
Total Sales continued

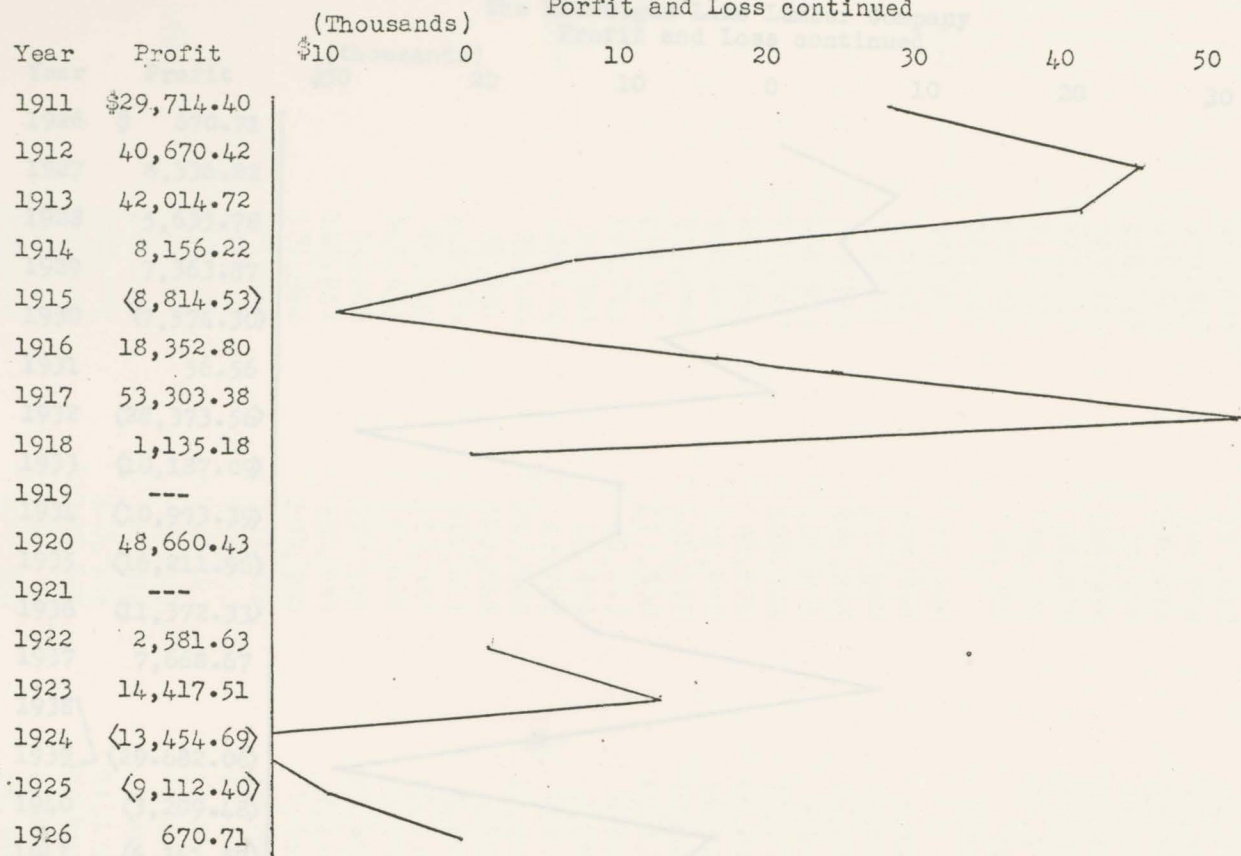


(From Annual Reports, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company).

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company
Profit and Loss



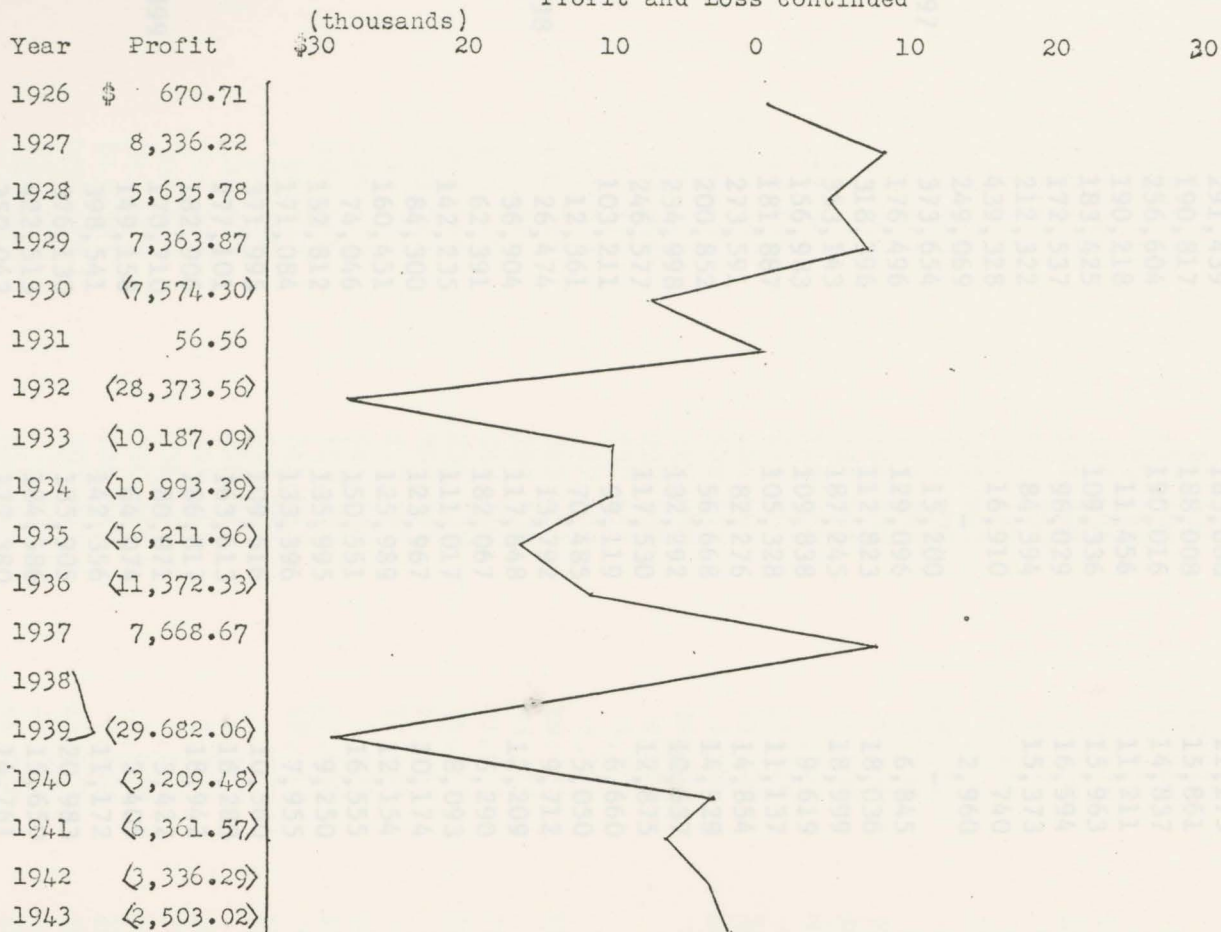
The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company
Profit and Loss continued



