"THE TRUE ELIXIR OF LIFE":
IMAGINING EDEN AND EMPIRE IN THE SETTLEMENT OF
KELOWNA, BRITISH COLUMBIA,
1904-1920

by

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"The True Elixir of Life": Imagining Eden and Empire in the settlement of Kelowna, British Columbia, 1904-1920

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Abstract

At the turn of the twentieth century, Canada was the destination for a great wave of European immigrants which continued unabated until World War I. As a result of the policies laid out by Clifford Sifton, federal Minister of the Interior, a diverse group consisting of Scandinavians, Ukrainians, Poles, and other non-British peoples settled in western Canada. Unlike the Prairie provinces, however, British Columbia received a large contingent of Britons, consisting of English, Scots, Welsh, and Anglo-Irish. The differing profiles of these immigrant populations could be partly attributed to governmental power. While the federal government orchestrated Prairie settlement, private land promoters with provincial blessing directed the shape of British Columbia settlement. Consisting mostly of British or anglophile Canadians, many of these land promoters deliberately set out to attract Britons to the Pacific province. Moreover, they also offered fruit farming as a "cultured" alternative to the wide-spread practice of cereal farming on the Prairies.

And yet, what is often ignored in the early history of the Dominion is that the drama of immigration occurred within the context of an aggressive and far-reaching British imperialism. Such was the case with the British settlement of Kelowna beginning in 1904 with the formation of the Kelowna Land and Orchard Company (K.L.O.) by Walter Pooley, Ted Carruthers, and T.W. Stirling. While not the first land company in the area, its creation marked the full-scale promotion of fruit farming and British settlement. While the aspirations of these men and their choice to promote fruit farming fit nicely with their desire to attract numerous middle-class settlers for personal profit, the fruit tree was more than a convenient and appealing marketing tool. Indeed, intertwined with visions of wealth and comfort, the orchard acted as a powerful locus of imperial legitimization and power. Grounding the surveyor's line and hoisting the ship's sail, the passive and picturesque ideal of perfumed blossoms and ripening fruit gave form and meaning to the violent economy of the imperial mission.
Quite simply, the concept of the orchard with its edenic overtones was a system of meaning which organized perceptions of social experience in terms of a "natural" order based upon gender, class, and ethnicity. The "naturalness" of the well-ordered paradise was also informed by an English rural discourse which celebrated country living as pure, morally sound, and spiritual. Successive conflicts beginning with the Okanagan Nation would be more than a battle over geography. The tensions and confrontations which would mark British settlement would also be over whose and what images would construct the landscape and identity.

While the imaginings of paradise would ultimately dominate the landscape, tensions would alter its appearance. With the arrival of the Great War, fractures in the imagined landscape began to grow. Capital shortages, aridity, and a dramatic decrease in demand for fruit plots would stunt the growth of the orcharding community. For the people already on the land, a damaging fracture was the absence of labour, due to the imaginings of a paradise that consisted of a homogeneous, educated, and cultured people. Ironically, imperialism itself would deal a decisive blow against the Eden-inspired community it had created.
Acknowledgements

No project is the work of one individual, and I'm certainly no exception to that assertion. I would like to thank my senior supervisor Jack Little for redefining "patience" and seeing me through on this thesis, and Tina Loo for her vastly important comments and suggestions on my drafts. In assembling the materials for this thesis, Dan Bruce of the Kelowna Centennial Museum was an invaluable ally in providing me with unfettered access to the various newspapers and orcharding brochures, no matter how busy he may have been. I would also like to extend my thanks to Paulette and Don Evans for their kindness, warmth, and generosity. Certainly this endeavour had a financial side, so I would like to thank the Royal Canadian Legion Ladies' Auxiliary for their bursaries and to the P.P.W.C. Local #10 and Canfor for hiring me all of those summers. Of course, words are a poor means of expressing how my family was a central part of this project...my dad, Omi "with the broken leg." Opa and Omi, my mom and Pete, and my brothers Jeremy and Jamie. Through the years, they have instilled in me a deep respect for learning and have displayed an unshakable enthusiasm for my goals, being there for me financially and emotionally, always offering praise and encouragement -- thank you for your love and devotion...I shall always be in your debt. And of course, heart-felt gratitude must be extended to another member of my family -- Jen, my "comrade-in-arms." Baptized by the same scholastic and heavenly fires, she shares my passions and is responsible for improving my thesis, and utterly transforming my life. My grateful prose could only ever be a timid shadow of the feelings which alight my heart because of you.
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List of Abbreviations

I.R.C. ___________________________________________ Indian Reserve Commission
K.L.O. ___________________________________________ Kelowna Land and Orchard
O.H.S. ___________________________________________ Okanagan Historical Society
P.A.B.C. __________________________________________ Provincial Archives of British Columbia
S.K.L. ___________________________________________ South Kelowna Land
Introduction

Landscape. If any single feature stands out in the Canadian historical consciousness, it is the land. Whether broken by the settler’s plough, breached by pick-axe and drill, or criss-crossed with metal track and lonely roads, the physical landscape has played a central role in the unfolding drama of Canadian experience. One need not look very far to see this view corroborated inside the vast literature of the Canadian West. Ambitious politicians, newly arrived homesteaders, resolute First Nations and Métis, organizing labourers—all have been cast upon the stage of landscape by generations of historians. However, beyond this physical or empirical landscape lies another that has been ignored and neglected by many historians. This neglect is all the more surprising when one considers that all historians are active in the creation of the textual landscape.

At its most elementary level, the textual landscape is the manner in which the physical landscape is presented or portrayed. On a more fundamental level, the textual landscape, or language, “reveals entire systems of value”1 in how we think about issues, our lives, and the world. According to Joan Scott, “articulation, definition—the construction of meaning—must be analyzed as a set of events in itself.”2 In this regard, language does not simply describe a physical “reality” through words, but conveys “the idea of meaning as the patterns and relationships that constitute understanding or a ‘cultural system.’”3 To this end, such an approach problematizes accepted categories within history and allows for the interrogation and exposition of systems of meaning and power. Ultimately, to neglect a study of the “construction of meaning” is to neglect a full understanding of the construction of history and the historians’ role within it.

In the past, historians of the Canadian West have written from an empirical tradition which lacked any attempt to address their role in this process. As a result, their touchstone

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has been the search for a tangible past under the guidance of "objectivity" which, too often, translated into the search for a single, authoritative truth. Within the framework of the universalizing me-a-narrative, the claim to objectivity simply cloaked their own subjective role within the historical process, at the same time cloaking the diversity of experience.

Admittedly, the field of Canadian history is slowly moving away from notions of a single experience or truth. A brief perusal through many of the recent texts reveals a concern with issues surrounding class, race, and gender. However, by and large the themes expounded in the majority of works remain fairly conventional, revolving around the "progress" of "civilization" in the proudest Man versus Nature tradition. Even if the new historiography is included, attention to language as a means of exploring and writing history is lacking. Indeed, on many occasions these works are imbued with the notion of a linear progression without any attempt to ask how the meaning of the concepts themselves were constructed.

Concerned with issues surrounding gender and power within the historical discipline, Scott's approach has found broader acceptance among feminist historians who are interested in similar questions. Although Scott's brand of post-structuralism is far from being universally accepted, her critical spirit and sensitivity to language will guide the direction of this thesis in not only the answering of questions, but their formulation.

This thesis will also embody certain lines of questioning raised by Edward Said. In Culture and Imperialism, Said sets out to analyse the general relationship between culture and empire within British and French contexts. Of special interest to Said is the "immensely important" role of the novel "in the formation of imperial attitudes, references, and experiences." This attention is justified since "the power to narrate, or block other

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3 Ibid., p. 59.
5 See debates between Joan Scott and Linda Gordon in Signs. 16. 2 (Summer 1990), pp. 848-60.
narratives from forming or emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them.\textsuperscript{7} Most baffling to Said is the glaring omission on the part of literary historians to establish the link between, for example, the sixteenth-century poet Edmund Spenser’s “bloodthirsty plans for Ireland...with his poetic achievement or with the history of British rule over Ireland.”\textsuperscript{8} To neglect such an approach would be to ignore the complexity of conflicts over space as “it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings.”\textsuperscript{9} In the context of European settlement at Kelowna, the image of perfumed orchards extolled in the works of fiction and non-fiction alike aptly illustrate this relationship. More fully, the systematic oppression of the Okanagan people in order to secure space for British ranchers and orchardists was more than a contest over land ownership. Indeed, Said’s analysis crystallizes the notion that conflicts fought under the banner of Empire over physical space are also battles over discursive space.

Although Joan Scott and Edward Said would certainly have their differences, their combined approaches are ideally suited to questions surrounding the experiences of British settlement in Kelowna, British Columbia at the turn of the twentieth century. Located 350 km east of Vancouver, Kelowna is the largest city in the Okanagan Valley with a population of 111,486.\textsuperscript{10} Situated at the mid-point on the east shore of Okanagan Lake, Kelowna has enjoyed some peculiar notoriety in recent British Columbia history. Politically, the city achieved a degree of distinction as the home of two of its more influential and controversial premiers--W.A.C. Bennett and his son, Bill Bennett. In addition to its human inhabitants, Kelowna also boasts the presence of a Loch Ness-type monster in its humble waters. Originally known as “N’hatik,” the Ogopogo has never been prove... to exist but still receives a great deal of attention from a tourist-conscious Chamber of Commerce during the

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{footnote1} Ibid., p. xiii.
\bibitem{footnote2} Ibid., p. 7.
\bibitem{footnote3} Ibid., p. 7.
\end{thebibliography}
profitable summer months. In addition to crafty Ogopogo lore, the Chamber is also very active in courting money-wielding visitors with glowing descriptions of sandy beaches, cool waters, and warm summer days.

Interestingly, such descriptions are not far removed from those employed by land promoters in the Kelowna area during the city’s first year of incorporation, 1905. With a population of 800 people, land promoters were eager to boost that vital statistic with an aggressive campaign to attract “suitable settlers,” namely, immigrants of British origin, preferably of middle-class to upper-class status. An essential component of the promoters’ campaign was the production of promotional literature which trumpeted the locale’s “vastly superior” climate, institutions, and character. Intimately connected with these glowing descriptions was the form of settlement and occupation extended to the prospective newcomer. Fruit ranching, which combined rural settlement and agrarian occupation, was portrayed as the perfect companion to the area’s geography and the immigrant’s inclination. Indeed, while the choice to organize and promote fruit ranching held out the prospect of lucrative profits for those involved, orcharding was a “system of meaning” that entailed much more.

What cannot be forgotten is that the construction of this orcharding community occurred within the context of an aggressive and far-reaching British imperialism. While images of clashing armies and battling navies come to mind, imperialism is far more layered and nuanced than the stock image of war can provide. Over the years, scholars have viewed and interpreted imperialism in a variety of ways. For instance, Carl Berger writes that “imperialism was one form of Canadian nationalism,” a movement “infused with material and intellectual progress” and defined by the desire for a closer union within the British Empire.11 On another level, James Morris argued that “Empire was the plot of

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novels, the dialogue of plays, the rhythm of ballads, the inspiration of oratorios." Still further, recent historians have theorized imperialism as territorial conquest not simply by force, but through the power of ideas to animate the imperial process. As such, imperialism can also be viewed as the ideological process by which Europeans constructed indigenous peoples and landscapes through travel writing.

Within the context of Canada at the turn of the twentieth century, British Columbia, and more specifically the Okanagan Valley, continued to be directed by an imperial vision which arguably had subsided in the rest of the country. With a collection of British or anglophile politicians, business people, and settlers, their desire was to forge a form of "Britain" in the Okanagan. However, their community was not the forging of a "new" Britain, but an attempt to reconstitute an old mythical one, sustained by financial and cultural connections to the "Old Country." As a consequence, for the purposes of my paper imperialism will embody all of the aforementioned attributes, functioning as the broad framework within which the settlement of Kelowna operated and occurred.

Intertwined with visions of wealth and comfort, the orchard acted as a powerful locus of imperial legitimization and power. Grounding the surveyor's line and hoisting the ship's sail, the passive and picturesque ideal of perfumed blossoms and ripening fruit gave form and meaning to the violent economy of the imperial mission. As such, this thesis will analyze the well-ordered landscape constructed by the promotion of the orcharding community, as well as exploring the form and meaning of the fruit tree as an instrument to attract settlers by the capitalist developers. Beginning with the founding of the Kelowna Land and Orchard Company (K.L.O.) in 1904, I will explore the orchard's cultural meaning and its implications for the kinds of social relations which evolved. A crucial part of this process is the situation of orcharding within the broader context of Imperial Britain

and rural English culture. Consequently, this thesis will explore the connection between culture and imperialism by embracing a textual approach to grasp more thoroughly how and in what ways rural living was sold, celebrated and perceived.

Within the historiography of British Columbia it will become evident that my approach shall make a positive contribution to the study of the past. One of the principal criticisms of general British Columbia histories is lack of attention to "rural" experience. Another deficiency in the literature is that textual approaches are still met with resistance and skepticism. More often than not, historians proceed from a linear model of "progress" oriented toward provincial politics and economics. As an example, Margaret Ormsby's canonical work, British Columbia: A History, certainly proceeds from this tradition with its concern for high politics and the great march of province-building.\textsuperscript{15} Additionally, while Jean Barman's The West beyond the West: A History of British Columbia is an admirable history that directs attention to the province's diverse regions and experiences, there is no interrogation of language in its role of informing and constructing our perceptions and assumptions.\textsuperscript{16} This is important since language, with its images and cultural assumptions, must be explored in terms of its meaning--- "not only its terminology and the context of its political programs but the history of its symbolic organization and linguistic representations."\textsuperscript{17}

Although no monograph exists on British Columbia settlement per se, a source on western settlement worth examining is A.A. den Otter's Civilizing the West: The Galt's and the Development of Western Canada.\textsuperscript{18} In his work, Otter examines the role of Alexander Galt and his son Elliot in "civilizing" and developing Western Canada through large-scale settlement schemes in southern Alberta and later in the expansion of Lethbridge through

\textsuperscript{14}Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (New York: Routledge Press, 1995), p. 5.
\textsuperscript{15}Margaret Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1958)
\textsuperscript{16}Jean Barman, The West beyond the West: A History of British Columbia (Vancouver: University of Toronto Press, 1991)
\textsuperscript{17}Scott, p. 90.
their mining operations. Venerated to the point of idolatry, the Galts are portrayed as men who conquered Nature and made the soil productive. In stark contrast stands the native man whose lack of vision sealed his fate: “Since the red man did not recognize the great fertility of the prairie soil nor the enormous potential energy of the rich black coal cropping out of the river banks, he hardly disturbed his environment.”

As a testosterone-charged piece, den Otter’s writing has many pitfalls. Not only is the book a contest between white man and red man, but his language betrays an antiquated and patronizing view of Indian life. Also, while the role of male promoters was certainly as important in the settlement of Kelowna as it was in southern Alberta, den Otter’s view of the imperial discourse is not wholly applicable to my study. “By the mid-nineteenth century,” he writes, “the old belief that man was master over nature had culminated in the view that this mastery implied domination and exploitation. The consequent loss of respect for nature coincided with the completion of the steam-ship phase of the industrial revolution.” While it is true that men such as Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling dramatically changed the landscape, their means of changing it could hardly be characterized as a “loss of respect” for nature, but rather a “tamed” nature given their vision of blooming orchards and perfumed air.

On the subject of the Okanagan Valley, several academic theses and articles have been written, of which those by Margaret Ormsby, David Dendy, Duane Thomson, Paul Koroscil, and Jane Sproule are notable. In her Master’s thesis, “A Study of the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia,” Ormsby provides a straight-forward empirical narrative of the Valley. She begins with a geological history which leads into a chronological history of European activity, including successive waves of fur trading, gold mining, cattle ranching, and wheat and fruit growing. Although her narrative is informative, there is little analysis

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18 A.A. den Otter, Civilizing the West: the Galts and the Development of Western Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986)
19 Ibid., p. 4.
20 Ibid., p. x.
21 Kelowna Board of Trade, 1908, p. 12.
of her findings. For example, as in British Columbia: A History, Ormsby gives scant insight into the "appeal" of orcharding beyond cause-and-effect. "Finally," she writes, "the newly formed land companies extolled the charms of fruit ranching in the Okanagan, and the prosperity that awaited all who should follow in Lord Aberdeen's footsteps." While the land companies were active in extolling the "charms" of the area, the exploration of the meaning of these charms, and how the companies hoped they would appeal to their clients, is absent.

Duane Thomson approaches Okanagan history with a different focus in his doctoral dissertation, "A History of the Okanagan: Indians and Whites in the Settlement Era 1860-1920." In his thesis, Thomson analyses European/Indian relations within the Valley environment to argue that "white settlers succeeded in building...a harmonious and just society [which] occurred at the expense of the Indian population." Although he paradoxically acknowledges native oppression while continuing to describe the European settlement as "harmonious and just," Thomson writes that his work is one of the first to have "whites examined in the challenges they provided for Indian people." However, Thomson's dissertation tends to read like a traditional history in its devotion to a political/economic evaluation of "white" society. No attention is devoted to orcharding, and causes and effects are explored in empirical fashion.

As a historical geographer, Paul Koroscil has made important contributions to our understanding of European development in the Okanagan Valley. Concerned with spatial questions in the physical landscape, Koroscil has charted the influence of boosterism as a force which shaped settlement patterns. In his article, "Boosterism and the Settlement Process in the Okanagan Valley, British Columbia, 1890-1914," Koroscil maps the influence of several land promoters who possessed the qualities of a booster mentality:

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24Ibid., p. 13.
"expansionary vision, high energy level, optimism and determination." According to Koroscil, the "booster mentality" led to a rapid and wide-spread change in land use through the proliferation of orchards. Aggressive in their promotion, land companies competed with one another to attract settlers to their holdings. Although insightful, Koroscil neglects to examine the potential appeal and meaning of orcharding beyond the promise of monetary profit.

Koroscil comes closer to a textual examination of orcharding in his article "A Gentleman Farmer in British Columbia's Garden of Eden." Charting the life of James Cameron Dun Waters, Koroscil examines Dun Waters' role in the Okanagan Valley as a "gentleman emigrant farmer." Born to a wealthy Scots family, Dun Waters "grew up on his family's estate at Fintry, Stirlingshire and he inherited his wealth from their land estate and his family's business," the Glasgow Herald. Purchasing an Okanagan estate southwest of Vernon in 1908, Dun Waters divided his time between Scotland and British Columbia. Although Koroscil spends most of his efforts documenting the growth of Dun Waters' estate, he does touch on the concept that the Okanagan was seen by Dun Waters and others as a "Garden of Eden." Of course, when the Valley was characterized as "the Garden of Eden," promoters and settlers alike were not referring so much to a "physical" landscape as they were evoking highly metaphorical discursive images. In short, Koroscil neglects to probe the implications of the Eden myth. How did the textual landscape frame and support the exploits of men like Dun Waters? What did notions of Eden say to him and others?