1912 40,670.42
1913 42,014.72

Annual Reports, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company

The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company
Profit and Loss continued



(From Annual Reports, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company).

APPENDIX VI

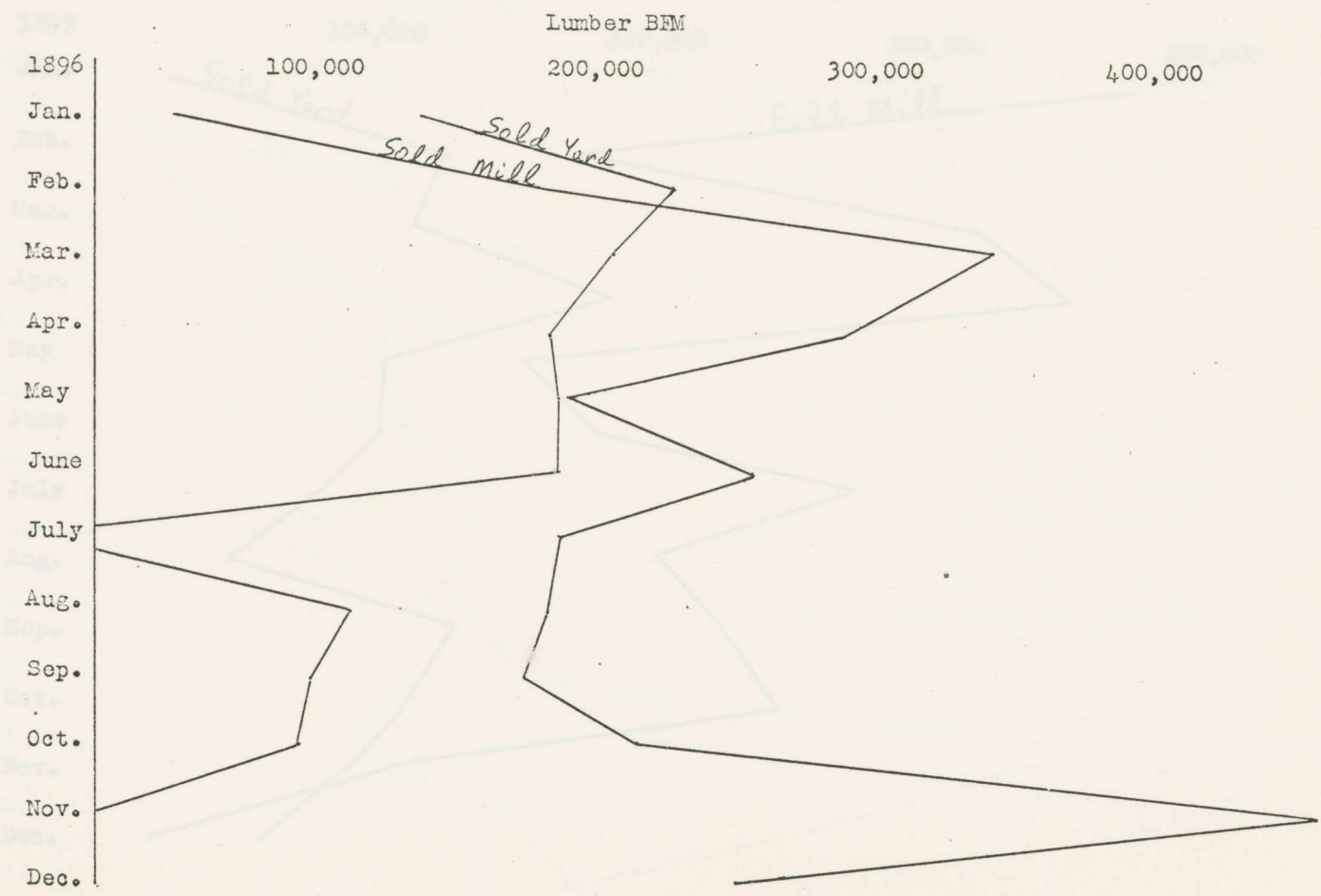
Lumber Movement 1896-1905

Date	Sold to Mill	Shipped to Yard	Lath	Shingles
Jan. 1896	54,144	136,476	8,808	11,500
Feb.	179,167	226,414	10,082	14,000
March	340,947	207,479	13,502	16,500
April	291,439	183,688	21,275	40,500
May	190,817	188,008	15,861	15,500
June	256,604	190,016	14,837	21,500
July	190,218	11,456	11,211	26,000
Aug.	183,425	109,336	15,963	34,000
Sept.	172,537	96,029	16,594	59,750
Oct.	212,322	84,394	15,373	18,500
Nov.	439,328	16,910	740	2,250
Dec.	249,069	-	2,960	-
Jan. 1897	373,654	15,200	-	23,000
Feb.	176,496	129,096	6,845	4,000
Mar.	318,396	112,823	18,036	5,000
Apr.	353,143	187,245	18,999	17,000
May	156,983	109,838	9,619	10,250
June	181,887	105,328	11,137	9,250
July	273,591	82,276	14,854	6,000
Aug.	200,852	56,668	14,929	8,500
Sept.	234,998	132,292	10,637	1,000
Oct.	246,577	117,530	12,875	8,500
Nov.	103,211	99,119	6,660	6,000
Dec.	12,361	70,485	5,050	-
Jan. 1898	26,474	13,792	9,712	1,000
Feb.	36,904	117,848	12,209	5,500
Mar.	62,391	182,067	6,290	1,250
Apr.	142,235	111,017	8,093	-
May	84,300	123,967	10,174	3,250
June	160,451	125,989	12,154	4,000
July	74,046	150,551	16,555	-
Aug.	152,812	135,995	9,250	16,750
Sept.	171,084	133,396	7,955	65,000
Oct.	371,995	109,516	10,560	27,500
Nov.	277,101	163,613	16,280	6,000
Dec.	182,906	186,817	18,942	33,500
Jan. 1899	170,710	80,871	3,422	2,000
Feb.	149,158	64,074	2,405	-
Mar.	398,541	142,356	11,172	1,500
Apr.	376,130	135,905	20,983	2,500
May	422,513	184,586	15,650	-
June	350,042	177,380	14,761	51,250
July	344,639	137,555	11,470	4,000
Aug.	375,305	178,130	14,800	22,500
Sept.	400,056	200,925	9,009	54,750
Oct.	251,322	165,211	12,745	14,500
Nov.	118,754	111,397	6,290	9,000
Dec.	177,538	127,100	1,665	48,000

Date	Sold to Mill	Shipped to Yard	Lath	Shingles
Jan. 1900	147,475	165,685	3,885	28,250
Feb.	73,526	138,184	2,465	6,750
Mar.	231,756	53,912	14,781	9,500
Apr.	292,095	119,805	13,559	12,000
May	413,346	95,837	8,510	42,750
June	64,402	124,851	12,116	4,000
July	712,169	84,031	12,117	-
Aug.	358,221	141,480	14,966	2,500
Sept.	186,152	93,478	9,957	3,600
Oct.	244,080	116,444	9,222	22,750
Nov.	110,563	129,892	5,950	24,500
Dec.	182,441	237,750	6,125	6,250
Jan. 1901	72,110	51,278	6,650	6,750
Feb.	144,736	115,863	2,817	13,500
Mar.	323,289	116,495	18,882	4,250
Apr.	244,532	112,507	3,535	9,000
May	257,167	248,987	1,242	25,750
June	149,359	182,042	11,637	29,060
July	206,941	142,300	2,362	42,000
Aug.	318,698	178,003	17,849	7,000
Sept.	202,498	264,505	15,400	30,250
Oct.	190,406	278,627	7,595	14,250
Nov.	94,232	222,672	20,282	5,500
Dec.	93,065	238,379	6,125	7,000
Jan. 1902	32,115	232,553	5,250	-
Feb.	81,877	27,289	8,295	3,500
March	170,769	345,406	16,782	16,750
Apr.	55,884	299,733	23,345	-
May	115,119	348,749	1,505	78,750
June	260,460	258,338	24,813	10,500
July	153,362	269,296	12,862	1,500
Aug.	58,417	227,587	17,955	4,000
Sept.	105,472	241,486	7,875	10,000
Oct.	194,184	223,923	17,656	14,250
Nov.	66,837	265,013	10,447	4,250
Dec.	32,985	150,006	175	16,000
Jan. 1903	31,073	258,213	6,245	1,200
Feb.	44,230	284,742	5,705	58,000
March	48,822	336,691	5,092	11,500
April	211,067	330,660	6,926	12,500
May	213,267	274,567	7,342	10,750
June	198,618	292,043	12,722	10,750
July	152,421	179,620	14,087	23,250
Aug.	175,987	218,813	46,094	28,500
Sept.	266,523	240,965	7,350	39,250
Oct.	335,343	218,770	4,550	13,500
Nov.	98,701	147,772	13,072	3,250
Dec.	302,009	216,076	20,415	8,000