27Ibid., p. 92.
In her Master's thesis, Jane Sproule takes issue with all of the aforementioned writers by arguing that previous accounts of Valley development are flawed in that they "discuss the change in land use resulting from the activities of [land] developers, unconnected with the ranchers." Before the turn of the century, the Okanagan Valley was used for cattle raising. Hundreds of acres were owned by a small group of men who grazed large herds to service the demand for beef located in the booming Cariboo mining towns north of the Valley. Most accounts see the transition from ranching to fruit farming as largely unconnected in that ranchers were not active agents of the transformation of land use beyond the liquidation of their holdings. Sproule argues that there was a direct connection in "how the ranchers themselves linked the ranching and fruit farming economies by establishing transportation routes to the Valley and even forming their own development companies."  

While Sproule's argument is compelling, her discussion neglects to consider fruit farming within a broader cultural context. In essence, Sproule is satisfied with viewing fruit farming simply as a financial tool of its capitalist masters. Simply, Sproule and the aforementioned writers ignore the broader implications of settlement and experience which include the "appeal" of orcharding and the systems of meaning that informed its desirability. In short, what did fruit farming mean to them? How did orcharding construct and inform settler experience? In what ways did orcharding resonate within the broader context of British cultural and territorial expansionism?  

These questions and others will be explored throughout this thesis. Chapter One will explore the changing language of the landscape and how Europeans succeeded in imposing a notion of property upon the landscape that was antithetical to the original inhabitants of the land, the Okanagans. Although the process was contested, Britons were able to secure hegemony over the land which was crucial for the promotion of orcharding. In Chapter Two, I will explore the "imaginary community" of orcharding and how it was

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28 Jane Sproule, "The Polarization of Okanagan Fruit Farming Communities and the 1955
sold and traded by the K.L.O. Company. At the margins of empire, the promoters of the K.L.O. Company constructed orcharding as an edenic source of imperial order along the lines of ethnicity, class, and gender. Finally, in Chapter Three, empirical sources such as pioneer testimony and newspapers will be utilized in the exploration and analysis of the gradual erosion of the orcharding ideal. As a consequence, I will demonstrate the ways in which aridity, capital and labour shortages, and a loss of idealism combined to alter the edenic order of the orcharding community. At a very basic level, my work will contribute to a fuller understanding of the multiplicity of experiences within the field of British Columbia history. In a more fundamental vein, I hope to build from past scholarship to explore the relationship of culture to imperialism which connected the physical and textual landscapes in the settlement of Kelowna.
Chapter One: The Historical Landscape

Long before dreams of apples and Empire, the land endured. While surely not in the same form or in the same way, conceptions and perceptions of the earth have always flowed through the nooks and crannies of human experience. However, understanding the relationship between what and how we see is the crucial exercise in formulating a more complete understanding of the past. Quite simply, the physical does not unilaterally impose a sense of order upon the textual; on the contrary, it is our own sense and formulation which imposes an order or coherence upon the physical. Such an analysis will seem thoroughly banal to even the most flaccid mind. After all, this is the variable which makes an environmentalist and a capitalist see differently when gazing upon the same forest. The more compelling (and more complete) question to ask is how the “forest” came to have its particular meaning, and how that in turn is situated within the broader cultural system of which it is a product.

While the primary focus of this study is to explore orcharding at Kelowna and its relationship to culture and Empire during the early decades of the twentieth century, it is necessary to begin by placing our analysis against the relief of the “historical landscape.” As with any historical process, the transformation of the Okanagan Valley by European colonizers was an uneven one. This chapter will examine the conflict over competing visions of the landscape which ensued as the British imposed their notion of property upon the land, a notion at odds with the Okanagan people. Highlighted by the imposition of new place names, mapping and fencing, the conflict over landscape also entailed more than a material reorganization of resources. Seen as a form of language, the transformation of the landscape would lead to another understanding, set of values, and cultural assumptions -- a new system of meaning. Consequently, the land that once spoke inclusively and listened to the Okanagan would do so no longer. Instead, the landscape,

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typified by the orchard, would organize and legitimize a different order as a prelude to the establishment of a new imperial community.

Looking upon the Okanagan Valley now, it is difficult to picture the semi-arid landscape in a radically different state. In many ways, our natural surroundings seem timeless when compared to the comparably fragile organisms that live upon it. But geographers and geologists have discovered a world swirling with change: continents drifting apart; mountains being pushed upwards, while others are pounded down by wind and rain; rivers and streams turning rock into sand; and large glaciers carving their path with tedious might. But when the first peoples descended into the Valley nearly seven thousand years ago, their surroundings were largely as they are now.² Finding a hospitable climate composed of Ponderosa Pine-Bunchgrass, Interior Douglas Fir, and Sub-apline Fir zones³, the arrivals elected to settle the area. However, the region presented few agricultural opportunities due to its semi-arid profile. Adopting a hunting and gathering economy, the Okanogan divided their work into sex-specific tasks. During the summer, women would search for berries, vegetables and roots, while men caught fish and hunted deer and elk.¹ Much of the meat was dried carefully to serve as food through the winter months spent in their “kekuli” -- a permanent semi-subterranean house.⁵

Speaking a dialect of the Interior Salish language, the Okanagans⁶ could easily communicate with most of the neighbouring nations. Collectively, the Okanagans were organized into locally-autonomous bands that often consisted of several villages. Each band possessed a shaman, a temporary war leader, and a headman or chief who exercised power only as far as the collective agreed to go along, presiding over alliances and dispute resolutions. In essence,

⁶ According to Surtees, (p. 10), on the source of the name Okanagan, “some of the native people say it means ‘Big Head,’ symbolizing the outstanding leadership qualities of the inhabitants. Others believe it possibly refers to the several profile-like mountains in the area.”
Okanagan politics possessed a "quasi-federal quality:" while for the most part autonomous, "clusters of bands quite often participated in joint hunts and communal rituals, and occasionally united against a common enemy in warfare." While theoretically equal, Okanagan bands were often rivals for prestige. Consequently, conflict occasionally marred relations with their neighbours, but on the whole the Okanagan enjoyed peaceful economic and social relations with surrounding groups, establishing ties of trade and marriage.

To be sure, like the numerous nations of the Interior, the Okanagan occupied traditional territories which would be protected from forcible incursion. While some areas were seen as the preserve of the immediate locals among the Okanagan themselves, vast tracts of land were regarded as commonages with no particular band having absolute right to determine access for others. This was especially important since great numbers of people dispersed and moved about during the summer months, returning to their home villages in early autumn. Within the network of bands, however, there was great flexibility for the movement of individuals and families between different groups, which occurred frequently. Despite the collective use of the land, familial and individual private property was widespread, ranging from slaves to countless items of moveable property, including baskets, weapons, tools, and dogs.

It would be wrong to characterize Okanagan society as idyllic and pristine. Undoubtedly, the Okanagan people faced numerous challenges and crises such as illness and warfare in conjunction with success and celebration. Moreover, the rituals and practices of the Okanagan were established over generations and were not simply static lifestyles handed down since Time Immemorial. In essence, Okanagan society was a growing and changing one, like the land that sustained them. Change occurred in many forms and, as always, with consequences that could never be fully anticipated.

Such was the case when tales of strange visitors began to reach the Okanagan people from neighbouring nations. While the fur trade was on its last leg in the eastern portion of North

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8 Thomson, p. 20.
America, interest in the "interior" of the continent translated into increasing westward European expansion. Described by Indians as pale but enthusiastic traders possessing new and valuable goods, the Europeans’ arrival was anticipated with great curiosity. Stories may have begun to circulate as early as July 1774 when the first recorded encounter in what later would become British Columbia occurred between the Haida and Spanish at Langara Island. In any event, the shift from a maritime to land-based fur trade would ensure the increased circulation of stories as more nations came into direct contact with the Europeans.

Direct European contact with Indians was most clearly and typically symbolized by the construction of a wooden fort within a nation’s traditional territory. By this measure, it was not until 1811, when David Stuart built Fort Okanagan at the junction of the Columbia and Okanagan rivers that the Okanagan people were formally introduced to these foreign traders. Although never rich with furs due to the semi-arid nature of the climate, the region served as a link in the circulation of pelts from forts such as Kamloops located further north. This link continued until 1846 when the British and American authorities finally settled on the 49th parallel to divide their respective holdings, isolating Fort Okanagan south of the invisible border. For the Okanagans, this development was the first direct affront to their usual existence. Certainly, the fur trade was a "mixed blessing" for Indians. While it provided a market for their goods in return for European guns, clothing and wares, the fur trade also brought virulent diseases such as smallpox and whooping cough which ravaged native communities. Yet, arguably the most disruptive consequence of contact was European political machinations in the form of the new international boundary. For the Okanagans, the border represented a new and hostile vision of the land. While

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9 Carstens, p. 9.
11 Thomson, p. 22. Stuart represented the Pacific Fur Company which was acquired by the Northwest Company in 1813, culminating with the latter company’s absorption into the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1822.
12 Carstens, p. 23.
13 Although the border between the United States and Canada was never truly closed, obstacles did exist for the free movement of the Okanagans. Since the Okanagan nation was divided as "yards of the State in each respect," e jurisdiction, indefinite stays across the border were not permitted, thus
this foreign survey line certainly impeded the free and seasonal movements of people, the
disruption it caused and represented was not strictly material in nature. The emerging conflict also
centred on whose image of the landscape would prevail. Increasingly, a landscape that was once
inviting for the Okanagans was becoming hostile. A land that the Indians once understood was
now being used against them by European standards of “cultivation” in order to placate and
marginalize native access. From this point forward, British hegemony over the land and their
vision of property would continue to grow. But, as the process was an uneven one, the
reconstruction of the landscape would occur in different forms and guises before orchards could
bloom in the desert.

By 1858, the fur trade was superseded by mining as “gold-fever” had finally made its way
north to British territory following the California Gold Rush. Although interest in gold had
developed as early as 1852 with the arrival of speculators at the Queen Charlotte Islands, it did not
begin in earnest on the mainland until six years later with a great influx of American miners which
numbered in the thousands.\(^{14}\) The year 1858 also saw the creation of the colony of British
Columbia and the official claim to British sovereignty in the region. Although governmental
control was extended slowly, and (in the case of gold mining), haphazardly to deal with
unforeseen threats to British order, this very process struck at the heart of Indian land use.
Moreover, the extension of British control represented a textual transformation of the landscape
itself, inviting newcomers as natural citizens and excluding the original inhabitants as foreigners.
In the Okanagan Valley, one such group of newcomers heading north to the Cariboo along the old
Hudson’s Bay Company trail destroyed an unattended lake-side Indian village and its precious
winter provisions. The following day, the miners escalated their mayhem when they descended
upon a group of Okanagans. Discovering they were unarmed, the miners massacred the entire
party in a fashion which was later described by one of the attackers as “a brutal affair.”\(^{15}\)

\(^{14}\) Fisher, p. 95.
\(^{15}\) Herman Francis Reinhart, The Golden Frontier: The Recollection of Herman Francis Reinhart
The following year, the changing language of the landscape invited men searching to save
“heathen” souls among the villages of the Okanagan. Formed in France as a Catholic missionary
order in 1814 by the priest Charles-Joseph-Eugene de Mazenod, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate
renounced materialism and took vows of chastity and obedience, dedicating their order to those
who were poor materially and spiritually.\(^{16}\) Expanding their scope beyond France to include the
outside world, Father Charles Marie Pandosy and his party set themselves the task of establishing
a base for their spiritual mandate in the Okanagan in 1859. Born as Jean Felix Adolph Pandosy on
21 November 1824 in Margerides, France, Pandosy was reared in a barrister’s home that allowed
for a sound education and musical distinction.\(^{17}\) Yet, a wealthy French family could not build a
solid reputation on worldly affairs alone. As a result, a pleased family bid farewell as an equally
pleased Church hierarchy welcomed Pandosy into the priesthood.

Years later and half a world away, the Okanagan became deeply suspicious of Pandosy’s
party due to previous incidents of European violence, and consequently prevented the Oblates’
passage through the Valley. Thérèse, a member of the Flat Head tribe and niece of an Okanagan
chief, intervened in the dispute. As wife of one of Pandosy’s guides, she secured assurances from
the local chief that the party would be allowed to continue unmolested.\(^{18}\) Undoubtedly relieved that
a dangerous situation had been averted, Pandosy proceeded with his party in search of a suitable
mission site, whereupon they finally selected a location on the banks of the Rivière L’Anse au
Sable (Sandy Creek), which would later be called “Mission Creek.” Approximately six miles from
the future site of Kelowna, “the Mission” became the first European settlement in the Valley.
Pandosy’s main concern was the conversion of the Indian population, which most bands appear to

\(^{16}\) The Oblates encountered opposition within the Catholic Church from French-Canadian bishops
over ownership of land pre-empted for mission sites. The decision to restrict Oblate activity to
exclusively Indian communities although they relied on nearby “white” settlements for material
support also created friction. Thomson, p. 38.

\(^{17}\) F.M. Buckland, Ogopogo’s Vigil: A History of Kelowna and the Okanagan (Kelowna: Regatta
City Press, Ltd., 1979), p. 27.

\(^{18}\) Wife of Cyprian Lawrence, Thérèse reminded her uncle that should any of the Europeans be
harmed, including her husband, “the chief would have to provide for her as was required of a
kinsmen.” Surtees, Kelowna, p. 19.
have accepted. Similar to his Jesuit counterparts centuries earlier, Pandosy's principal "secular" objective was to promote farming among the Okanagan. For the Okanagan, cultivation did grow in practice as they found it increasingly difficult to gain free access to their traditional territory for hunting and gathering. By and large, land use for natives was limited to government-selected reserves.

The transformation of the landscape from an Okanagan homeland to a European jurisdiction populated by heathens in need of Christian conversion also held political ramifications for the indigenous people. With the Okanagan, the Oblates established a socio-religious system of indirect rule of church councils based on the Bishop Durieu system. The councils consisted of appointed Okanagan officials which, according to Thomson, included "a chief, a captain, one or more watchmen, policemen, and a variety of lesser figures...over which the priest reserved the right to preside, although the chief was the usual presiding officer." While the relationship between church councils and band councils requires more research, Carstens states that "the court system which dealt with civil, moral, and criminal cases towards the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth...clearly had its roots in the Durieu system." However, headmen did not hesitate to air occasional objections to Oblate policy when they believed it was contravening their own interests. Still, while previous political decisions were a collective process, the symbolic value of "consulting" a European-type council would highlight the Okanagan's loss of freedom and self-determination.

Concerned with "proper" education of the Okanagan, the Oblates also established schools in the 1860s. Elitist and sexist, these schools were meant exclusively for boys from "the best families." Moreover, schooling required boarding at Mission, a considerable distance for many of the bands. Although the Mission would also nourish a small French community, its survival was short-lived as the last relic of the Oblates' activity would be shut down in 1912. The influence of

19 Carstens, p. 49.
20 Thomson, p. 52.
21 Carstens, p. 50.
23 Carstens, p. 49.
Pandosy would continue, however, as most of the Okanagans converted to Catholicism and continued to practice it in the future.\textsuperscript{24} In the place of the French Oblates, a different European nationality would begin to dominate the landscape.

Guided by dreams of rank and privilege, European settlers converged on the Okanagan Valley in 1861 at the invitation of a colonial government eager to attract “gentlemen to this Kingdom.”\textsuperscript{25} Upon their arrival, many of these immigrants dutifully began to pre-empt large estates for their own grand designs. Shaped by the discourse of laissez-faire liberalism, the British application of law served the important function of establishing a liberal order, thereby imposing a new economic framework upon the landscape.\textsuperscript{26} Conveniently, this new framework streamlined and legitimized the process of privatizing property for settlers, undermining and transforming not only the Okanagans’ access to the land, but their image of it and themselves.

Although diverse in background, ranging from members of the British middle-class, aristocracy, clergymen’s sons, and mercantile families, a combination of rank and education made these men part of the “gentlemanly” persuasion.\textsuperscript{27} Among the original pre-emptors, F. G. Vernon is a fine example of this privileged group. Born in Clontarf Castle, County Dublin, Ireland, Vernon emigrated to British Columbia in 1863 with his brother Charles and Captain Houghton, all formerly of the 20th Regiment of Foot of the Imperial Army.\textsuperscript{28} Soon after his arrival, F. G. Vernon began to pre-empt and purchase Okanagan land which ultimately grew to over 13,000 acres. In her analysis of this early community, Margaret Ormsby dubbed Vernon and his Anglo-Irish cohorts the “Dublin Castle” set.\textsuperscript{29} Like many of the other Anglo-Irish pre-emptors (see Appendix 1), Vernon embarked upon a public career which began with his role as Justice of the

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p. 45.
\textsuperscript{25} Quoted in Thomson, p. 339.
\textsuperscript{26} Tina Loo, Making Law, Order, and Authority in British Columbia 1821-1871 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 6-8.
\textsuperscript{27} Patrick Dunae, Gentlemen Emigrants: From British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier (Vancouver: Douglas & MacIntyre, 1981), pp. 12-18.
\textsuperscript{29} Margaret Ormsby, “Some Irish Figures in Colonial Days,” British Columbia Historical Quarterly (1950), pp. 61-82.
Peace whose duties included the crucial task of recording land claims,\(^{30}\) culminating with important posts in the provincial cabinet, such as Commissioner of Lands and Works. Not surprisingly, researchers such as Jane Sproule and Duane Thomson have established a direct connection between political status and personal wealth.\(^{31}\) Indeed, most of the original settlers managed to establish large private estates and wield influence in politics through position and association which was aided by a common ethnic background or concern.

Similar to the Okanagan, the Dublin Castle set used marriage as a vehicle of advancement or solidifying status (see Appendix 1.) By and large, the maintenance of status fell upon women, who were responsible for ensuring that the home was genteel and respectable in appearance and attitude. With large Victorian-style residences well-stocked with reading materials such as \textit{The London Illustrated News} and \textit{Lady's Pictorial}, élite women remained informed of British events and fashions. Married locally or in Britain, these women also acted as the sources and agents of British bourgeois sensibilities, typically becoming involved in "respectable pursuits" such as the establishment of reading rooms for "young men who loaf about," as well for the servant class, in the hope of raising their fragile morality.\(^{32}\)

Although their hegemony over the landscape grew, the new British élite could not escape the physical limitations of the land they occupied. Just as the Okanagan had done before, the new British community would have to contend with the aridity of the climate. While the Okanagan had adjusted to the land by hunting game, the recent arrivals adopted a modified response. Instead of becoming hunters and gatherers (although hunting remained a pleasurable sport), members of the Dublin Castle set became large-scale ranchers, raising their cattle to supply the growing demand for food emanating from the Cariboo Gold Rush further to the north. According to Patrick Dunae, ranchers "could combine the excitement of the frontier, the romance of the West, and the comforts

\(^{30}\) Sproule, p. 25.