Date	Sold to Mill	Shipped to Yard	Lath	Shingles
Jan. 1904	119,297	184,298	14,135	38,000
Feb.	84,526	115,991	9,553	500
March	216,121	144,866	13,924	8,250
April	181,814	218,268	13,560	-
May	250,290	238,624	7,875	4,500
June	319,648	266,085	17,603	28,000
July	169,825	331,159	8,085	36,000
Aug.	51,273	578,764	5,250	12,566
Sept.	157,373	438,005	38,745	10,750
Oct.	128,762	389,004	16,625	35,000
Nov.	83,542	261,838	8,662	17,500
Dec.	53,224	295,995	22,434	6,500
Jan. 1905	76,533	126,668	12,162	1,250
Feb.	48,622	388,832	1,162	28,000
March	297,133	378,561	23,169	79,000
April	92,204	403,514	15,925	7,750
May	35,918	226,859	28,225	19,000
June	305,752	356,115	16,905	35,750
July	227,567	366,320	14,974	49,500
Aug.	570,251	356,553	22,647	1,250
Sept.	426,548	293,186	13,100	38,500
Oct.	564,729	258,973	4,425	14,200
Nov.	310,520	297,461	39,934	48,000
Dec.	288,753	199,564	7,892	37,750

(From Annual Reports, The Shawnigan Lake Lumber Company, MacMillan-Bloedel, Vancouver).