\(^{31}\) Both historians write extensively about influence and political maneuverings by the "Dublin Castle" set. Thomson (p. 147) concludes that this relationship resulted in the systematic abuse and changing of reserve boundaries, while Sproule (p. 18) echoes the theme that political power allowed the élites to reinforce their hegemony.

\(^{32}\) Ibid., p. 18.
of civilized society” with ranching, “an industry that most well-bred Britons much preferred to cereal agriculture.”33

Despite the adjustment to the land, control and access of water was of crucial importance as a “tool of Empire.”34 Members of the “Dublin Castle” set such F. G. Vernon found their political positions advantageous as they began to lay claim to land around important streams and lake-front property.35 While provincial legislation dealt minimally with Indian land rights, no mention was made of crucial water rights. Ultimately, “lack of access to water and winter pasturage gradually restricted the Indians’ use of their territorial lands.”36 Not surprisingly, Peter Carstens divines that “there is a close relationship throughout British Columbia, especially in the southern interior, between the establishment of reserves for Indians and the acquisition of land by settlers.”37

The uneven and contested process of imposing British hegemony upon the land was demonstrated within the provincial government when initiatives to finalize Indian reserve allocations encountered fierce opposition from politicians and settlers. As the Indian Reserve Commission (IRC) headed by Gilbert Sproat completed its work with Okanagan groups in the allotment of reserves in late 1877, critics began to mobilize. In addition to the completion of numerous reserves with an average of twenty acres per adult,38 members of the IRC also established commonages for the raising of livestock. However, throughout the entire process of reserve selection, Commissioner Sproat found few government officials who were willing to stand with him. In fact, many were explicit in their decisions to undermine Sproat and the IRC. As one of the original settlers and M.P. for the district of Yale, F.J. Barnard was caustic when he told the House of Commons that Sproat “seemed to think that all he had to do was give the Indians whatever land they fancied.”39 It also seemed to Sproat that officials were all too willing to respond generously to settler hyperbole over the Commission’s work. While some settlers

33 Dunae, p. 87.
35 Sproule, p. 70.
36 Thomson, p. 123.
37 Carstens, p. 67.
38 Thomson, p. 140
complained loudly that "there is no law or justice here for a white man." Sproat retorted in government correspondence that such complaints were "the angry utterance of men steeped in prejudice." 40

Despite such warnings, officials responded forcefully to the plight of the white man. Under increasing pressure from government officials at both levels, and with little hope of making any progress with the reserve agreements, Sproat resigned in 1880. On learning the news, one Victoria businessman confided to John A. Macdonald that "it was high time that G.M. Sproat was brought to book and put in his proper place." 41 Charging that previous reserve commissioners had selected sizable reserves with "reckless extravagance," Premier William Smithe ensured that most reserves were reduced in size. 42 Finally, as Commissioner of Lands and Works, F. G. Vernon wrote a memorandum to the Executive Council in August 1888, declaring that the commonages set aside for Indians were too generous and that they should be thrown open to settlement effective immediately. Even before they were finally approved by the Dominion government, pre-emptions began with provincial approval as early as 1887. Ultimately, the provincial government displayed entrenched reluctance to give final approval to any of the agreements reached by the IRC and Sproat until they had been sufficiently modified to maximize settler access and minimize Indian ownership. 43

Relegated to reserves that had been unilaterally reduced by government whim, the Okanagans attempted to adjust to the new regime. In 1876 the various colonial laws concerning Indians were consolidated to form the Indian Act, adversely affecting the social and political lives

39 Fisher, p. 198.
40 Ibid., p. 196. It merits mention that Peter Carstens is more critical of Sproat vis-à-vis the Indians than Fisher, arguing that "Sproat, by playing the role of benevolent administrator...played an unconscious part in forging the acceptance of the system [of colonial control] by the Indians" (Carstens, p. 84). Although Carstens' critique of Sproat seems misplaced since Sproat's misdeeds are abstractly "unconscious," his benevolence was not an orchestrated trickery which was deliberately replaced with harsher measures on his part. In any event, Sproat's contemporaries were equally critical of his IRC efforts, but for the exact opposite reasons to those espoused by Carstens.
41 Fisher, p. 198.
42 Ibid., p. 200.
43 Thomson, p. 141.
of the Okanagan.\textsuperscript{44} The Indian Act imposed a new hierarchy of political authority upon the original inhabitants, making them official wards of the State. In essence, no collective decision concerning the Okanagan could be made without the ultimate permission of the governor-in-council, for, in principle, the very land the Okanagans occupied belonged to the State.\textsuperscript{45} Additionally, the Indian Act dictated the selection of representatives (such as the chief) based on a male "franchise," and how local government would operate, thereby undermining the limited authority women wielded through previously collective decisions. With regards to Okanagan children, the Indian Act outlined the goal of a "civilized" education in government schools in conjunction with the creation of residential schools run largely by Catholic orders. Boarded at remote locations and isolated from friends and family, Indian children endured systematic physical abuse and trauma as teachers literally attempted to beat all vestiges of "Indian" out of their pupils, including the use of their own language.\textsuperscript{46} Most telling of all, the Indian Act empowered Canadian officials with the sole authority of determining Indian identity. In a true sense, the new landscape resulted in a profound material and textual alienation of the Okanagan people.

With the advent of ranching, many Indian communities experimented with raising their own livestock; later, others would plough the earth and plant crops, while a small number also engaged in orcharding.\textsuperscript{47} Any agricultural pursuit would remain difficult, however, as Indian access to water for intensive agriculture was severely limited. In time, wage labour also became part of the Okanagan economy with members employed in various occupations including mining, mill work, cattle herding, rail road work, and agriculture.\textsuperscript{48} Divisions within the Okanagan’s

\textsuperscript{45} Carstens, p. 109.
\textsuperscript{46} For a detailed examination of Indian education, consult Jean Barman et al., eds., Indian Education in Canada. 2 vols. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986 & 1987)
\textsuperscript{47} Thomson, p. 257.
\textsuperscript{48} Carstens, p. 110.
communities often turned on those who embraced economic integration with colonial society versus those who rejected any such association.\textsuperscript{49}

Yet, as vast herds of steers were driven across large estates by British ranchers, the Okanaganans resisted. According to Bruce Stadfeld, natives did not passively allow the fences to isolate them from the land, but tore them down or erected their own barriers to highlight their own territorial claims in a language settlers would clearly understand.\textsuperscript{50} With future commissions, Indian leaders entreated government officials to reverse their reserve allocation decisions. In March 1911, ninety-six Indian chiefs and delegates converged on Victoria to meet with Premier McBride to whom they presented a memorial “asking for proprietary rights to all unsurrendered lands.” The Premier replied that the Indian delegates “had no claims to such lands, that they had larger reserves than were needed, and he blamed the pernicious activity of some whitemen, mainly churchmen, for sending them to Victoria on such a mission.”\textsuperscript{51} In the eyes of the government, the Indians were not even capable of formulating and recognizing their own grievances without the help of meddling “churchmen.” Many more Indian leaders appealed directly to the Queen for intervention when Canadian officials did nothing. Others argued passionately that the whites should be removed by force from the Valley, thereby greatly alarming colonial authorities.\textsuperscript{52} For most government officials, however, such claims of unfair treatment were without base or reason. In support of their actions, ministers argued that the Indians had neglected to “improve” all of their land through means of agriculture and stock-rearing. Instead, according to the authorities, many communities simply left the earth in varying states of disarray “without any attempt being made to improve it by cultivation or otherwise.”\textsuperscript{53} In the end, the fences continued to divide the landscape.

Such views of Indian life have broader ramifications beyond government convenience and deceit. Within the discourse of Empire, hunting and gathering societies were clearly inferior to more “advanced” societies which employed cultivation. In locating sources that may have

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., p. 113.


\textsuperscript{51} Kelowna Daily Courier & Okanagan Orchardist, 9 March 1911, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{52} Fisher, p. 192.
constructed and informed such ideas, Robin Fisher rightly asserts that “there were biblical injunctions that could be cited in support of [British] actions.” For men of letters, the laws of Nature were often invoked to deliver final judgement, which implicitly embraced the notion of a divine arbiter that set the immutable laws in motion in the first place.

Upon pondering the subject, John Locke intimated that agricultural societies might be justified in forcing their practices upon hunting and gathering ones. Similarly, Thomas More wrote that “when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable use, keeping others from the use and possession of it notwithstanding by the law of nature ought to thereof to be nourished and relieved.” Nature would deliver a similar verdict in the eyes of the Swiss jurist, Vattel. Written in 1760 with a timely reprint in 1834, Vattel’s The Law of Nations asserted that people who did not cultivate the land could not have true claim to it; in this light, European actions in North America had “not deviated from the Law of Nature.” Echoing Vattel’s conclusion, the colonial newspaper, the British Columbian, would trumpet that “according to the strict rule of international law territory occupied by a barbarous or wholly uncivilized people may be rightfully appropriated by a civilized or Christian nation.” For the Briton, “civilized” and “Christian” were the synonymous and unreproachable sources of their authority.

However, it must be emphasized that the formulation of such views did not occur in isolation. At the heart of the matter is a complex interchange between culture, religion, and the unfolding drama of British imperialism. Simply put, what systems of meaning or cultural understandings were being invoked under the aegis of civilized Christian and Natural law that contributed to the imperial experience? Any meaningful understanding of these questions cannot be entertained without deconstructing the canonical source of Christian identity -- the Holy Bible.

53 Thomson, p. 140.
54 Fisher, p. 104.
57 Fisher, p. 104.
58 British Columbian, 1 June 1869.
Undoubtedly one of the most important texts of Western society, the Bible’s narrative role must be examined in the development of imperial sentiment. Opening with the story of Creation, the Book of Genesis establishes an agrarian existence by explaining that “there was not a man to till the ground” and no fields to care for since “Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth.”

After the creation of Adam, the Bible tells of God’s plan for His new creation:

And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden;
and there he had put the man he had formed.
And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight;
and good for food. And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and keep it.

After the Fall, God condemns Adam to a life of toil and pain, warning that ploughing the fields would yield thorns and thistles, never to rest “till thou return unto the ground.”

Clearly, the story of Creation is infused with an agrarian orientation. Whether in Eden or as a result of punishment, man survived by pursuing agriculture. Through the association of cultivation and paradise, farming is not only portrayed as a sacred relationship between man and God (man being the operative word since Adam was cast as farmer preceding the creation of Eve), but the most perfect form of civilization. By contrast, it is notable that the Book of Genesis contains no references to hunting and gathering. Such a notable absence could only contribute to a “natural” and hierarchical view of existence which would find ample expression in the imperial enterprise. While the north Okanagans “resorted most to the chase” and tended to view themselves as superior in comparison to their fish-oriented southern neighbours as a result, understandings of human experience as informed by the Bible would provide the groundwork for native oppression. In short, to live with what would appear to Britons as the whims of Nature would be reviled as unsophisticated and consequently inferior. Even in ranching, the act of “cultivating” animals and the amount of “control” it entailed would be deemed superior to the Okanagans’

59 The Holy Bible, King James Version, Genesis, 2:5.
60 Genesis, 2:8-9.
61 Genesis, 2:15.
63 Carstens, p. 35.
traditional lifestyle, its precedent found throughout the Bible in the recurring metaphor of the shepherd and his flock.

Originally, the Eden myth blunted many designs of harsh treatment against the Indians among the British, French, and Dutch during the early period of contact. According to Cornelius Jaenan, through initial seventeenth-century encounters “there developed...a humanitarian view of Amerindians as descendants of Adam, ‘truly men’ who should not ‘in any way be enslaved.’”

However, over the decades of contact, the myth of the “noble savage” increasingly gave way to the notion of the “filthy barbarian,” a view of the Indians as primitive in habits and ignorant of their gifted surroundings. Christianity and imperialism would become intertwined, creating for Europeans what is commonly referred to as the “White Man’s Burden.” The currency of this view would justify the ironic act of casting out the Okanagans from their own proverbial garden to give way to a class of people who would inherently appreciate the rural landscape due to the painful lessons of their God. Ultimately, such a view of Creation would form the link between a cultural understanding of progress and imperialism, providing the reference in a discourse that would condemn the Okanagans as simplistic and inferior inhabitants of the land. Similarly, from government officials hoping to attract “gentlemen” to the preeminence of the “Dublin Castle” set, ethnicity would deeply inform British conceptions of Empire, and these conceptions would only continue to grow more explicit as the land continued to change.

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5 According to Cornelius Jaenen, ideas of the “noble savage” varied only slightly between French, Dutch, and the British. Over the period of contact, this view was replaced by the “filthy barbarian.” For Jaenen, the “noble savage” was a myth constructed around the idea that while Indians were “savage” (read primitive) they were also pure, simple, and close to Nature. Consequently, many Europeans theorized that they were “descendants of Adam.” However, by the settlement era in British Columbia, the “filthy barbarian” was embraced by most settlers and politicians. See Jaenen, pp. 27-39; and Fisher, pp. 79-80.

6 The “White Man’s Burden” evolved from the western European view which cast Christian nations as the zenith of civilization due to God’s divine plan (Catholic/Protestant divisions aside.) As a consequence of their privileged station, white races carried the heavenly burden of lifting peoples in the “darker” regions of the world out from their heathen and primitive ways through domination and exploitation.
With the decline of the Cariboo Gold Rush, many of the large Valley ranchers who supplied the mines and their populations with beef found it increasingly unprofitable to continue raising cattle for a shrinking market. At the same time, interest in the prospect of fruit orcharding slowly increased. The first fruit farms in the Kelowna area were established by Father Pandosy and his small settlement at Mission in 1863. However, deciduous trees required far more water than their pine-needle counterparts that covered much of the region. Understandably, fruit-bearing trees needed even more water for their crops. As such, the Oblates’ experiment with orcharding would be constrained by the aridity of the land. Although small-scale irrigation helped nourish the trees, soil seepage and evaporation limited the effectiveness of open-earth ditches.

Later in the century, orcharding would be taken up by the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen. Arriving on a cross-Canada tour in 1889, they soon purchased property in the area due to the advice of an early land promoter, George G. MacKay of Inverness, Scotland. Previously, MacKay had been a trusted financial adviser for Lady Aberdeen’s father in the home country. Meeting up with the Aberdeens on their tour, MacKay learned of their desire to acquire land. After his glowing descriptions of property in the Okanagan Valley, he was commissioned to purchase a ranch for them. The property was ultimately named Guisachan after Lady Aberdeen’s childhood home in the hills at Glen Affric, in Inverness County. Soon after, Lady Aberdeen’s brother, Coutts Marjoribanks, arrived and was left to build a house and road, as well as to prepare the land for fruit growing upon the Aberdeens’ return the following year.

Naturally, members of the Valley’s “Dublin Castle” set were very pleased to learn that someone of the Aberdeens’ impeccable status had decided to settle in the Valley. In addition to their unquestionable social credentials, Lord Aberdeen would become the governor-general of the Dominion in 1893, while Lady Aberdeen would establish the National Council of Women of

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68 The name is Gaelic, meaning “Place of the Firs.” Surtees, Kelowna p. 25.
Canada in the same year and the Victorian Order of Nurses in 1897. Yet, the Aberdeens’ decision to establish a residence in the area was no doubt facilitated by the reputation and the appropriate genteel atmosphere that had been established by the “set.” In fact, Sproule states that “through their contacts in the financial capitals of Europe and America, the pioneer cattlemen were instrumental in attracting new investors and a new wave of gentlemen emigrants to British Columbia.” Not surprisingly, the layers of concern for attracting the “right sort” of settler also found expression in the pages of Lady Aberdeen’s journal. Writing in October 1895, Aberdeen rejoiced that “settlers of a good class” had recently settled in the area. Noting that among the settlers was the “nephew of General Sir D. Lyson” and the “grandson of Gladstone’s rector at Hawarden,” Aberdeen declared, “we ought to get in time a really little high class community here.” If the land promoters who transformed the dry grass into lush orchards had any say, they certainly would.

Although the Aberdeens’ initial orcharding attempts at Guisachan proceeded in fits and starts and never yielded a substantial profit, by the late 1890s large ranches and steers began to disappear as seedlings and irrigated lots gradually took their place. In all areas of the Valley, former ranchers in combination with newly arrived land promoters started the process of imposing a new image upon the landscape. This idyllic image of the blossoming orchard animated, represented, and legitimized an escalation of the imperial enterprise. While constructing an ideal community based on class, gender, and ethnicity, orcharding and imperialism were also linked by technology. According to Daniel Headrick, technological changes “made imperialism happen, both

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71 Sproule, p. 43.
73 On Mr. MacKay’s advice, the Aberdeens purchased the Coldstream Ranch comprising 13,261 acres for a sum of $50,000 near the townsite of Vernon, located at the north end of Okanagan Lake. The previous owner of the ranch was F. G. Vernon. See Koroscil, “Boosterism,” p. 80; and Surtees, *Sunshine and Butterflies*, p. 10-11.
74 Sproule, p. 19. F. G. Vernon used his political connections to ensure that a CPR line ran to the town of Vernon, which undoubtedly increased the value of his property holdings and would allow the town to develop more easily.

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as they enabled motives to produce events, and as they enhanced the motives themselves." Of the countless technological innovations, hydraulic engineering was one of the most important for the orcharding community. Imperial development of waterworks first made impressive gains in India of the 1830s. Led by British engineers, massive projects such as the Ganges Canal provided for successful full-scale agricultural irrigation. Over the decades, these innovations would find use throughout the British Empire in the continuing conquest of water, including the Okanagan Valley. Thus, water would serve as a crucial "tool of Empire" for the three men who would form the Kelowna Land and Orchard Company and begin the creation and transformation of the area into an English rural paradise for a British, middle-class milieu. However, the founding by a Frenchman of a town meaning "Grizzly Bear" would have provided a humble beginning for their ambitions.

Born during the California Gold Rush to French parents operating a laundry, Bernard Lequime was four years old when his family moved to Father Pandosy's Okanagan Mission in 1861. Soon after their arrival, Lequime's father became known as the "King of the Okanagan" as he amassed large tracts of land and opened several businesses, including a general store and a stone grist mill. Educated in New Westminster, Lequime learned carpentry in Victoria before returning to the Mission in 1878 where he participated in the various family enterprises. As the eldest surviving son of five children, Bernard effectively inherited the family estate when his parents chose to retire in California in 1890. In an era when numerous townsites were being established in competition against one another for prestige and settlers, Bernard subdivided some of his property and laid the townsite of Kelowna in August, 1892.