1897
Jan.
Feb.
Mar.
Apr.
May
June
July
Aug.
Sep.
Oct.
Nov.
Dec.

Lumber BFM

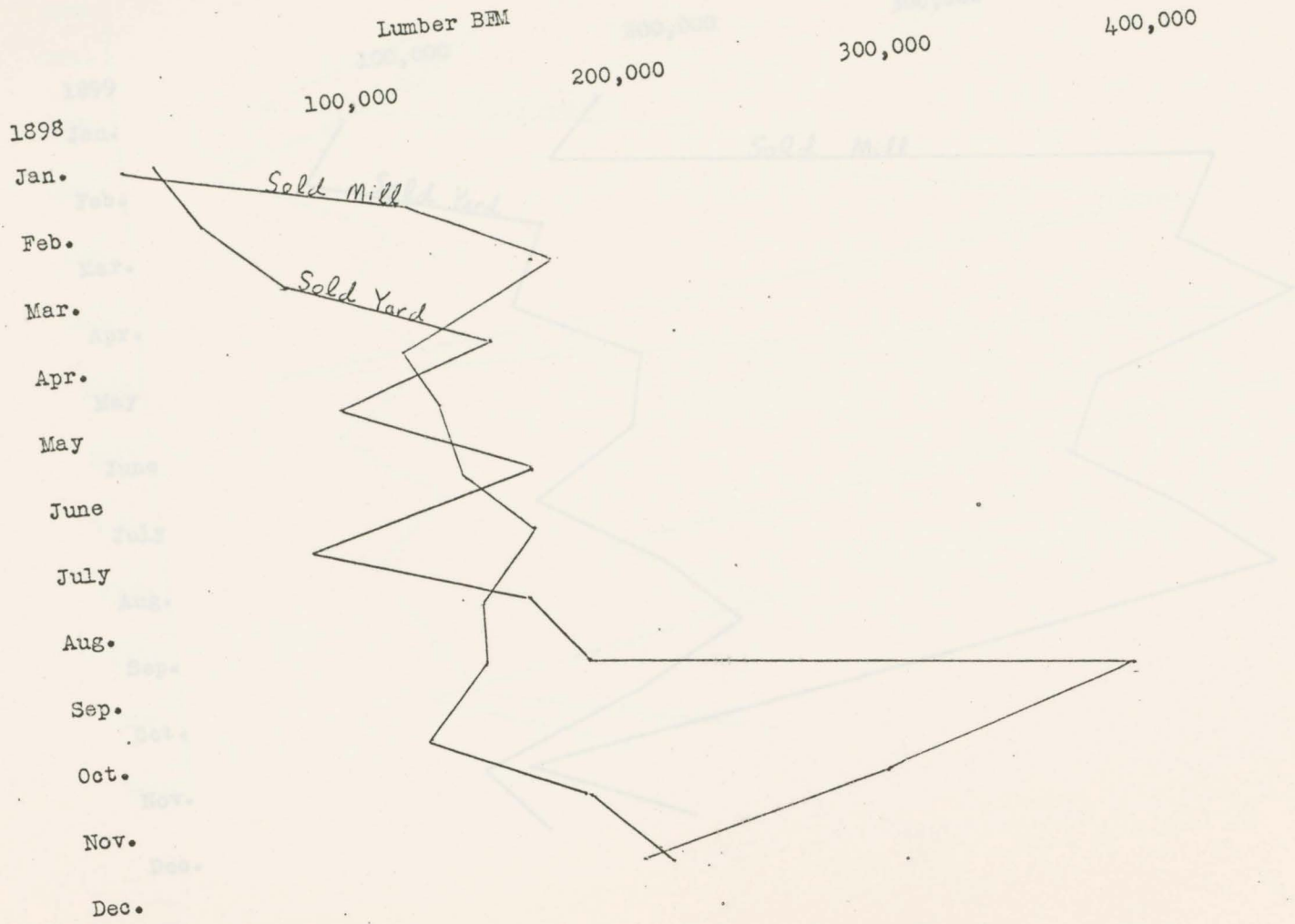
100,000

200,000

300,000

400,000





1899
Jan.
Feb.
Mar.
Apr.
May
June
July
Aug.
Sep.
Oct.
Nov.
Dec.

Lumber BFM

100,000

200,000

300,000

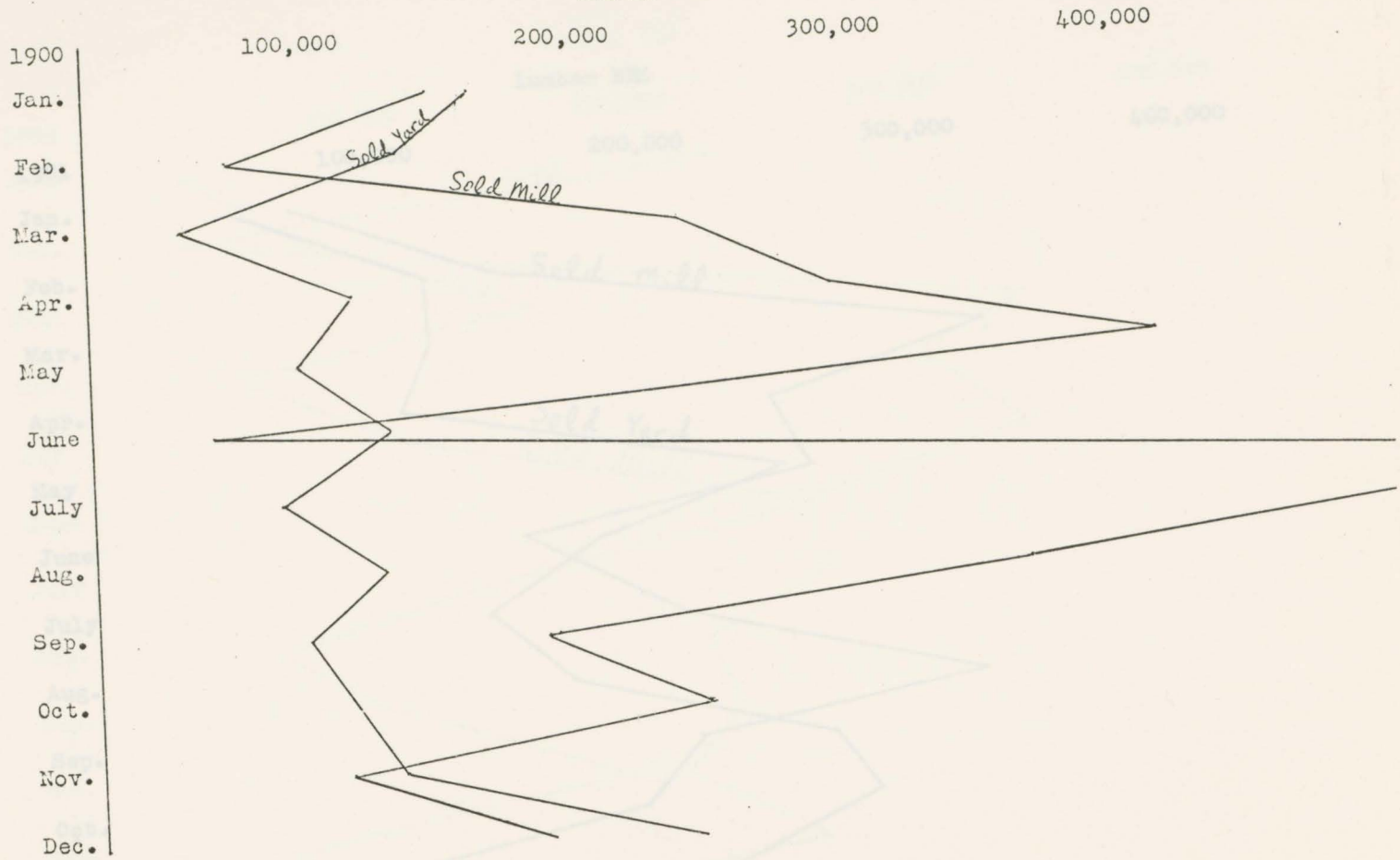
400,000

Sold Yard

Sold Mill



Lumber BM



1901

Jan.

Feb.

Mar.

Apr.

May

June

July

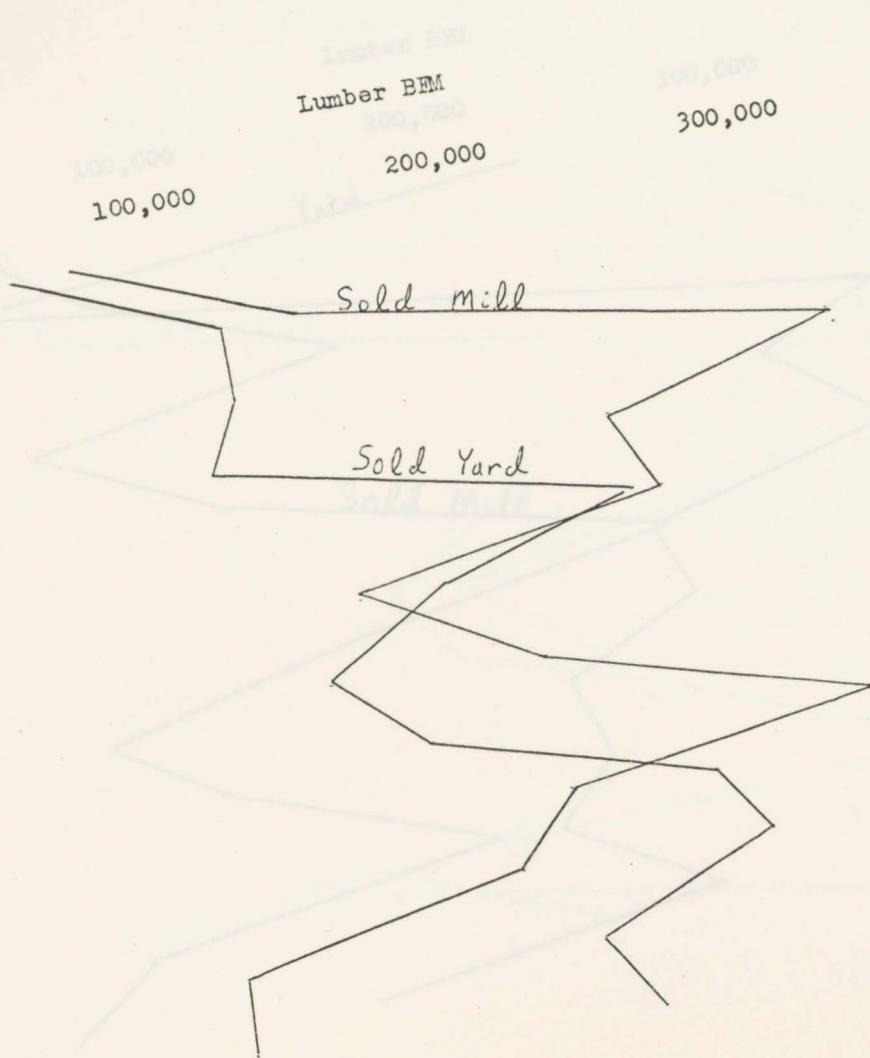
Aug.