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76 Worster, p. 35.
77 taken from the Okanagan language
79 Haynes, p. 54.
80 For example, when G.G. MacKay learned that Lequime was marking the townsite of Kelowna, he in turn laid the site for the town of Benvoulin a few miles away in the hope that it would become an important centre in the area. However, his dream was dashed when the CPR line came no farther south than Vernon. See Korosic, "Boosterism", p. 79.
81 Buckland, p. 84.
Two years earlier, one of the future founders of the K.L.O. Company had already arrived in the area which he would help transform with Pooley and Stirling into fragrant orchards. Edward Maurice (Ted) Carruthers was born July 28th, 1873, the youngest son of Walter and Mary Carruthers of “Gordonsville,” Inverness, Scotland. Raised in Inverness, the family later moved to Dunkirk after the death of the father. Briefly returning to his childhood home to attend Inverness College, at the age of sixteen Ted Carruthers left for Vancouver with a friend at the promise of a job from his mother’s cousin, George G. MacKay of Aberdeen fame. In 1890, by rail and steamer, Carruthers moved to Okanagan Mission and worked as a Lequime ranch-hand. Later, he formed a partnership to construct “A” rail fences on contract. After a brief move to Revelstoke, Carruthers returned to Kelowna where he dabbled in real estate, establishing business contacts and amassing a sound financial base. It was under these circumstances that Carruthers met Walter Pooley.

Born in 1880, the young Walter Pooley’s future lay before him with perfect clarity, free from the clutter of indecision. Since his father and grandfather had distinguished themselves as Cambridge-graduate doctors, it was expected that the newest Pooley would carry on the tradition. Although admitted to Cambridge, his frequent faintings at the operating table convinced Pooley and a disappointed family that medicine was not his calling. Looking for a new career, Pooley decided that farming in the colonies might be the answer. In preparation, he enrolled for six months at Cirencester Agricultural College which had been founded by a deceased family relation. With his Cambridge oar cut into three neat pieces for traveling, Pooley left for Canada to “learn” farming from a relative in the Kelowna area. However, Pooley’s agricultural education consisted of paying for the privilege of splitting wood and performing other chores. Disgruntled, he left his “educational environment” and rented a room in the Kelowna Shipper Union building. It was soon

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[84] Ibid., p. 63.
[86] Ibid., p. 4.
after that Pooley found a “kindred spirit” in Carruthers. Combining their financial resources, they decided to open the Real Estate and Insurance firm of Carruthers and Pooley, Ltd., in 1902.87

Both men were eager to develop the area and profit handsomely from it, too. The key to achieving these goals lay in the conquest of water. Carruthers and Pooley had learned a few years earlier that arid land could be sold for a substantial profit once it was irrigated. According to Pooley’s son Nigel, his father and Carruthers “wanted to find someone with money to buy out the North or South” of Kelowna and subdivide it. Clearly, Pooley and Carruthers were motivated by the booster mentality of “development” and “progress” prevalent in most of Western Canada at the turn of the century which fit nicely within the discourse of laissez-faire and economic development of the province.88 At the time, a large tract of land to the north of the town was owned by Dr. A.J. Knox, and to the south lay the Lequime property. In their quest for a third partner to secure one of these properties, they approached T. W. Stirling.

Although Scottish by blood, Thomas Willing Stirling was born and raised in Manchester, England. While his father engaged in business, Stirling was educated privately and in 1879, at the age of thirteen years, he entered the Royal Navy as a cadet. Serving throughout the Empire, Stirling resigned his commission in 1893 and emigrated to Canada. Ten years earlier, he had married Mabel Marie Connolly, daughter of the Rev. R. J. C. Connolly, rector of Shangolden and Loghil, Ireland. Together, they moved to the Kelowna area and purchased a ranch which was named “Bankhead.”89 Stirling soon built a residence and began work on planting a large orchard. This orchard was so successful that the B.C. government had it photographed and Stirling’s healthy financial records published in an attempt to boost the popularity of the province and show that any individual could “make money pleasantly” in orcharding.90 With little organization for the selling of fruit from the area, Stirling was also a principal force behind the formation of the first co-

87 Ibid., p. 5.
operative farmer’s marketing organization, the Kelowna Shipper’s Union, in 1894. As more orchards began to produce fruit, he started an independent firm with W. A. Pitcairn for the packing and shipping of fruit in 1902. The same year saw Stirling found the Kelowna Board of Trade with two other grower-developers. By 1904, he had established a sound reputation and seemed a natural partner for Pooley and Carruthers.

When first approached about the idea of purchasing either the Lequime or Knox properties for the purpose of orchard settlement, Stirling was hesitant. It was only after Stirling was taken on an early spring tour of the Lequime property by Carruthers in horse and buggy that he finally agreed. Together, Pooley and Stirling purchased the Lequime property for $65,000 which was kindly negotiated by the Carruthers and Pooley Real Estate and Insurance Company for a tidy commission of $5000. Afterwards, on 19 May 1904 the trio formed the K.L.O. Company capitalized at $500,000 to develop the property “and for the purpose of bringing in outside money in the form of share capital.” However, many expenses would have to be absorbed in the transformation of the landscape. The costs of clearing the land, planting orchards, and providing water through elaborate irrigation works would have to be absorbed. As a result, the men soon exercised their financial connections by persuading friends and relations in the Old Country to purchase shares in the new company. According to Jane Sproule, this act “provides an excellent example of British Columbia’s regional entrepreneurs’ unique ability to secure European capital prior to World War I.” Converting the dry land that the Okanaganans had lived and died upon into an English community irrigated by a network of funnels and pipes would require deep pockets and an appealing image which would resonate within the imperial enterprise. And apples, the “true Elixir of Life,” would serve this powerful function.

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93 Pooley, p. 8.
94 While settlers would have the choice of purchasing orchards in varying states of readiness, irrigation and other start-up costs needed the infusion of outside capital.
95 Sproule, p. 37.
While the changing language of the landscape was a contested and uneven process, its repercussions would be far-reaching. The action of securing British hegemony over the land, its resources, and its people was animated by the imagination of Empire rooted with conceptions of a perfect Biblical paradise and fueled by the designs of an aggressive imperialism. In this light, the suppression of the Okanagan people was more than marginalizing a potential competitor for physical space. Indeed, the actions of the IRC were also a means to control textual space. With reserve agreements in hand, the government needed closure -- the act of bringing the Okanagans’ ability to define their form of existence to an end. The concept of allowing competing narratives to shape the landscape was unacceptable. In short, the imagination of Empire did not want simply to dominate the Okanagan's -- the imperial discourse with its forms and ideas as portrayed in fruit farming would redefine the historical landscape altogether. Simply, the landscape as imagined within Empire meant that to “open” the land it had to be closed off to others.

This process did not occur uncontested. Through legal challenges, appeals to government, and the use of fences, natives resisted the changing landscape. However, while Bruce Stadfield’s recognition of native resistance is important, his Foucaultian conception of “power” as diffuse “because it comes from everywhere”\(^{96}\) does not diminish the fact that Europeans were able to prevail in normalizing their discourse of land use. Regulated by a new regime of deeds and titles, the land anchored a new cultural framework, with its own set of rituals, traditions, and technology. However, the establishment of the K.L.O. Company in 1904 to develop and sell the Lequime property meant more than potential profits. Simply, the stage was set for a final, mythical transformation of the landscape. With echoes of Milton’s *Paradise Regained*, imagining Eden had begun in earnest.

Chapter Two: The Imagined Landscape

As the landscape once again shifted from its cool, golden hues into the grey haze of a winter's slumber, Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling began to plant the seeds of their rural dream under the sun of Empire. And yet, despite the soothing images of fruit trees, the creation of this new community was given life and meaning within the context of an aggressive and dominating imperial ethos. While the notion of harvesting apples does not proceed in a direct line to naval armadas and gun-toting Redcoats, the imperial endeavour was given meaning by ideas and images such as those held out by trees laden with ripening fruit. But what ideas and images were communicated by the orchard? Who did they speak to, invite, and exclude? And last, what assumptions mediated or informed the imagination of empire?

In answering these questions I will embark on a two-fold process. On one level, I will explore the method of envisioning a garden in the desert; that is, analyze the image the land promoters sold. On another level, I shall delineate the construction of this British middle-class community on the margins of empire. Taken together, these approaches will demonstrate that orcharding was at the centre of this “imaginary community,” buttressed by other activities and institutions which complemented and strengthened its imperial linkages. In this community, hierarchies of class, ethnicity, and gender converged, finding mutual expression and legitimation through the orchard. In constructing their ethnic Eden, the promoters drew on biblical sources, as well as a pastoral tradition and popular fiction. Ultimately, the fruit tree represented for settler and promoter alike a cultural source of order as compelling as any formal British institution.

With the K.L.O. Company firmly secured thanks to British capital from their well-connected and well-heeled family and associates, Pooley, Carruthers and Stirling greeted the New Year with understandable enthusiasm. Already the pieces to promote their rural dream were falling into place. The previous year, the three were among 229 qualified voters who circulated a petition for incorporation to be presented to the Lieutenant-Governor. On May 4,
1905 Kelowna received its Charter of Incorporation.1 Beyond the image of fruit trees, other activities and institutions would be marshaled to nurture and sustain the rural community, highlighting its imperial connections. Although seemingly peripheral to the imagining of Eden, incorporation would serve such a function in anchoring the genteel orcharding community. Since European “British Columbians constructed the law as central to economic development” and “the making of a liberal order,” incorporation as a means to systematize and organize the law would fulfill a crucial purpose for promoter and settler alike. As boosters and speculators, men like Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling were also capitalists who traded on Britishness and the rural ideal in the hopes of amassing a fortune. Functioning within an imperial economy of images and finance, the establishment of an urban centre with its banks and financial houses was necessary to connect and sell their ruralism to the wider imperial world.

Institutional development continued at the local level. Due in large part to the central role played by Stirling, on March 23, 1906 the Kelowna Board of Trade was successfully incorporated. The Board would serve as an important institutional instrument in the imagining of Eden with the production of pamphlets designed to attract the “appropriate sort” of settler. By 1907 the Board had already circulated pamphlets at the New Westminster Fair and placed ads in the Manitoba Free Press.3 The following year the Board organized an immensely successful exhibit at the Spokane Fair in Washington state, with Kelowna’s delegation taking top honours in fifteen different categories. Hoping to make the most of the showing, Stirling wrote to the Agent-General for B.C. in London, England to publicize the good news in the Standard of the Empire.4 Advertisements declaring the beauty and appeal of Kelowna also graced the pages of

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2 Tina Loo, Making Law, Order, and Authority in British Columbia 1821-1871 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p. 3.
the flagship of British papers, *The London Times*, in 1909. Six years after the creation of the K.L.O. Company, the information blitz continued as Carruthers left for London to open and operate a sales office well-stocked with promotional material from the Board of Trade and other orchard companies. While in England, he took the opportunity to make the long voyage to India, the "Jewel of the British Empire." Once there, Carruthers mixed his social calls with orcharding brochures in the hopes of attracting to Kelowna retired British officers who had done their bit for King and country.6

Pooley and Stirling were also busy at promotion. The former put his writing hand to work by composing several articles on the subject of orcharding and migration to be published in his uncle’s weekly London periodical, *The British Emigrant and Colonial News*.7 Between his frequent trips to the "Old Country" to drum up interest in colonial migration with speeches and interviews, Stirling used his political connections to ensure the establishment of a Government Fruit Packing School in Kelowna in 1913. The founding of this school was an important link in making fruit growing successful by ensuring that local orchardists learned the techniques of proper fruit packing so their crops could arrive in good condition at markets in Canada and the U.S. During this period Pooley, Carruthers and Stirling continued to acquire land in the Kelowna area through their newly-created or managed land companies. By 1914 the three men controlled or owned outright the K.L.O. (1904), Belgo-Canadian Fruit Land (1907), South Kelowna Land (1908), and Bankhead Orchard (1911) companies. The only other land company that operated in the area was Central Okanagan Lands, Ltd. (1906), founded by J.W. Jones of Grenfell, Saskatchewan. These would-be competitors were brought together in the Board of Trade, and had common interests that were articulated in a shared discourse of culture and empire.

Certainly, the land promoters who wished to change the landscape into a lush garden had done considerable work. Fruit competitions, newspaper advertisements, magazine articles,

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7 Dave Peterson, "Advice to Emigrants to B.C. in 1907," *OHS* 46 (1982), pp. 54-57.
brochures, pamphlets, and personal meetings all testify to their efforts. But what were they selling? What of the imaginary landscape that was being offered to the prospective settler? How did the imagined community inform and construct identity within the discourses of culture and imperialism? Guided by an analysis of British pastoral poetry and fiction, and grounded by a study of contemporary events, deconstructing the promotional literature will provide answers to these questions.

Ranging from the years 1908 to 1918, the promotional literature is a combination of vision and practical information. Within its pages, the authors attempt to answer and satisfy the numerous questions a prospective settler would have about a move to the Okanagan Valley. Opening with a map of “the Orchard City” (see Appendix 9), the brochures begin with a brief discussion of the Okanagan Valley and Kelowna, followed by an overview of sports, social clubs, and the arts under “Recreative Possibilities.” Our attention is then directed to a profile of “Commercial Activity,” which includes banking and the city paper, local “Industries” such as a cannery and a sawmill, and the “Educational Facilities” of a public school and a high school “where pupils are prepared for matriculation into any of the Canadian universities.” Not neglecting spiritual matters, the brochures list the local Christian denominations and continue with a brief discussion of mixed farming, ranching, and tobacco growing.

Not surprisingly, the major focus of the brochures is devoted to fruit farming in all its aspects, such as markets, transportation, fruit packers and shippers, climate, irrigation, and capital required. Nearly all of the literature agrees that for fruit farming “a good start can scarcely be made with less than $2,000.” Typically varying in size from ten to twenty acres, the orchard’s initial purchase price could vary wildly: “for undeveloped lands, the price is $50 to $150 per acre; for developed lands, i.e., cleared and under irrigation, from $200 to $400; for bearing fruit orchards, $600 to $1500.” Clearly, the potential costs of an orchard remained prohibitive for the average immigrant. All the while, prospective settlers were told by the

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9 Ibid., p. 13.
companies that "by investing in ten acres of our land you are assured a splendid income for life. Can you earn $3000 a year as easily in any other way?"10

The profits that Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling hoped to enjoy were staggering. Among F.G. Vernon and the original pre-emptors, land had sold for one dollar an acre in 1861.11 Forty-five years later, the K.L.O. Company would sell land at upwards of $1500 an acre. Even a few years earlier, Carruthers had purchased property at the price per acre of seven dollars. Pooley had calculated that the Company could clear $500,000 in profits after development costs of roughly the same figure.12 Of the range of development expenses, the technology of irrigation would be the most imposing, plaguing the smooth operation of the development venture until it came to a close after the Great War. In the meantime, Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling consoled themselves with the potential profits that would materialize from their imaginary community.

Still, these promoters seemed aware of the unflattering aspects of their capitalist enterprise, and that the unbridled pursuit of profit could sully the growth of the orcharding community. As a result, the owners of the K.L.O. Company engaged in the process of "building" their community, organizing and serving in numerous clubs and societies such as the Board of Trade. While these pursuits were utterly compatible with their occupation, the image of public duty was an important one. In memorializing his father, W. R. Carruthers wrote, "according to certain people today the word 'Developer' is a dirty word! But if it had not been for men like my Father, and many others in every walk of life, this would still be cattle country with NO irrigation systems."13 In a similar vein, Nigel Pooley stressed his father's generous sale of prime land "for a nominal price" to the City of Kelowna for the purposes of a park.14 In 1904, K.L.O. also donated an area of the Lequime property for the purposes of opening a

hospital. While each generous improvement offered by Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling had the convenient corollary of enhancing the appeal of their product, the act of personal profit had to be tempered and legitimized with the imagery of community-building and public service.

While it would be premature to view high costs as the sole indicator that the promoters were not interested in humble Eastern European immigrants who were taking up “free” homesteads on the Canadian prairies, it would be equally misleading to see the promise of lucrative profits as the only allure for the settler. Reflecting upon his father’s work years later, Nigel Pooley stressed that “the emphasis was not so much on making money as finding a pleasant way of life.” In another way, what was being offered was not simply a material change in land use, but a way of life itself. However, this “pleasant way of life” which Pooley referred to was an imaginary one, offered as an ideal existence within the pages of the numerous promotional brochures. With its Edenic overtones, this reimagining of the land would powerfully construct an exclusive society at the outer limits of the British Empire.

The rural landscape described in the promotional brochures had great resonance with English pastoral poetry and its rural tradition. While the processes of industrialization and urbanization in Britain clearly heralded the diminishing importance of the rural lifestyle in terms of economic and political clout by the late nineteenth century, “English attitudes to the country, and to the ideas of rural life, persisted with extraordinary power, so that even after the society was predominately urban its literature, for a generation, was still predominantly rural.” Indeed, Raymond Williams also argues that as the environment of rural Britain became personally less familiar to urbanizing people, England’s understanding of its past, through its feelings and literature, became so involved with the rural experience that it persisted and was

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14 PABC, Pooley Papers, p. 7.
16 PABC, Pooley Papers, p. 3.
strengthened to the point "that there is almost an inverse proportion between the relative importance of the working rural economy and the cultural importance of rural ideas."{18}

Additionally, the "nature" of the rural landscape is infused by the legacy of a Christian paradise. In this way, imagining Eden not only acted as familiar, but desirable. Ironically, the association of the Okanagan and Kelowna with Eden is given validation in several instances through the "testimony" of the Okanagan Indians. Although isolated on reserves, effectively barred from interacting with non-native society, Indians were nonetheless found as a convenient agent of historicization by the agents of British settlement. According to the Kelowna Board of Trade, the natural benefits of the Okanagan "made it, years before any white man's foot trod in the valley, famous among the aboriginal Indians as a garden of Eden."{19} Interestingly, promoters overlooked the curious dilemma of how Indian communities could view their surroundings in terms of a Christian mythology that was unknown to them before the arrival of Europeans. Another brochure remarked that due to the region's clear spring and summer skies, it was named "the Land of Fruit and Sunshine" by the local Indians,{20} although fruit farming and the required irrigation to make it feasible was introduced by the British colonizers.