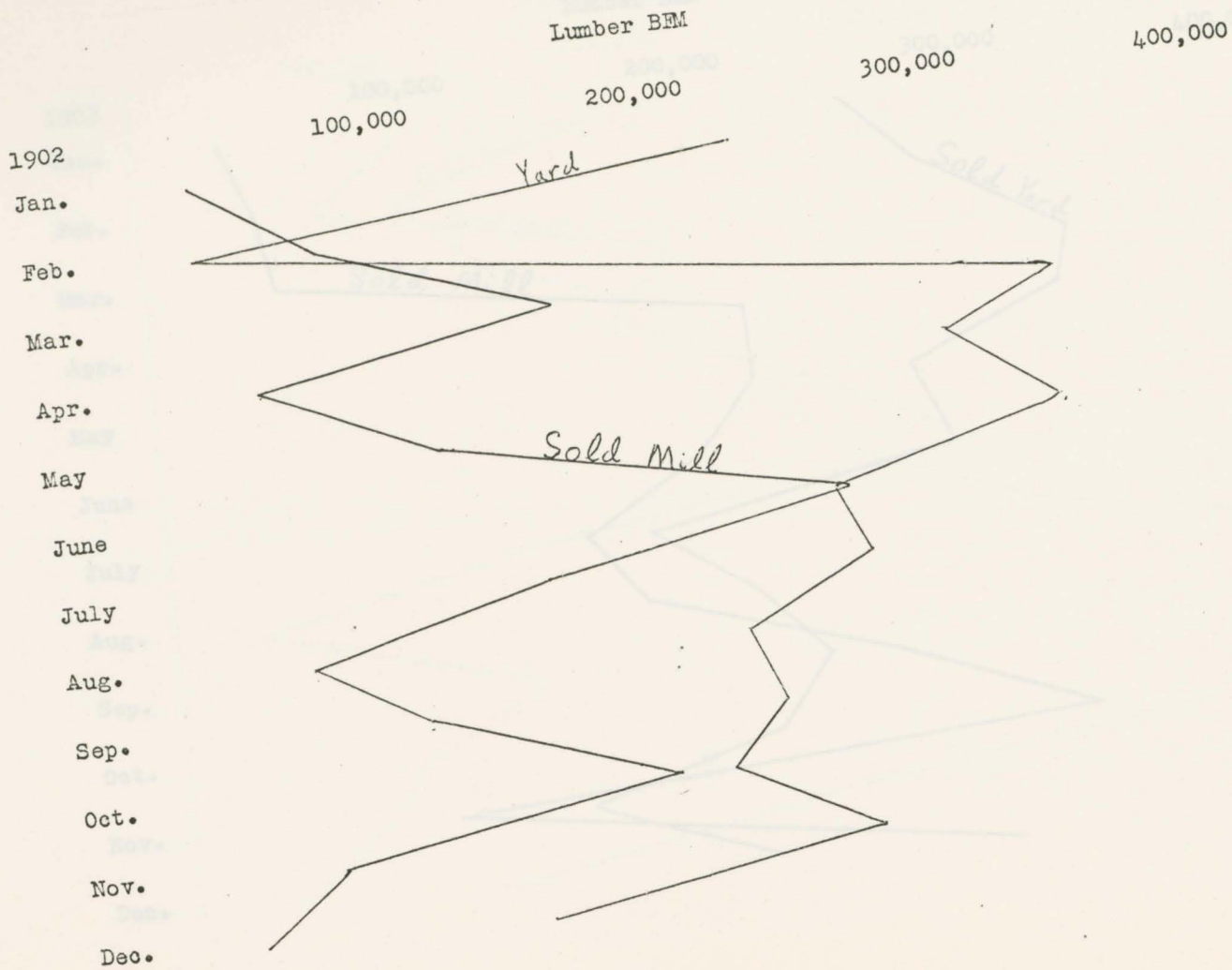
Sep.