The appropriation of the Indian by land promoters did not mean that natives experienced any meaningful inclusion. Rather, in the form of a marketing device the Okanagans would be used as the "first" inhabitants only insofar as they legitimized a British-inspired history and no more. In this controlled manner, land developers could "sanitize" the Okanagans and use them as anchors in a history that was not their own. As a consequence, the Indian would only be "appreciated" in this static, retrospective manner. Although the British view of Nature was informed with a concern for ethnicity, the limited inclusion of the Indian does not contradict its spirit. To the imperial imagination, Indians were "part" of the natural landscape, with the animals and trees. In this sense, the Okanagans were not residents of the Eden but only a part of

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{19} Kelowna Board of Trade (1908), p. 17.

its scenery, used to historicize the apple orchard and British claims to it. Unable to narrate their own experiences to the European, the Okanaganans would be little more than bookends in a library written by British authors.

As is the case with the 1907 Central Okanagan Land Company brochure, the myth of Eden is often introduced informally: "every advantage that kindly nature can bestow is here abundantly provided and only the skillful hand of the producer is needed to make the land a continuous garden."21 Despite the absence of a direct reference to Eden, the presentation of the land as a "continuous garden" due to nature's advantage and abundance clearly evokes images of a well-ordered perfection reminiscent of Paradise.

In another brochure, the author declares, "Instead of the 'Lost Garden of Eden,' as [B.C.] has been termed, it is a newly-found earthly paradise. Nature's offering to the man who wants to really know life."22 And within this "earthly paradise," it is Kelowna that is "the garden spot" and "natural centre of beauty."23 As the Eden reference makes plain, the natural landscape is divinely ordained, grounded in the act of Creation itself. Moreover, the spiritual connotations of Nature are also apparent. In this way, the appeal of a rural occupation to a good Christian mind becomes more pronounced. To be with Nature was to be with God.

Ultimately, the association of the "garden" and "perfection" were not only exploited by land promoters to frame the occupation of fruit farming, they were also ideas which found resonance in an English rural imagination that associated Nature and spirituality within a Christian world-view. As one British contemporary remarked with satisfaction, a Canadian "of the same class" as the gentleman emigrant "with rare exceptions, does not touch farming, but goes into business or the professions to make money" for he "cannot in the least understand a preference for country life, except in the summer vacation."24 In this manner, fruit farming

21 Central Okanagan Land & Orchard Company, p. 7.
23 Ibid., p. 14.
tapped into an English tradition which venerated Nature and a Christian mythology which framed it as the purest state of being for humankind.

Of course, Eden and the landscape have found expression elsewhere in Canada and North America. In his dissertation, Robert Fraser found that early nineteenth-century gentry of Upper Canada’s Family Compact envisioned the land with edenic overtones.25 Focusing his study later in the same century, Doug Owram argued that the Canadian Expansionist Movement recast the image of the West from a “desert” to a “garden” to fuel their designs of laying claim to it.16 Through imperial eyes, R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram described how Britons viewed British Columbia as a “hunter’s paradise.”27 On the American frontier, H.N. Smith explored how the image of the West as “the garden of the world” guided settler aspirations and government policy.28 However, more than with the forgoing instances, the image of the apple and the fruit tree promoted at Kelowna and elsewhere in the Okanagan provides a direct parallel to the story of Creation, which the promoters exploited on several levels.29

On one such level, what becomes immediately apparent is that the “earthly paradise” promoted at Kelowna was a masculine paradise. To be sure, the promoters envisioned families under the budding trees of the orchard, but in terms of who was addressed and who was invited to participate actively in the production of Eden, it was men. The promoters stressed that fruit farming would be an agreeable occupation if it was “intelligently carried on by men who make a point of acquainting themselves with the essentials of success,”30 tempered by the admonition that “the successful fruit grower should love his work.”31 In the end, the promoters professed

25 Robert L. Fraser, “‘Like Eden in her summer dress’: gentry, economy and society: Upper Canada 1812-1840” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1982)
29 Orcharding was promoted in other areas of British Columbia, including the Kootenays. See R. Cole Harris and Elizabeth Phillips, eds. Letters from Windermere, 1912-1914 (University of British Columbia Press, 1984).
30 Kelowna Board of Trade (1911), p. 12.
31 Central Okanagan Land (1911), p. 3.
that the prospective immigrant, "whatever his tastes of temperaments, should find a congenial society"\textsuperscript{32} at Kelowna. Even when the masculine is not explicitly identified, the repeated considerations of "intelligence" and "activity" for fruit farming are given meaning solely within a normative masculine framework. Of course, the gendered appeal of orcharding may not be surprising considering the historical context. But more than a careless reflection of the times, the masculine orientation of orcharding was informed by and situated with the imaginings of Eden itself.

According to the Book of Genesis, Adam's need for a "helpmeet" caused God to put him in a deep sleep, whereupon "the rib which the Lord God had taken from man, made him a woman, and brought her unto the man."\textsuperscript{33} Continuing his task of naming the plants and animals, Adam said, "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man."\textsuperscript{34} Establishing women's origins from within himself, man is centred as the true source of creation—the active masculine creator, versus the passive feminine created. Indeed, the entire depiction of man is one of activity, whether the intellectual activity of naming animals and acquiring knowledge, or the physical activity of caring for the garden. Conversely, woman is defined by her inability to reason and her susceptibility to dangerous temptation as demonstrated by the exchange with the serpent. These notions would inform and define imperialism in gendered terms, constructing notions of the "ideal" society conveyed by the promoter's orchard.

The gendering of paradise becomes plainly evident with the specific punishments Eve and Adam receive. In punishing Eve, God commands, "In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children: and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee."\textsuperscript{35} By contrast, Adam is punished with labour as he tills the soil for food. While man is prescribed as the physical provider, woman is defined solely by her ability to bear children. Also, we can see the legitimization of patriarchal authority by divine decree. Thus, a divinely inspired gender order is

\textsuperscript{32} Kelowna Board of Trade (1912), p. 4.
\textsuperscript{33} Genesis, 2:19.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 2:22.
established in the garden of Eden, providing a powerful “natural” source for patriarchal control. Consequently, when the Okanagan promoters were evoking the image of Paradise, they were imagining more than apples and leisure, but also a “natural” and desirable gender hierarchy. In this manner, Eden was perfectly compatible with the imperial enterprise. Much like the Phillipses in Windermere, the ideal would remain framing home and hearth as “a woman’s world,” while the business of the orchard would remain the gentlemanly pursuit of the men, echoing Adam’s role as caretaker of the Biblical garden.

The Victorian ideal of gendered spaces within the orchard also found broader resonance within the imperial enterprise itself. Mrs. Humphry Ward, heir apparent to George Eliot and a wildly popular Victorian author who first enjoyed success with her 1888 novel Robert Elsmere, made the gendered nature of Empire very clear in her political pursuits. Establishing anti-suffrage groups at the turn of the century to campaign against the designs of the “suffragettes,” Mrs. Humphry Ward carefully explained to an audience that why women’s voting rights must be stopped

is simply because of the vast growth of the Empire, the immense increase of England’s imperial responsibilities, and therewith the increased complexity and risk of the problems which lie before our statesmen...problems of men, only to be solved by the labour and special knowledge of men, and where the men who bear the burden ought to be left unhampered by the political inexperience of women.55

At ease with the paradox of citing women’s political “inexperience” as the reason to be barred from the political process with no opportunity to change it, Mrs. Humphry Ward clearly embraced a gendered Empire where the process of establishing and building would remain exclusively the “special knowledge” of men.

Undoubtedly, the association with Eden finds full expression in the blossoming apple orchards offered by the promoters. Although the type of fruit which grew on the Tree of Knowledge is never identified in the Bible, convention through the centuries depicted the apple in Eve’s hand. Thus, the divine perfection of the apple is extolled with vigour in the brochure:

55 Ibid., 2:25.
An irresistible force is moving the people, and they are a fruit-eating people. Year by year people realize more fully the value of fruit to the system; it is no longer the luxury on our father’s table but the necessity on our own. The drugs and dopes of other days are being thrown aside, and fruit supplies their place to young and old.\textsuperscript{37}

In this passage, the apple serves a dual purpose as a symbol of life and order. Rather than just a tasty bite to eat, the apple is depicted as a wholesome food with a spiritual legacy for the health of body and soul, replacing the promise of medicine and its cures. Removed from Eve’s grasp and placed onto “our father’s table” rather than our mother’s kitchen, the apple also demonstrates the imaginings of a gendered utopia.

The association of orcharding with paradise and gender hierarchies also found currency among popular English authors, such as Hector Hugh Munro, most familiar by his pen name, “Saki.” Born into a comfortable British middle-class family, Munro established his literary reputation as a writer of short stories.\textsuperscript{38} On May 6, 1913, the \textit{Morning Post} ran his short story “The Holy War.”\textsuperscript{39} Within its passages, Nature and imperialism mesh together in a casual, familiar manner reinforcing a natural and social order. The story opens with Revil Yealmton returning from business in Russia. As he travels back to his wife and home in the English West Country, Revil yearns to move onto his inherited estate, described as an “earthly paradise,” complete with pond, squawking ducks, chirping birds, hooting owls and “an orchard of unspeakable delight, where...the apples and greengages and cherries made one’s eyes ache with longing in fruit time.”\textsuperscript{40}

However, the reader soon learns that Revil is not looking forward to seeing his “managing” wife, Thirza. After being met by his wife at the country station, Revil “hardly

\textsuperscript{37} Kelowna Centennial Museum, Kelowna Board of Trade, “Kelowna: the Orchard City of the far-famed and lovely Okanagan” (Vancouver: Evans and Hastings, 1908), p. 17.
\textsuperscript{39} However, Munro’s career would be short-lived. With the declaration of war in 1914, Munro eagerly enlisted into the British Army. On November 16, 1914, he was killed by a sniper’s bullet. In typical imperial prose, his officer wrote to his family, “He was absolutely splendid. What courage! The men simply loved him.” Ibid., p. 224.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p. 288.
heeded Thirza’s unstemmed torrent of talk that kept pace with the rattle of the pony’s hoofs, until a sentence detached itself with unpleasant distinctness. ‘You will find a lot of improvements since you last saw the place.’” Horrified, Revil finds the pond filled in, the birds and ducks departed, the owls shot dead, and the old orchard ripped out and planted anew with more productive trees. In anger, Revil declares, “something dreadful must surely happen to you!” However, over time Revil is able to restore the estate something akin to its former glory. One day, Thirza goes to a nearby frozen pond “as though determined to see that no adventurous urchin was enjoying a furtive slide in some hidden nook in the bushes.” Watching the “dark, solitary figure” from the gate, Revil remembers his “dreadful” pledge. Suddenly, a white flash startles Thirza, who falls back into the pond with a scream. Running to the pond, Revil finds his wife drowned and spies a swan hiding in the bushes, wounded by the hunter’s gun, “savage and weak with hunger and death-fear, but with enough strength left to do--what it had done.”

Within the passages of Saki’s prose, the imperial enterprise is an unobtrusive and benign presence, a thoroughly normalized experience for the reader. The glowing description of the fruit orchard as an “earthly paradise” confirms and informs the Edenic overtones of orcharding and Nature found in the promotional literature of Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling. Also, the anti-development theme of the short story finds resonance within the imaginary community constructed at Kelowna. In many ways, the spiritual value of the orchard overshadows its potential economic value. Further, through the business acumen and financial wealth of Revil, in combination with his eagerness to reside on his estate, H.H. Munro reproduces the desirability and respectability of orcharding with overtly spiritual connotations. Powerfully, the natural order of a gender hierarchy is violently demonstrated by the death of Thirza. Qualities of management, organization, and physical activity which are celebrated in men are found unbefitting and “undesirable” in Thirza. Indeed, Thirza’s discussion is portrayed

41 Ibid., p. 289.
42 Ibid., p. 291.
43 Ibid., p. 292.
as an ugly, repetitive matter, no more stimulating than the mindless clatter of an animal's gallop. Her ignorance of the natural order is symbolized by her destructive reorganization of the orchard. Consequently, the order Thirza imposes on the orchard is actually a "disorder" due to her sex. Only with Revil's return is orcharding finally "re-ordered" to its proper form, materially and textually.

The potential appeal of fruit farming might also be explained by the dramatic rise of the suffrage movement in Canada and Britain. While mock Parliaments held by Nellie McClung parodied the warped logic of the male anti-suffrage M.P.s, Emmeline Pankhurst and fellow "suffragettes" in Britain conducted a more militant campaign by "heckling politicians, chaining themselves to fences, breaking shop windows, and resorting to arson.""44 Throughout the struggle, everything from "natural difference" to "national emasculation" was marshaled as reason to reject women's voting rights."45 During this period when the conservative social order was under attack, the "natural" gender hierarchy represented by the fruit orchard may have held a particular attraction and appeal for the well-to-do British settler.

In framing the natural scenery of the area, descriptions of the landscape take on a lyrical quality as in the 1907 Central Okanagan Land brochure:

The beauty of the Autumn in the Okanagan needs to be experienced to be appreciated. Day after day of clear sky, shining sun and perfect calm. The pine-clad mountains never look nearer, the crystal waters of the beautiful lake never look clearer than on these perfect days. No more ideal weather can be imagined.46

Although presented as a peaceful afternoon in the country, the underlying theme of order emerges as the central message. Notice how the carefully arranged depiction of sky, mountains, and water are grounded by "perfect calm." In essence, the serenity follows a pattern of order which is made peaceful and desirable by its "naturalness."

Nature's carefully balanced order is echoed in the 1912 Kelowna Board of Trade pamphlet:

The springs open early and are mild and balmy; the summers are warm and dry; and the long genial autumns form a delightful transition to the clear, mild winters. The heat of the summer is never oppressive, for the lake breezes moderate the noon-day temperature, while cool, refreshing evenings follow the warmest days. The vicinity of the lake also minimizes the danger of spring and autumn frosts, and prevents extremes of temperature.47

Similar to that described in the previous passage, this scene is devoid of any climatic extremes. In the Okanagan, each facet of the natural world is balanced against the other to moderate any potential excesses. The result is a natural world which is perfectly ordered and at harmony with its surroundings. However, the depiction of this natural symbiosis offers the reader more than the simple prospect of pleasant weather. The crucial implication is that the natural order of Nature would, by association, help establish a social order. In another way, Nature’s order would provide the foundation upon which a population could ground and position its own carefully balanced order.

The importance of Nature as a source of order is carefully dissected in the 1908 Board of Trade material. In discussing the benefits of Kelowna, “the city desirable”, the author warns “mark well the word ‘desirable.’ The American continent is covered with cities, but how many of them are ‘desirable?’” Dividing cities into two classes of 100,000 and 10,000 citizens, the author continues:

It may be said that all cities of 100,000 inhabitants do not come into the “desirable” class. Heavy burdens of indebtedness and taxation, natural location such as water supply, drainage, liability to floods and storms, insanitary and unhealthy surroundings mitigate against some cities.48

Clearly, the effects of the Industrial Revolution are criticized, but with a conservative interpretation. Becoming enormous and unwieldy, the great American cities are chaotic. Too large for the natural vicinity to anchor effectively, the cities spiral into physical and social

46 Central Okanagan Land & Orchard Company (1907), p. 3.
47 Kelowna Board of Trade (1912), p. 11.
48 Kelowna Board of Trade (1908), p. 3.
disorder. Through storms and natural disasters, the promoters of Kelowna portray nature’s displeasure at the excesses of the large community.

Certainly, this chaotic view of urbanization has precedence in the art and literature of the Romantic movement. Many British romantics, such as William Wordsworth, celebrated and contrasted the tranquil order of the natural against the unruly disorder of modern society:

With deep devotion, Nature, did I feel,
In that enormous City’s turbulent world
Of men and things, what benefit I owed
To thee, and those domains of rural peace,
Where to the sense of beauty first my heart
Was opened.49

As in the promotional brochure, the “enormous City” is undesirable, disconnected from the “rural peace” of nature. Viewing nature as more than just a physical environment, the English artist John Constable proclaimed, “Nature is Spirit visible.”50 Other Romantics such as William Blake railed against the effects of industrialization and the attendant consequences of urbanization, vowing that he will not rest “Till we have built Jerusalem/ In England’s green and pleasant Land.”51 For Blake, as with the Romantic movement as a whole, “the poet in the modern world does not depict nature for its own sake but to convey the ‘ideal.’” For the Okanagan land promoters, this association would continue to inform their understanding and depictions of the natural landscape.

In analyzing the promotional material further, the impending social dysfunction of the large city is not only indicated through “heavy burdens” of taxation to fund poor houses and other forms of social relief, but also under the guise of “insanitary and unhealthy surroundings.” In other words, the author is alluding to the ethnically diverse and class-stratified populations of large centres which, in turn, were seen by middle- to upper-class citizens of the time as “dirty” and “unhealthy,” physically and morally. The rise of the Women’s

Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), made up principally of white, middle-class women is a prominent Canadian example of similar organizations concerned with moral reform of the working class. Whether baseball in the Maritimes,\(^5\) or the ‘Hallelujah Lasses’ in Ontario,\(^5\) the progressive movement and other middle-class reform groups declared that the social order in their midst was failing and needed their intervention.

Through the distinction of the two classes of cities, we begin to see how the orchard promoters imagined the rural landscape and its relationship to the city. Should the urban community become too large, it would invariably impede the effects of Nature as a means to establish order, resulting in the dysfunctional and corrupt social environment that is contrasted with the purity and saneness of ruralism in popular thought and literature. Conversely, should the settlement be of a smaller size, such as Kelowna, it would avoid the ugly excesses found elsewhere since the bracing and mitigating influence of Nature would still be felt in all areas of life. Thus, the tension between the rural and the urban is qualified much in the same way the “country village” emerged in rural literature as a more harmonious collection of humanity than London since Nature’s effect would thrive in the former and be choked out of the latter. Indeed, comparisons to the congenial country village were not lost in the promotional literature where it was described that “a fruit country is a continuous village.”\(^5\)

The association of Nature and social order finds further clarification with the Grand Pacific Land Company’s 1911 brochure. Stressing the importance of a temperate climate for human existence, the author makes an important connection between the natural landscape and ethnicity:

The climate of British Columbia presents as a whole all the conditions which are met with in European countries lying within the temperate zone, the cradle of the greatest nations of the world, and is therefore the climate best adapted to the

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development of the human race.\textsuperscript{55} Not only is the climate of B.C. comfortably similar to that of Europe, its similarity would not cause the "degeneration" of the settler community but would rather allow it to thrive and excel. Such considerations were not without widespread currency in this time period. Emily Murphy, a celebrated first-wave Canadian feminist, believed that northern Europeans were inherently superior because of "the proximity of the magnetic pole." Elaborating, Murphy explained that "the best peoples of the world have come out of the north, and the longer they are away from the boreal regions in such proportion do they degenerate."\textsuperscript{56} Original a medical term that referred to the decay of nerve fibres, "degeneration" became synonymous with racial "decay."\textsuperscript{57}

Due to the northern climate, Canadians were not only more hardy physically, but were intelligent, morally sound, and predisposed to liberty.\textsuperscript{58} The stern climate of Canada was also believed to keep away the weaker races, functioning in Darwinian terms as "a persistent process of natural selection."\textsuperscript{59} Nature itself would ensure that large, unwieldy cities would remain an American phenomenon, demonstrating for one academic of the time "a fundamental political and social advantage which the Dominion enjoys over the United States."\textsuperscript{60} Thus, a broader connection is established between a "natural" order and a social stability defined in terms of ethnicity.

Following the promotional brochure's discussion of climate and ethnicity, the reader is greeted with a dialogue on health. Extolling the benefits of pure air and the absence of climatic extremes such as heat and cold, "and the consequent freedom from malaria," the author declares that:

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\textsuperscript{56} Mariana Valverde, ""When the Mother of the Race is Free": Race, Reproduction, and Sexuality in First-Wave Feminism" \textit{Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History}, ed. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 15.  
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 16.  
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., p. 131.  
\end{flushright}
British Columbia is regarded as a vast sanitarium. People from the east coming to British Columbia, invariably improve in health, insomnia and nervous afflictions find alleviation, the old and infirm are granted a renewed lease of life, and children thrive as in few other parts of the world.61

While the concern with bodily health is understandable in an age where pneumonia and consumption claimed many lives, the healing properties of the province in combination with its “scenic grandeur,”62 carefully underline its “perfection” and “order.” Also, discussions of bodily and spiritual healthiness, much like the apple, find a biblical source in Paradise. Yet, the discourse of health entails more than personal rejuvenation. Just as larger urban centres are associated with ethnic and class divisions, the depiction of Nature is intimately interwoven with racial purity and excellence. Consequently, the pleasing benefits of apple orchards extend beyond the robust individual and speak to the soundness of the race as a whole. In this way, the constant refrain to health in the literature takes on a more powerful meaning. Indeed, nearly every piece of promotional material makes some mention of the healthy benefits of Kelowna. As an example, through the various editions of their promotional material in describing how the Okanagan afforded “all the best conditions for the enjoyment of life,” the Board of Trade explained that first and foremost, “these conditions include a mild, healthful climate.”63 In this manner, concern for health would transcend the personal and signify a more fundamental concern with racial purity in a discourse that constructed ethnicity and class in a corporeal manner, whether “degenerate” or “unfit.”

Through an exclusive imagining of the landscape, the promoters grounded a racial order into the very soil they attempted to develop. In this manner, the exclusion of undesirable immigrants could not be interpreted as unjust since it would be the only “natural” reaction to undertake. The soil was suitable only for the development of the best members of the human race, and must be reserved for them. To do anything else would be to rebel against Nature’s intended design. By way of the numerous intersections of ethnicity with health and Nature, the

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61 Grand Pacific Land Company (1911), p. 3.
63 Kelowna Board of Trade (1911-1918), p. 1.
image of the orchard would become a powerful symbol for the exclusive, ideal society envisioned by the land promoters.

While the apple orchard was ethnically specific, this association was also often synonymous with class. And, much like the image of Eden, only the most intelligent “class” would be welcomed to tend the garden. The imagined landscape would be defined by the vision of Paradise which included only one “class” of humanity, rather than a hierarchy of owners and labourers. In effect, imagining Eden would entail a perfectly ordered society that was devoid of the potential problems associated with the working classes in contemporary situations.

Setting out the qualities of Kelowna, the Board of Trade argued that the “city desirable” should offer its citizens a particular class of inhabitants as well as the best natural surroundings:

[this class of inhabitants] shall be in a position financially to demand the best and greatest variety of commodities, necessaries and luxuries suppliant by that city, and without a ponderous and ill-advised part-payment system, but with proper credit within due bounds are able and willing to pay promptly for their trade.

While the financial resources of the citizenry were of great importance to the Board of Trade, their greater concern was with the moral meaning of wealth. For the promoters of settlement, financial wealth indicated class superiority and the attendant attributes of cultural and moral soundness, making them the desired beneficiaries of paradise. Discussion of an “ill-advised part-payment system” is clearly directed toward the “lower” classes as a commentary on their financial “irresponsibility” which testified to their deficient moral character. Supposedly prone to excessive drinking and gambling, the labouring classes were condemned as morally weak since they were popularly seen by reformers as unable to manage their money effectively. The Board of Trade believed a part-payment system would not only fuel the corrupt habits of the labouring people, but would attract a class which would subvert the “natural” social order of the imagined community. Ultimately, there was no space for the labouring classes to occupy in the imaginary Eden. As in the Bible, there would only be one “class” of superior people.

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64 Kelowna Board of Trade (1908), p. 5.
In keeping with the attributes of their imaginary Eden, land promoters also emphasized the bounty of leisure and social activities for the continued refinement of the cultured settler. The literature is careful to expound upon the theme that “life in Kelowna is by no means a continuous round of toil.” Indeed, the opportunity for leisure is a defining characteristic of the community since “fruit growing only requires continuous labor during a certain portion of the year.” Understanding the need to complement their imaginary community with institutions and other activities, men such as Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling promoted the establishment of several organizations, including the Kelowna Club, the Kelowna Golf Club, and a polo club. The observance of annual events such as the summer Regatta would also provide the opportunity for settlers to reaffirm their Britishness in ritual and celebration. In Sproule’s words, such institutions “did more than simply re-create a familiar environment -- they were powerful inducements to settlers of their class, and an important link to the ‘old boys network.’” More fully, such activities also served as an important link to empire for the orcharding community.

The link between orcharding and empire is also illustrated on the other side of the Atlantic, once again through Saki’s prose in his short story, “Bertie’s Christmas Eve.” The story opens with the recently-returned Bertie Steffink, nephew of “Luke Steffink, Esq.,” who had just completed a “round of visits to our Colonial possessions, so seemly and desirable in the case of a Prince of Blood, so suggestive of insincerity in a young man of the middle class.” On his overseas sojourn, Bertie “had gone to grow tea in Ceylon and fruit in British

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65 Kelowna Board of Trade, (1911-1918), p. 2.
66 Ibid., p. 2.
67 Typical of other organizations of this nature, the Kelowna Club was essentially an “old boys club.” Barring women access to the premises for several decades, the all-male Club was founded to provide Old Country reading material, such as Punch, Spectator, The Pink, Illustrated London News, Navy and Army, Strand, Sketch, and London Times. T.W. Stirling was president of the Club from 1907-1909. E.M. Carruthers followed in 1919 and 1936-37. W.R. Pooley served on committees in 1905. Winston A. Shilvock, The Kelowna Club, unpublished paper, Okanagan University College; E.M. Carruthers, “History of the Kelowna Club, 1903-1948,” OHS 13 (1949), pp. 172-173.
68 Sproule, p. 37.
Columbia," followed by a trip to Australia, returning recently "from some similar errand in Canada." While it is interesting that Saki viewed British Columbia as a colony separate from that of Canada, fruit farming's placement within the world of Empire for the British mind graphically highlights the connection between orcharding and imperialism. For what would normally be an abstract entity for many Britons, imperialism adopted a tangible and appealing form in the shape of the orchard. Also, it functioned as a crucial part of the imperial enterprise as a process defined by activity.

Thus, numerous opportunities were available for the cultured settler. Depicted as a healthy and robust people, Britons would naturally desire a wide range of sporting activities such as English football, tennis, cricket, and rowing. The selection was only natural for the promoters since they believed that the "pleasant spirit of camaraderie and sportsmanlike feeling...is so precious a heritage of the British race." Not to neglect the intellectual faculties, the promotional material proudly described the plays and operas produced by the Kelowna Musical and Dramatic Society for the enjoyment of its citizens in its "splendid opera house." Other relaxing pursuits included morning English fox hunting excursions or afternoon lake-side picnics in the cool shade of the trees. Numerous social functions, such as dances and balls, also provided distractions from the day-to-day concerns of women and men.

In contrast to the middle-class concern that leisure for the lower classes meant dangerous idleness that could lead to morally corrupt habits, the middle class believed that for itself leisure signified sophistication and culture. This association caused one author to declare, "Fruit growers as a class are among the most intelligent people in the world. They have leisure to read." Such views were not fabricated out of thin air, but were common among members of the British aristocracy. Indeed, enthusiasm for fruit orcharding compelled Lord Grey, Aberdeen's successor as governor-general, to declare with obvious ardor at a 1905 gathering in

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70 Ibid., p. 436.
71 Kelowna Board of Trade (1908), p. 13.
72 Kelowna Board of Trade (1911-1918), p. 17.
Summerland that “fruit growers are a refined and cultured class of people—the finest class on
ever.” Middle class reformers self-righteously saw their class, unlike the labouring masses, as possessing the necessary responsibility and sophistication to use “leisure” for their betterment. Thus, while reading was esteemed as a suitable activity for leisure, it also highlighted the educated and middle-class orientation of the imagined community. Consequently, Eden was safely out of reach of the illiterate lower classes.

In laying out the qualifications for settlement, the brochure continues by explaining that “intelligent, educated and cultured English and Canadians form the bulk of the population” at Kelowna. Indeed, consideration of intelligence is stressed repeatedly in the literature, for “fruit farming in B.C. has acquired the distinction of being a beautiful art,” where “qualities of mind are necessary...which are not so essential to success in wheat growing or ordinary mixed farming.” This association between occupation and cultured intelligence is also poetically echoed in a 1908 brochure:

[Kelowna] has much to offer. To be among the orchards when the bloom is on the trees and the air heavy with perfume, one feels that life has its compensations. Among cultured people—because the fruit grower has time to read, and is not moiling and toiling half the year and stoking furnaces the other half—congenial surroundings, and healthy, bracing influences, life is raised to a higher sphere, and the true Elixir of Life is something more than phantasy or dream.

While claims of wheat farming’s intellectual simplicity would have undoubtedly surprised the farmers clearing their land and building sod huts, this condescending view was directed at the Eastern Europeans arriving in Western Canada during the early twentieth century. In essence, the notion that wheat farming was a “peasant” activity served to heighten the intellectual and hence cultural appeal of orcharding for the respectable British settler, an appeal set in relief against the inferior “undesirables” taking up homesteads on the Canadian prairies. The new homesteaders are depicted as uncultured and brutish, fully consumed with the “moiling and

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76 Central Okanagan Land (1911), p. 3.
77 Kelowna Board of Trade, (1908), p. 28.
toiling” of mere survival and lacking the sophistication and proper heritage to drink from the true Elixir of Life.

Similarly, the description of the biblical Fall also highlighted an agricultural hierarchy. Originally, Adam was to dress and keep the garden in Eden. As punishment for eating from the Tree of Knowledge, “the Lord God sent [Adam] forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground, from whence he was taken.”\(^7\)\(^8\) In this manner, a dichotomy is established—Adam’s role as a caretaker of the garden is a divinely inspired perfection popularly defined by health, bliss and leisure, which is juxtaposed to the harsh labour required in cereal agriculture as a result of the Fall. In this manner, we can see how the story of Creation informed the presentation of orcharding. Fruit farming, like Eden’s garden, evoked a time of natural perfection. In contrast, the British promoters associated Prairie farming with inferior attributes that found basis with the guilt and harsh labour of God’s punishment. Conveniently, the large non-British population that made up the farming community in the Prairies would further reinforce the inferiority of cereal agriculture already represented in the Bible along lines of ethnicity and class. In this manner, the class and ethnic concerns of the promoters gained inscription into an Eden that actively constructed their desired community.

Indeed, the importance of intelligence to orcharding was continually stressed by the Board of Trade. Delineating the advantages of Kelowna, a pamphlet stated, “it is perhaps unnecessary to lay much stress on the social advantages possessed by the Kelowna district.” Emphasizing the “leisure” and “excellent class of people” who made up the fruit farming community, the author explained that in Kelowna the “free Western spirit...finds full expression.”\(^7\)\(^9\) Certainly, reference to the “excellent class” of settlers, the periods of leisure, and the “Western spirit” point towards a European-educated, comfortably affluent settler as the “worthy” occupant of paradise. Moreover, one can detect the sense of order conveyed by the careful inter-relationship of class, occupation, and education.

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\(^7\) Holy Bible, King James Version, Genesis, 3:20.
\(^8\) Kelowna Board of Trade (1911), p. 4.
In the context of western Canadian immigration, this sense of order would find wide appeal. For anglophone Canadians, the appearance of non-British peoples, such as Ukrainians and Doukhobors, in towns and farming districts would be an unwelcome development.80 As alarm over “foreigners” increased, anglo-Canadians used institutions such as public schools to reinforce a sense of Britishness and assert a familiar form of order.81 In British Columbia, the labour movement and politicians united to pressure federal officials to ban Asian immigration after their provincial attempts were ruled unconstitutional. So alarming was the threat to Canada’s British “whiteness” that socialists such as J.S. Woodsworth joined the chorus against “dark-minded heathens.”82 By 1903, head taxes peaking at $500 effectively stopped Chinese immigrants, while verbal exclusion agreements were reached with Japan and India. Ethnic hostility flourished, typified by incidents such as the Vancouver riots in Chinatown83 or the forced departure of the Komagata Maru.84

In numerous ways, discussion of class was linked with ethnicity in the imagining of Eden. Certainly, while descriptions of the “dirty hordes” evoked images of grime and grit, such

81 Ibid., p. 346; for a British Columbia example, see Jean Barman, Growing Up British in British Columbia: Boys in Private School (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984)
82 Woodsworth concluded that “the Orientals cannot be assimilated. Whether we allow them to enter in large numbers is a most important question.” While he was heartened that Canada was “receiving a large number of Britishers” from “the Mother Land,” he warned, “we are also receiving immigrants from all over Europe -- that is, we are taking our place side by side with the United States as the Old World’s dumping ground.” James S. Woodsworth, Strangers within our gates or coming Canadians (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1909), p. 155.
83 Eager to focus anger against “Asiatic” immigration, the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council initiated the formation of local branches of the Asiatic Exclusion League. The racial hatred which was nurtured at these meetings was volatile, and on 7 September 1907 a contingent of AES members and sympathizers marched into Vancouver’s Chinatown, attacking residents and destroying homes in a mêlée that attracted international attention. Patricia Roy, A White Man’s Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989), p. 193.
84 On May 19, 1914 the Komagata Maru, a chartered ship carrying 376 mostly Sikh passengers, sailed into Burrard Inlet via a continuous voyage from India. However, the city of Vancouver refused to allow the Indian nationals to land. For the following sixty days, the passengers waited offshore as their fate was debated between civic and federal officials. In the end, “White Canada Forever” prevailed as the Supreme Court upheld the “continuous voyage” legislation, allowing H.M.C.S. Rainbow to force the Komagata Maru into the open sea. W. Peter Ward,
characterizations of the labouring classes were more symbolic of a racist hygienic discourse concerning non-white populations. Thus, concerns over class often included a corollary of ethnicity which associated whiteness with “purity” and non-white with “filth.” Consequently, appeals to “leisure” and the “free Western spirit” in promotional materials were not simply calls to pleasure and freedom, but reflections of a narrow vision of a rural, British-oriented, middle-class society that denigrated lower-class, non-British peoples. Of course, Eden was not simply a familiar image employed by Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling for the prospective settler. Imagining Eden meant communicating a “system of meaning” that informed and inscribed settler experience within the paradigm of rural culture and imperialism.

Formally and informally, the depiction of orcharding served as a powerful source of order and a site of imperial legitimization and power. Considering that the occupation of fruit farmer for the prospective settler entailed a substantial investment and a potentially arduous move, the imagery of stability could be seen as the needed reassurance that success was not a misguided hope. More broadly, the order represented by the fruit tree and framed by Eden was organized in terms of gender, ethnicity, and class. In light of an evolving industrial economy, the rise of social Darwinism and eugenics, combined with an unprecedented immigration movement and suffragette campaign which raised fears of “racial degradation”, the rural paradise offered at Kelowna harkened to an imaginary Christian utopia based on the prescribed gender and social sensibilities of the British middle class within the imperial setting of empire. Butttressed by other institutional and recreational activities, the use of Eden made the natural world appealing and familiar through the associated attributes of its bounty, healthiness and order. Also, this spiritual association was not without precedence in an English pastoral tradition and popular fiction, strengthening its appeal. As promoters and boosters, Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling stood to make enormous profits from their venture. And still, these men seemed aware of the more venal aspects of their capitalist enterprise. By participating in community development, symbolized by their “gift” of park and hospital lots, these men sought

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to legitimize their aspirations and deflect the “bottom-line” of their activities from public view.

Through it all, people traveled far and wide to the small Okanagan settlement to reclaim their lost garden. But, as the settlers soon discovered, all was not well in paradise.
Chapter Three: The Fractured Landscape

By hook and by crook, they came. Settlers from all parts of the Empire, aspiring to lead a cultured and educated life, descended upon the small city of Kelowna to purchase their portion of paradise so glowingly described by Lord Grey. So persuasive were Grey's orcharding remarks at Summerland and New Westminster in 1910, considering his aristocratic background and position as governor-general, that Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling adopted his opening address to the Royal Agricultural Society as the introduction to the Board of Trade promotional material from that time forward.¹ According to R. Cole Harris, “for the middle-class people the idea of emigration was in the air, and in the three decades preceding the First World War, they comprised almost 30 per cent of all emigrants from the British Isles.”² Many of these hopeful emigrants turned to agriculture since “in England the countryside had long attracted middle-class nostalgia -- and many a son with an urban inheritance.”³ However, the attraction of orcharding was more than mere nostalgia. The imaginings of an Eden-inspired orchard resonated within a well-ordered rural discourse that informed the raison d'etre of Imperial Britain and its citizenry. Located in the Christian story of creation and the English literary tradition, the image of the ripening apple embodied the spiritual affinity of God’s Nature and formed the antecedent to the middle-class desire for an ideal ethnic, class, and gender order. Hostile to a world gripped in change, settlers moving to the Okanagan were not so much claiming a “new” way of life but rather an old imagined one.

And yet, like any ideal, the dream of a well-ordered paradise remained elusive. In this chapter I will argue that between its articulation and its implementation the imagined landscape became a fractured one. While not shattered, the landscape at Kelowna was nevertheless uneven, as the powerful imperial order based on class, ethnicity, and gender

¹ Kelowna Centennial Museum, Kelowna Board of Trade, (1911-1918), introduction.