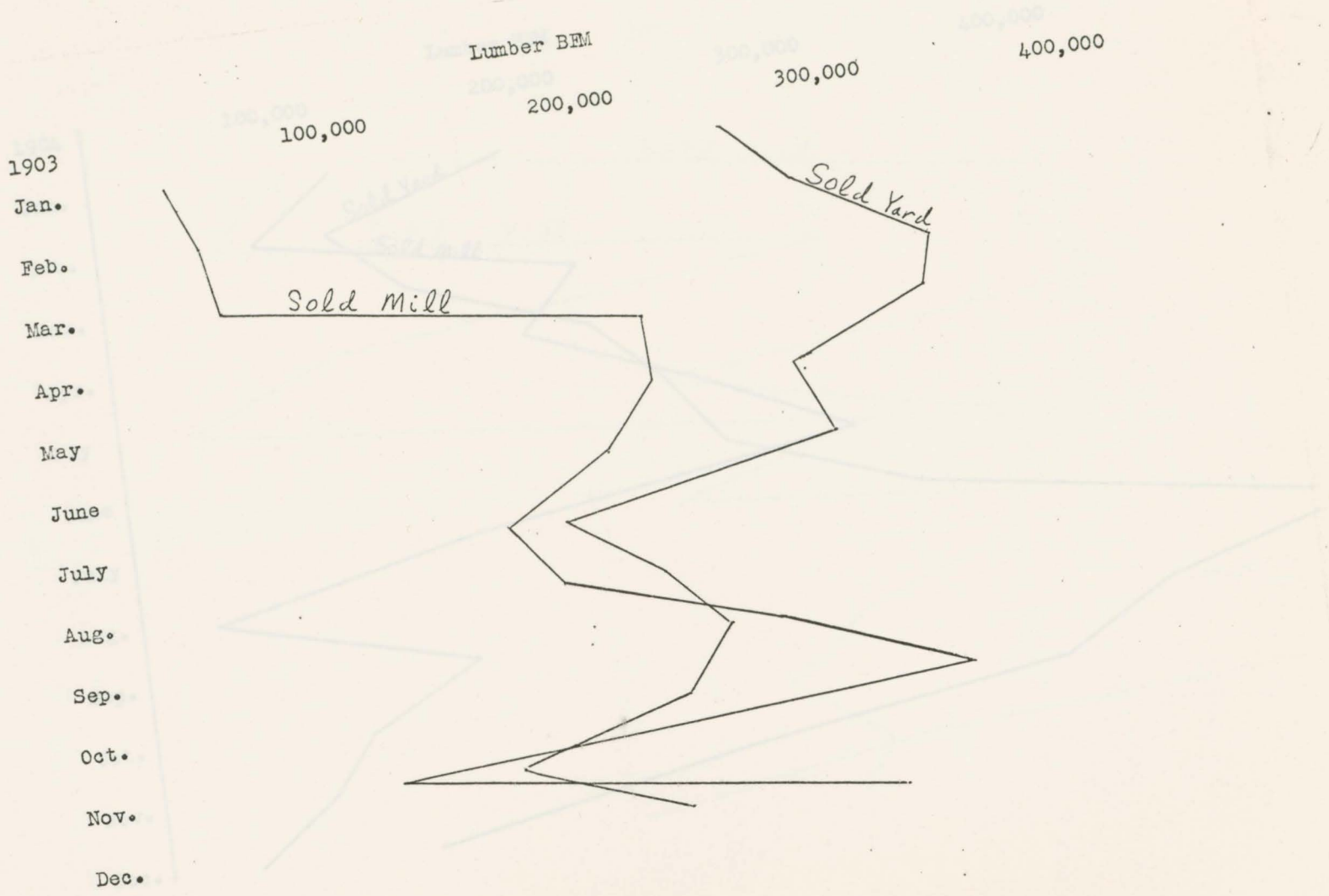
Oct.

Nov.

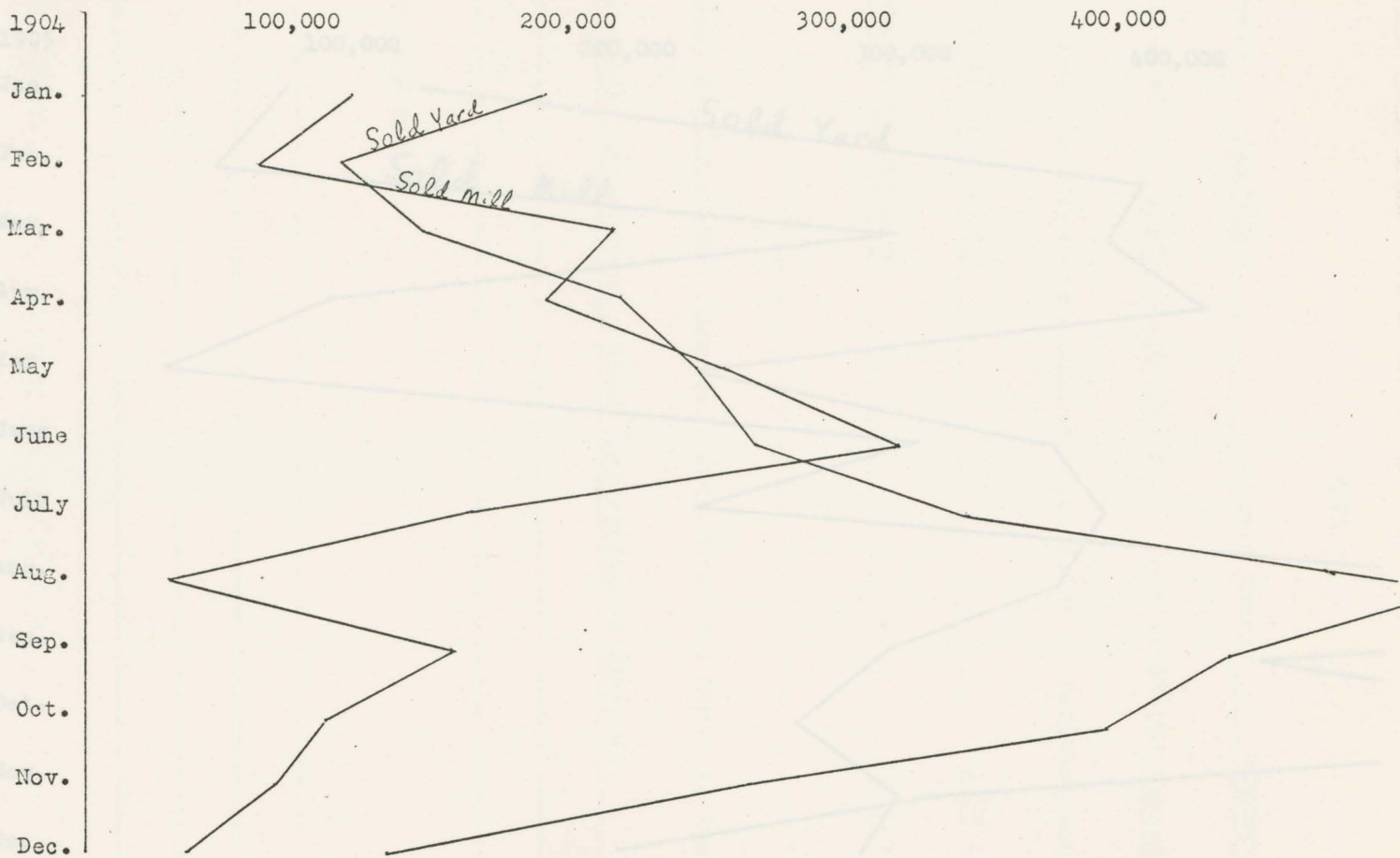
Dec.