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endured challenges. Certainly, the orcharding community did become an English rural paradise for many of the people who made the long and arduous journey to the Okanagan Valley. However, the Valley also became a home of failure and defeat for other settlers. Many continued farming or other work with great difficulty, but nonetheless conformed to the leisurely and cultured image of the area through well-dressed appearances at dancing halls and fox hunts. For still others, the new language of the landscape would represent a hostile environment, casting them outside of community identity. In the erosion of the orcharding ideal, aridity, capital and labour shortages, a culturally diverse countryside, and contradictions in the orcharding ideal contributed to its overall decline. While still possessing broad resonance at the end of the Great War, the ideal of the orcharding community traded and sold by Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling was irreversibly changed. Having exhausted its potential as a tool of economic development and eroded by a loss of idealism, the fruit tree would begin its slow material and textual demise.

Between the years 1891 and 1921, nearly 175,000 Britons emigrated either from the Old Country or other colonial possessions to British Columbia (see Appendix 4). By 1911, British-born emigrants formed one third of British Columbia’s population, as opposed to one fifth on the Prairies and 14 per cent in Ontario. Of the total amount, it is estimated that nearly 24,000 male and female emigrants were from middle-to-upper class backgrounds. However, empirical data such as statistics cannot tell the entire story. British emigration records and Canada census reports neglect to discern how many people aspired to middle class ideals, or even embodied them in orientation and outlook given the absence of a concretely middle or upper class vocation. In the case of Kelowna, the population was heterogeneous to begin with. Okanagan, French, Japanese and Chinese existed in the physical space that Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling wanted to populate with anglophiles and Britons of a similar class and means. But as we have seen with the promotional

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3 Ibid., p. x
literature, the control of textual space offered a different landscape for the aspiring fruit farmer. This landscape, embodied by the orchard, would exclude those who were not compatible with its “natural” order.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of British emigrants who converged on Kelowna, although by all historical accounts the land promoters were successful in establishing the hegemony of their English cultured utopia. However, with the knowledge that the population was not homogeneous along the lines of ethnicity or class, the dominance of Eden must be explored further. In this light, the necessity of statistics regarding the exact “Britishness” of the people at Kelowna becomes qualified. Rather, in the words of Benedict Anderson, the “imagined community” becomes crucial.

To be sure, our sense of “community” is not rooted strictly in the physical. While millions of people may share a Canadian identity, an individual is unable to construct empirically her/his shared identity since the entire population cannot be viewed at once in its entirety. Rather, we must “imagine” the existence or size of the Canadian community “because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion.”

Although not everyone who was attracted to Kelowna was a perfect fit as the prescribed settler, her/his recognition and admiration of the natural order inscribed by the imagined blossoming orchard would ensure the latter’s dominance. Of course, tension was felt in the community as people contested and resisted the dominant discourse. However, tension surfaced only sporadically and it never successfully challenged the normative “nature” of Eden. Instead, the orcharding community would begin to stumble due to its limitations and to forces located in the world beyond.

In the years immediately preceding the Great War, the efforts of Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling reaped both social and financial benefits. While the population of

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the Kelowna district was approximately 600 in 1905, it reached 2200 by 1912.\textsuperscript{6} Three years later, nearly all of the subdivided lots on the old Lequime property had been sold by the K.L.O. company to aspiring orchardists.\textsuperscript{7} The exclusive “Englishness” of the K.L.O. orchardists left deep impressions on Canadian-born locals as demonstrated in Vera Lawson-Wright’s account: “In the early days, Mill Creek was a natural dividing line in [Kelowna.] The ‘English kids’ lived across the creek and attended private schools.”\textsuperscript{8} According to Duane Thomson, “the newly arrived immigrants were mainly from Britain; even those persons who arrived from the prairies were predominantly British.”\textsuperscript{9} T.L. Gillespie, writing on the K.L.O. orchardists in 1911, observed that “most of the [fruit] ranchers were young bachelors from England, Ireland, and Scotland belonging to the public school class.”\textsuperscript{10} Even the Kelowna Board of Trade bragged in 1918 that the population of the district was “chiefly English and Canadians of British descent.”\textsuperscript{11}

The appropriateness of the Kelowna orcharding community for “cultured” English bachelors also caused a great influx of “remittance men” in the small city and throughout the Okanagan Valley. As sons of wealthy British families, they were often sent to the Okanagan in the hopes that they would finally find a suitable occupation, which many did in orcharding. Sometimes receiving $300 to $400 a month in remittance, “Kelowna was a rendezvous for remittance men by the hundreds, and they spent it left, right, and centre.”\textsuperscript{12} Dorothea Walker, an early Kelowna settler, remarked that her English husband was originally educated for the church. When he declared his refusal to don the cloth, his father

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\textsuperscript{11} Kelowna Centennial Museum. Kelowna Board of Trade, “Kelowna, the Orchard City” (1918), p. 14.
\textsuperscript{12} PABC. David Mitchell and Dennis Duffy, eds., \textit{Bright Sunshine and a Brand New Country: Recollections of the Okanagan Valley} Sound Heritage 8, no. 3 (1979), p. 34.
said, "‘well, it’ll have to be the colonies.’ They didn’t know anybody, except they had a lot of relations out in India, but they were all in the Army.” Like the English experiences as “mudpups” documented in Patrick Dunae’s book, Gentlemen Emigrants, and Pooley’s farming “education” with his uncle, Dorothea’s husband “was sent out here as a pupil to learn farming at $500 a year. He arrived in September in a tweed Norfolk coat and knickerbockers, you know, and woolen stockings, and a tweed cap.”13 Interestingly, the privileged background of the remittance men caused a crisis of masculinity in the eyes of their more humble brothers. Commenting on their hunting trips in Africa and trips to India, one person stressed, “but they [remittance men] were real men. They really were.”14 Clearly, imperial notions of masculine activity that were encouraged and celebrated among the middle-to-upper classes did not necessarily gain the same respect from men of lesser means. More apt to be seen as frivolous and weakly, Britons learned through campaigns of “No Englishman Need Apply”15 in western Canada that an imperially rooted and class-based vision of diverging masculinities fueled the backlash. To be sure, this was not the case in Kelowna and the Okanagan.

In keeping with the leisure and bounty of Eden, the lives of the English emigrants were leisured and relaxing. In addition to days spent playing rugby, football, cricket, tennis at the country club, and “polo on Sunday morning,” social events included “plenty of dances and riding parties.”16 So important was fox hunting to the recent arrivals that one man brought over two fox hounds from his father’s English estate, “but they took to sheep killing, so that was the end of the real fox hounds.”17 Indeed, fox hunting was a serious affair, replete with an English hunting horn and afternoon tea.Appearances at such engagements were equally important: “In those days everybody was properly groomed. I mean, there was no such thing as the shabby way they ride today with a pair of overalls.

13 Ibid., p. 32.
14 Ibid., p. 31.
16 Mitchell and Duffy, eds., p. 44.
and a slouchy hat. You rode in well tailored riding habits, proper bowler hats, with proper riding boots.” The stress on appearance which clearly possessed class overtones, highlights the concern with social order. An event such as horse riding that was normally dignified for the aspiring middle class could become sullied if it became associated with undesirables.

The importance of “appearances” was not lost on Elaine Cameron, who arrived from Scotland in 1911 at the advice of a cousin already living in Kelowna. Appearing at a local dance, she noticed that the “very nice young man in working clothes” who delivered her luggage a few nights earlier was also at the dance “in white tie and tails. And I thought it was so extraordinary, because the people that were doing the work at the time were all English boys and Scotch boys.” For Elaine, the juxtaposition between the working man and the cultured man in the same person struck her “as being very amusing. And that was the thing that an Old Country person noticed most, coming here.”

Due to the initial scarcity of women, several marriage proposals were offered at the numerous social gatherings. From dances to rides, one early Kelowna woman recounted, “I had four proposals of marriage when I had only been here a short time.” At first glance, it may be tempting to conclude that women enjoyed advantages due to their low numbers. However, in contrast to the situation in early New France as portrayed by Jan Noel, this was not the case in the Okanagan where the relatively small number of women did not relax the traditional gender order. Specific women’s roles and behaviour remained the ideal in the Orchard City. Recalling the numerous riding parties, one early resident declared, “I always rode side saddle; so did all the other women. After you were 16 it would have been indecent to ride astride.” Upon maturity, women were always at risk of

17 Ibid., p. 45.
18 Ibid., p. 46.
19 Ibid., p. 21.
20 Ibid., p. 37.
22 PABC, Mitchell and Duffy, eds., p. 45.
being sexualized by the masculine gaze. It is indeed telling that the more stable method of riding a horse could not be used by women as it was simply too suggestive for the British middle-class man. While men were able to transcend their sexuality, the sexualized woman always had to exercise the only acceptable form ascribed for her—passivity. Precariously perched on a horse with legs to the side, the submissive appearance of the female rider maintained the gender order beside the active and virile sportsman.

While wealthy remittance men made their way to Kelowna to take up leisure and orcharding, people of modest means were also attracted to the promise of a rural society. A case in point entails the experience of Nan Harris, who emigrated to Kelowna with her mother and two brothers in 1913. Born at old ‘Craigie’ just outside of Braehead, Scotland, Nan Thomlinson was nearly five years old when she made the voyage to Canada. Appropriately, her first memory is of the trans-Atlantic voyage with “apples and oranges rolling to the table’s raised edges, where they were safely ‘fielded.’”23 The year before, her father and eldest brother had made the trip to Kelowna and had sent word back to Scotland for the rest to follow. Although Nan never learned the reasons for her father’s decision, she deduced a significant factor was his occupation of master saddler as “he thought of the West as the land of the horse, and therefore opportunity. Besides, many Scots families were going out west at that period.”24 It appears his faith was not misplaced as the local paper, the Daily Courier & Okanagan Orchardist, contained advertisements such as, “Wanted: a gentlemen’s English saddle - Apply, A. Cather, Kel.”25 When Nan and her family arrived at Kelowna, they moved into the unfinished house that her father and brother had built. In retrospect, Nan began to appreciate subtle but different expectations about the move among her parents: “Father had written, of course, but manlike, had no idea of what the change would mean to Mother. She had left a comfortably furnished house, with modern sanitation...now, in the new land she had everything to learn, and all must be

23 Ibid., p. 5.
24 Ibid., p. 6.
learned simultaneously."26 While Nan’s father had the authority to decide the fate of the entire family, Nan’s mother dutifully agreed to the move, thereby fulfilling her feminine function of preserving familial harmony.

Predictably, Nan’s parents sought the company of fellow Scottish compatriots and people who hailed from England or Wales who reminisced and longed for the Old Country, preserving former habits and style. Possessing a passion for reading, the family exchanged Old Country newspapers and amassed a respectable library filled with the works of numerous authors such as Dickens, Scott, and Thackeray. The house of the Misses Carrol was especially enjoyable for “they kept an oasis of Old Country customs and manners in the hurly-burly, go-getting life of the new land. They were too well-bred for display.”27 In contrast to the “cultured” activities of the English settlers, Nan and her family forsook the polo club for more simple pleasures such as the occasional picnic by the lake or visits with acquaintances. While Nan attended school as her older brothers took up part-time work, she made friends with girls of all classes, from Mariana Muir “who lived in a shack near the sawmill,” to Ivy Lawes whose “father was an orchard manager.”28 Although not everyone was able to assume the status of a cultured orchardist, its pre-eminence and pervasiveness remained largely unchallenged. “To live, as Ivy did,” recalled Nan, “in a white house in the middle of an orchard seemed to me the height of bliss.”29

Certainly physical reminders of the importance of orcharding abounded. Flumes were constructed along the main roads to carry irrigation water to the semi-arid plots. The black ink which spelt “Orchardist” on the local paper’s masthead highlighted the importance of the vocation to the region. Additionally, the source of identity for the imagined community revolved around orcharding. Inside the Daily Courier & Okanagan Orchardist “Orchard Notes” were offered to provide tips on matters such as pruning and long-term

26 Harris, p. 8.
27 Ibid., p. 25.
28 Ibid., p. 48.
29 Ibid., p. 48.
orchard care. Minutes from meetings from the Board of Trade and Grower’s Exchange received continuous coverage. And, wherever possible, news regarding orcharding’s favourable press elsewhere was reported enthusiastically, with the self-satisfied aside that “it is bound to be of great service in inducing a very desirable class of people to invest in Kelowna lands.” Moreover, members of the “excellent class” of people who engaged in orcharding also set the social and moral tone of the city through opera engagements where the women appeared “riding on stock saddles, beautiful long skirts...with a parasol under one arm and a large picture hat.”

Another celebration well-to-do settlers participated in was the popular Regatta festival. Originating in and held throughout Great Britain during the nineteenth-century, regattas featured water sports such as sailing and rowing competitions, and Kelowna’s lakefront provided an ideal setting for such an event. In 1905, George Rose, Scottish compatriot and friend of Ted Carruthers, as well as editor of the Daily Courier & Okanagan Orchardist, promoted the idea of an annual regatta. His editorial stated that it would be “something that all residents can back and honour, in the tradition of courage and honour our pioneer fathers had in opening this Valley.” The following year, the first Regatta was held, and it became an annual summertime event in the years to follow. Thus, ritualistic functions such as festivals and engagements of a particular kind served informally as a means to establish and highlight the hegemony of the orcharding community and its imperial linkages. For people such as Nan’s family, who did not lead an orcharding lifestyle, their respect and identification with its values reinforced its legitimacy and dominance.

30 Courier & Orchardist, 22 December 1910, p. 2.
31 PABC, Mitchell and Duffy, eds., p. 47.
33 Kelowna Daily Courier & Okanagan Orchardist, 2 September 1905, p. 3.
34 Due to the much-ballyhooed “Kelowna Riots” that occurred during two successive Regattas in the early 1980s, the annual event was canceled and as of 1996, had yet to be fully reinstated.
And yet, the imaginary Eden constructed at Kelowna was a fractured one. A curious fracture that appeared involved the absence of European labour. Eager to avoid the “evils” of the great urban centres, the orcharding promoters conceived of an Eden-like paradise without the much-maligned lower classes. In a sense, their rural imagination provided no space for the labourer. Such a conception of the landscape was not without precedent, for Brian Short argues that “the countryside was made by working people, but the rural idyll of pastoral from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, itself an urban product, has largely banished them from the scene.”35 Ironically, despite the leisurely overtones of Eden, orcharding proved to be one of the most labour-intensive forms of agriculture imaginable.

The labour dilemma appeared as early as the 1890s when Lord Aberdeen began to harvest fruit on his Guisachan and Coldstream ranches. While British settlement in the Okanagan Valley was still in its infancy, the Aberdeens turned to the local Indians as a source of labour. Thus, while the Okanagans had been placed on reserves to keep them away from the European population and “open” the land to settlement, labour demands compelled early fruit farmers to use Indians to pick crops on their old homeland. Integrated as “outsiders” into the colonial economy, Okanagans worked their own land by raising livestock and crops, and supplemented their income by working as labourers for European settlers.36 Although Lady Aberdeen initially observed that Indians performed agricultural work “far better than the white people or Chinese,”37 racist attitudes continued to construct an image of the Indian as lazy, drunk, and unreliable. Consequently, as “white” labour became increasingly available during the settlement period, the Okanagans were gladly replaced.

Labour needs would dramatically increase with the construction and preparation of orchards in the Kelowna area beginning in 1904. Semi-arid land had to be cleared, planted, and irrigated with a vast network of expensive flumes and pipes. While English remittance men and other immigrants to the area fulfilled this need to some extent, “in general, agricultural labour was difficult to find, expensive to hire, and even harder to keep.” Labour shortages were a chronic feature of the orcharding community, finding ample expression in the local paper. As the vast areas of planted orchards began to mature, the community’s concern with labour would become more acute. Moreover, fear of the dreaded “Asiatic” made the need for “good” labour a constant refrain.

Under the “Local and Personal News” section in the Courier & Orchardist, an article pronounced, “labouring men are in great demand, owing to the commencement of work on so many large irrigation projects this spring,” which included “the Belgo-Canadian Fruit Lands Co., the South Kelowna Lands Co., and the Central Okanagan.” Ending on a sour and alarming note, the author confessed that “so far, the supply is entirely insufficient, and the companies are at a loss what to do, as they are loathe to import Orientals.” Meanwhile, Kelowna’s successes at agricultural competitions locally and overseas heightened the need to streamline and perfect picking and packing practices to maximize orchard output and minimize crop damage in transport, thereby preventing inferior fruits from reaching precious markets in the Prairies and further east. The grim situation was aired at the Kelowna Farmer’s Exchange: “it is needless to say that fruit packers are badly needed in the Okanagan, and a young man is allowing a golden opportunity to slip by.” Although desperate, the situation was still not critical enough to consider a subversion of the gender order. But that time would come with muddy trenches and bloated corpses in Europe.

39 Daily Courier & Okanagan Orchardist, 7 April, 1910, p. 5.
40 Ibid., 28 December 1911, p. 4.
The absence of labour in the imagining of paradise also made it difficult for a middle-class household to maintain the all-important "appearance" of respectability with the shortage of domestic help threatening the orcharding community's powerful sense of order. This was the dilemma faced by the Phillipse struggling with their orchard in the small Kootenay town of Windermere at the turn of the twentieth century: "caught between the cost of labour and a middle-class, Edwardian (and, with her husband, a military) standard of correctness on a pioneer farm before the advent of labour-saving devices, [Daisy's] life was consumed by domestic work that in England a woman of her class would never have done."41 Unenthusiastic about the solution of hiring Indian women as domestics, in 1912 some middle-class women in Kelowna turned to the Joyce Hostel Society, an English society that was established to alleviate the domestic problem by encouraging working-class girls to emigrate.42

During his stint in London before the war, Ted Carruthers composed an orcharding pamphlet for an English audience. Addressing the question of domestics, Carruthers wrote, "female domestic servants have not in the past been procurable, although they are now going out in large numbers. The problem of assistance in the house was solved, however, with the aid of the 'lady help,'" which referred to ladies and their daughters performing their own duties.43 Previously loathsome tasks were subtly reconfigured to make them "acceptable" work for aspiring middle-class women. However, Carruthers offered another solution, suggesting that "to those who can afford to pay eight pounds a month a good Chinaman is perhaps the best servant in the world. He will...in fact, do all that two maids in England will do." Mindful of the rather sensitive problem of living arrangements, Carruthers delivered a welcome answer to his racist audience by adding, "at the same time he does not live on the premises, but in his own shack in the back yard."44 As previously

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41 Harris and Phillips, p. xvii.
43 Kelowna Centennial Museum, E.M. Carruthers, "The Creation of an Orchard in British Columbia" (1912), p. 34.
44 Ibid., p. 34.
argued, within the imperial context race, class, and gender became intertwined. Work that was normally for lower-class British women was performed by middle-class women in the colonies. Moreover, work that was normally done by women held out the possibility of being accomplished by men, although concern over ethnicity made the entire exchange acceptable on one level but problematic on another. Through it all, the orcharding community’s powerful gender order ensured that the British middle-class man was never considered as a solution to the domestic dilemma. To reformulate men for domestic tasks would be to destroy order from within.