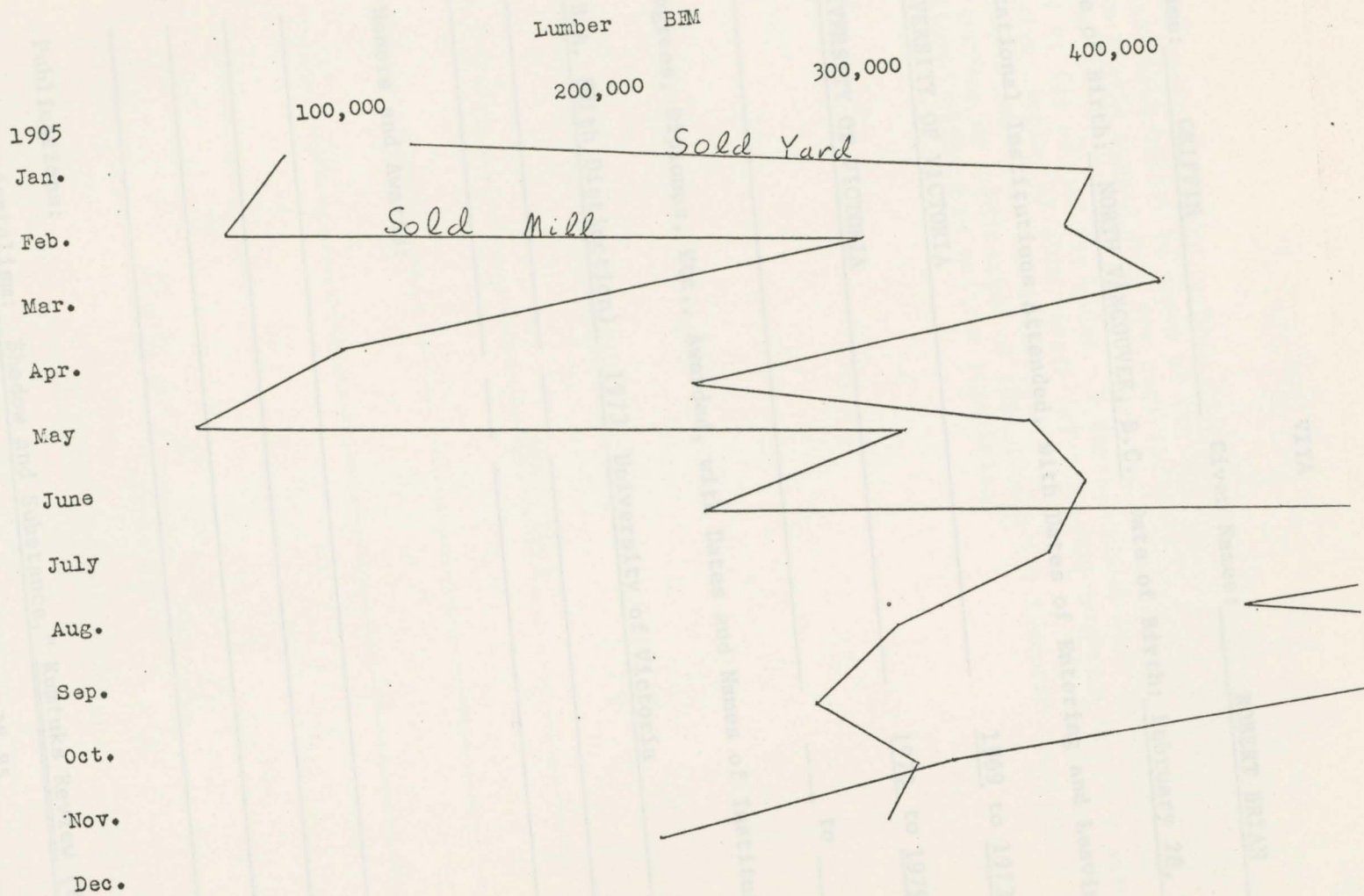






Lumber BIM





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1889 - 1943

Author

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Date