By 1911, more fractures began to appear in the imagined landscape. Economic woes began to besiege the orcharding community, beginning with a downturn in the fruit market. While the year was a record one for fruit production, promoters failed to realize that by promoting the creation of a large orcharding community, the increasing volume of marketable fruit would ultimately drive down the price orchardists could charge for their crop. Province-wide, 7,430 acres of fruit land were under cultivation in 1901. Only four years later, 29,000 acres would be planted, and nearly all of the increase was a result of Okanagan promotion. Consequently, the high returns originally experienced by orchardists began to tumble. A glut of American fruit that flooded the Prairie markets the same year depressed prices even further, hurting orchardists in the process. In a report to the federal Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization, it was found that while a box of apples could be shipped from British Columbia to Calgary for $1.20 (including all labour and processing costs), Washington state producers could make the trip to the Prairie market for $1.18 per box.

Moreover, accusations that orcharding promoters were exaggerating the potential profits of fruit farming began to be made with more frequency and force. Desperate to halt the potentially fatal haemorrhaging of settler interest in orcharding, the province struck a

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16 Ibid., p. 72.
Royal Commission in 1912 to investigate “real estate operators misrepresenting essential conditions such as soil, climate, irrigation, land clearing and earning capacity affecting the value of the land.” An Okanagan orchardist who gave up his farm and returned to England in 1911, remarked that:

It was impossible not to be struck with the obvious, shall I say, lack of riches everywhere. I met man after man, some of whom had been fifteen or twenty years in the country, but never a one of them had done much more than keep his head above water.  

Economic difficulties also began to weigh down heavily upon Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling as a slow orchard market became a province-wide real estate and investment depression in 1913. Suffering from a capital shortage, the three men’s operations were heavily indebted to investors and bankers, and the effect of the downturn was a financial disaster for their companies.

The main culprit for their financial woes was the South Kelowna Land Company. Created by Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling in 1908 to develop a new property in the Kelowna area, S.K.L. never approached the success of K.L.O. While the sale of K.L.O. Company lands had gone smoothly, S.K.L. had found only six purchasers and sold 300 acres by late 1912. Additionally, the physical constraints of the landscape proved a formidable obstacle in establishing an imaginary one. Like the ranchers and the Okanagan before, Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling had to deal with the constraints of the landscape in the form of aridity. As construction and implementation of costly irrigation systems was the responsibility of land company subsidiaries whose budgets would be funded with the anticipated sale of lots, the real estate depression even had serious consequences for the maintenance of irrigation for people already on the land. Thus, when land sales decreased, Eden’s problems increased.

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49 Quoted in ibid.
50 Dendy, p. 72.
With the threat of bank foreclosure imminent, Stirling left for England in the winter of 1913 to discuss the situation with guarantors. After meeting with the interested parties, Stirling laid out his analysis in a letter to Pooley. In Stirling’s view, the depressed financial situation would continue indefinitely, and investors were unlikely to back additional land projects “until there has been some successful practical demonstration that such are good or may be good.” 52 In discussing the possible causes of the depressed orcharding market, Stirling blamed the public attitude towards buying fruit lots, writing, “far too many disappointed people talking about their disappointment. This can only come right when people who have young orchards begin to feel by the state of their bank accounts that they are in a good thing and in consequence begin to talk to their friends.” Nonetheless, Stirling felt that, “we shall never see the rush for fruit lots we have seen in the past.” 53 While Stirling could not have known it at the time, the conflict that would engulf Europe a year hence would fulfill his prediction.

If a labour shortage destabilized the orcharding community, a capital shortage threatened to stop its growth and lead to its decline. While an amalgamation of the K.L.O. and S.K.L. companies would stave off immediate financial disaster, Pooley began to try to bend the government’s ear in order to halt the fracturing of their orcharding community by funding heavily indebted irrigation companies. In 1914 Pooley and other Okanagan representatives met with the Minister of Lands in Victoria to propose a government assistance scheme in which the province would loan seventy-five per cent of the costs of individual irrigation companies with repayment over fifty years. 54 In a February 1915 letter to Pooley, Premier McBride explained that “the demands for the mothering of institutions and concerns of a private nature are so many and the aggregate of responsibility so large that to open the door by admitting one world establish the principle to admit all.” Moreover, McBride reminded Pooley that “we are now in a state of war with no assurance

51 Ruzesky and Carter, p. 46.
52 PABC, Pooley Papers, p. 41.
53 Ibid., p. 42.
of an early termination or of the financial conditions which will obtain after, and, therefore, it is incumbent on the government to go slowly and conserve financial credit."

However, the conquest of water could not be ignored altogether. In response to public pressure, in March 1915 the province established a commission headed by A.R. Mackenzie to investigate the financial and physical conditions of the Vernon and Kelowna districts. Interestingly, Mackenzie found that “the settlers under the [K.L.O.] company’s system appear as a community to be comfortable and prosperous. Generally, their holdings were purchased at reasonable prices and the bulk of the 1,300 acres of orchards have now reached bearing age." Moreover, while the S.K.L. company was still mired in financial problems, Mackenzie determined that the company had access to more water than it would ever need. Nonetheless, the province eventually relented by 1916 and provided loans to keep the numerous provincial irrigation works operational. Despite financial assistance, the rural landscape remained fractured.

While the rural landscape represented by orcharding was not without tensions, the Great War certainly accentuated them. Through this crisis, the rural discourse emerged in a modified form. The central problem of labour only grew more acute as hundreds of men from Kelowna enlisted to fight overseas for King and country. Even Stirling, twice as old as either Pooley or Carruthers, hurriedly made his way to England to offer his services upon the declaration of hostilities. For several years Stirling worked at the Admiralty coordinating the movement of transport and convoys, for which he received the decoration of Officer of the Order of the British Empire and the rank of commander. But Carruthers returned to Kelowna and kept the Belgo-Canadian lands solvent by raising cattle and hogs

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54 Ruzesky and Carter, p. 53.
55 PABC, Pooley Papers, p. 30.
57 Ruzesky and Carter, p. 56.
during the duration of the war. Walter Pooley would not see the end of the conflict as he died suddenly in 1915.

Reports of Kelowna’s patriotic support of the imperial adventure received thorough attention in the local paper with headlines such as “Large Crowd Bids Goodbye to Kelowna’s Detachment for the Third Overseas Contingent” and “Kelowna Boys Get Stripes.” In another instance, George Rose compiled a comparison of Kelowna’s per capita contribution to the war with that of “the Old Country.” Ranging from Scotland’s contribution of 237 per 1000 men to a low of West Ireland’s 32 per 1000, Rose determined that the Kelowna district stood at 230 volunteers per 1,000 men. “No better evidence could be furnished,” gloated Rose, “of Kelowna’s devotion to the cause of Empire, and it is a matter of pride that our district is doing its share to help the greatest war of all time.” In recognition of Kelowna’s patriotism, the Department of Agriculture assured readers that an Assistant Horticulturist would pay special attention and give advice to the caretakers of the orchards of enlisted men.

More than a mere instrument of communicating news, the local paper articulated the values which informed the imperial rural landscape. News articles happily trumpeted the latest statistic of total British emigration or proclaimed the arrival of another large contingent of British settlers traveling across Canada with British Columbia as their destination. Most interesting is the role readers themselves played in constructing their imaginary community. Many would offer articles from the “Old Country” newspapers to be reprinted in the Daily Courier & Okanagan Orchardist. One patriot handed in a story “showing how the children confide in our British Tommies.” According to the tale, two orphans were brought to England to be taken care of, displaying a comfortable gendered reaction: “The boy was soon reconciled to his surroundings, but his little sister went on

60 Courier & Orchardist, 4 March 1915, p. 5; 11 March 1915, p. 2.
61 Courier & Orchardist, 11 March, 1915, p. 5.
63 Courier & Orchardist, 28 September 1911, p. 3; 8 April 1920, p. 1.
crying day and night.” Concerned for her condition, the doctor was sent for “and he, being in a khaki uniform, she ran forward saying ‘Bittish, Bittish’ and when he took her in his arms, fell asleep contented, and slept the clock round.” While the boy appears appropriately stoic, the girl is pacified by the knowledge that she is still within the comforting embrace of Empire in the form of an Imperial soldier. On a broader level, the child’s innocence and eager recognition of ‘Bittish’ confirms for the reader the naturalness and safety of Empire.

The orcharding community continued to serve a crucial function in the imperial imagination, as empire loomed large for Kelowna residents. A loyal overseas resident sent in a Rudyard Kipling short story printed in the Daily Telegraph entitled “A ‘Colony’ In Arms.” While the piece forms a link in the construction of an imperial identity, it also serves to demonstrate the masculine nature of war, demonstrated by the story’s homoerotic overtones:65

“What are you?” I asked the first pickaxe.
“Private.”
“Yes, but before that.”
“McGill (University understood.) Nineteen twelve.”
“And that boy with the shovel?”
“Queen’s, I think. No, he’s Toronto.”
And thus the class in applied geology went on half up the trench, under supervision of a Corporal Bachelor of Science with a most scientific biceps. They were young; they were beautifully fit, and they were all truly thankful that they lived in these high days.66

Not surprisingly, Kipling’s imaginary colonial privates are all university graduates, a very exclusive mark at the turn of the century. Just as the Kelowna promoters imagined an Eden-like paradise composed of an “excellent class” of people, the imagining of an imperialist conflict also demanded the absence of the “lower classes” and undesirables. War

64 Courier & Orchardist, 1 April 1915, p. 5.
65 Writing on the “British Homoerotic Tradition,” Paul Fussell explains, “no one turning from the poetry of the Second War back to that of the First can fail to notice there the unique tenderness, the readiness to admire openly the bodily beauty of young men, the unapologetic recognition that men may be in love with each other.” Paul Fussell, The Great War and Modern Memory (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.), p. 279.
66 Courier & Orchardist, 4 February 1915, p. 4.
became the masculine arena for the cultured and educated, thereby making the excesses of imperialism such as war respectable and desirable. The image of fighting for the "poster girl" was absent; instead, men could focus their gaze upon themselves, unabashedly appreciating their refinement, beauty, and biceps.

Of course, in the orcharding community women were active in providing the necessary respectable support for the community and the conflict. A Ladies’ Benevolent Society, Women’s Missionary Society, Women’s Institute, and Women’s Christian Temperance Union were all active in Kelowna throughout the war, involved in numerous philanthropic activities ranging from charitable relief to “adopting” a Canadian POW in Germany. Careful to delineate the gender hierarchy anchored by the orchard, the press also instructed women that "the army is essentially a man’s world, as the home is a woman’s," and that the local women must be prepared to help their menfolk upon return with "wise love, deep sympathy, infinite tact, and self-restraint." As a means of constructing the imperial rural identity, the Courier & Orchardist produced example after example of the Other in their midst. As a reference to the anger over non-British immigrants, the local birth section was headlined with the cheeky declaration, "This is better than immigration." Another example of journalistic excellence, "English of Sorts; Results of Heroic Struggles with Difficulties of Our Language," explained that "the following letters are clippings from the Vancouver Sun. They are quaint examples of English composition by foreigners." What followed was the letter of a German national protesting editorial attacks upon all German-Canadians, but his argument took a backseat to spelling mistakes. Similarly, an article entitled "The Zanzibaris; Dense Stupidity and Amusing Blunders of the Natives," discussed the release of Sir Henry M. Stanley’s autobiography where he described with imperial smugness natives who could not load

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67 Courier & Orchardist, 11 November 1915, p. 5.
69 Courier & Orchardist, 17 June 1915
70 Courier & Orchardist, 27 May 1915
guns or understand instructions. Kelowna's Sons of England Benefit Society was not in a very hospitable mood when it declared, "Negroes are to be barred from entering British Columbia, or any other part of Canada, on the ground that they cannot be adopted to the rigours of a northern climate, and consequently might become a charge upon the public." The local Chinese community also received attention, especially during the Chinese New Year. According to Nan Harris, "certain clear-cut divisions" emerged in the community against Chinese residents: "for a long time I dreaded to walk through Chinatown. Even the way in which they mixed flowers and vegetables in their always-thriving gardens seemed sinister." Described as "the local Chinese colony," the use of language confirms their Otherness: "Chinese fireworks are characterized chiefly by noise, stink and smoke rather than by beauty of illumination, and the scene in front of the Oriental quarter resembled an Inferno...and [they] indulged in the pastimes peculiar in their kind." Dubbing the Chinese in Kelowna as a "colony" implies connotations of "alien" and "foreign," forming an unnatural and undesirable part of the landscape in the midst of the well-ordered nature of the orcharding community. Indeed, the discourse of Empire was so powerful and persuasive that Eden's own status as "colony" was overlooked due to the role of Nature in grounding and legitimizing Eden and Empire.

While the depiction of the Chinese took on Dantesque overtones, their "peculiar" ways were also demonstrated through comedy and barbarism. A dangerous chimney fire that started in the early morning in the Chinese community was called "Fun in Chinatown...with lots of merriment for Caucasian spectators, and the scenes that were witnessed when an amateur Chinese fire brigade got to work would have made an excellent moving-picture 'comic.'" Describing the efforts to put out the fire by one man "who must have been a rear-admiral in his piratical days," the reporter surmises that the smell of smoke

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71 *Courier & Orchardist*, 2 June 1910, p. 4.
72 *Courier & Orchardist*, 9 March 1911, p. 6.
73 Harris, p. 18.
74 *Courier & Orchardist*, 2 February 1911.
"must have renewed the scent of battle and stinkpots in his war-like nostrils." Such depictions were more than passive reflections of bias and racism; rather, they formed the continual construction and reconstruction of the Imperial Self and primitive Other. In a similar vein, while members of the orcharding community did not want the labouring classes in their midst due to concerns of morality and vice, the lower orders would be needed after all to maintain the middle-class "respectability" of paradise.

What the local paper could not report was the painful adjustment endured by the Chinese population, barred from bringing their families to Canada. Writing to her husband Kai-tao in Kelowna, Ho begins, "I have not received a letter from you for a long time. I am very worried...you have been gone for over ten years. During the day, when I wait for you, I cannot eat. During the night, I cannot sleep." Demonstrating the stress separation is causing for their family, Ho continues by informing her husband that "I heard someone ran off with $600 of your money, not too long ago. What is gone is gone. Please do not regret what has happened. It is a sign in response to your thoughts of divorce, some time ago." Concerned that her husband "can't make money from farming," Ho concludes, "you had better make up your mind out there to look after your family. It is very difficult for me to find someone to write my letter for me...the paper is too short for my feelings...wishing you well in the foreign land." 

Through the war, the labour crisis only worsened and threatened to erode the order of the fruit community, providing an opportunity to view the interaction of gender, class, and ethnicity. By 1917, the situation became so urgent that fear of the "Asiatic" overtook fear of the "managing" woman. While labouring men from Washington state had been approved to work the Valley harvest "for the purpose of keeping labour 'white'," such determination to keep labour both "white" and male could not be sustained. Even the use of Indians appeared more palpable to the local population when the paper reported that "the

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75 Courier & Orchardist, 11 February 1915, p. 5.
76 Kelowna Centennial Museum, Ho to Kai-tao (Letter 41) 8 December 1918
77 Courier & Orchardist, 26 April 1917.
Westbank Indians have expressed their willingness to assist in meeting the labour shortage...at low and suitable wages.” Since they would be returned to their reserve after the harvest, using Indian labour would preclude the necessity of using other forms of non-white labour. As one racist reader complained, “let the half-idle farmer do for himself what his Chink, Jap, or his Hindo does for him. Let the employer do a little more actual work himself and let the women help...let the labour be white.”

In the face of increasing alarm over Asian labour, a temporary reconfiguration of the gender order was proposed with more frequency. A mass meeting of the British Columbia Consumer’s League met in Vancouver to discuss providing “help for the fruit growers of the province.” It was decided that, “there were already enough Orientals in the province” and that white women should undertake the field work themselves “in an effort to keep further Asiatics from coming in and to prevent an excess of labour when the troops return from Europe.” Shortly thereafter, the Kelowna Women’s Institute issued a call for women volunteers to show “the foreign population in our midst that they cannot ‘hold up’ the farmers for exorbitant wages.” The call was met enthusiastically, and European women began to perform previously male tasks in the harvesting and sorting of fruit.

While female sexuality and fear of the mythical Asian-orchestrated “White slave trade” provides a site to explore the interaction of ethnicity and gender, the labour market also acted as a site of such interaction. Labour that was defined as masculine was superseded by concern over ethnicity, thereby allowing the temporary reconfiguration of white male work to become white female work. A question of control emerged as the determining factor in the debate. Constructed as perpetual outsiders and threats to the “health” of the race both genetically and morally, Asian labour supporting beautiful, refined British men engaged in romantic conflict was horrifying. In such a light, the valiant conflict

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78 *Courier & Orchardist*, 31 May 1917, p. 1.
79 *Courier & Orchardist*, 7 December 1916, p. 2.
80 *Courier & Orchardist*, 29 March 1917, p. 4.
81 *Courier & Orchardist*, 31 Mary 1917, p. 1.
of British men would become farcical. The knowledge that the success of the Imperial Self might be a result of the support provided by the “dark heathen” Other was an explosive contradiction which would have to be avoided. Far more comforting was the image of British women helping British men, preserving the pureness and virtue of imperial identity. However, these changes to the order of paradise would be tolerated only when it was seen as temporary. Since displacing Asian labour after the war could not be guaranteed, it was believed that women would happily leave the field for the hearth upon the return of their men, restoring the natural order of the orchard.

With the end of the War to End all Wars, the orcharding community was permanently changed. The zeal of the imperial adventure was tempered by the high death rate of Kelowna’s soldiers, many of them orchardists who had been attracted to the area by its Eden-like overtones. In the end, the perfection of paradise only offered them a fleeting respectable status and through war a sudden or painful demise. Fruit-farming and the great settlement boom it generated would never again parallel the “fruit-mad” days of yore. With the conclusion of the conflict, women were thanked for their help in the orchards and asked to make room for the returning men. In essence, female participation never truly challenged the powerful gender order inscribed into the occupation. However, the shortage of “skilled young men” for orcharding continued long after the war.83 One irate citizen confessed, “I cannot understand why those responsible in the early days could not people our country from the congested districts in the Old Country to carry on the work of development.”

The answer, of course, was a deliberate result of how the landscape was imagined. Built on class, ethnic, and gender hierarchies, the edenic orchard traded and sold by promoters was constructed on the exclusion of the “lower orders,” in favour of “intelligent, cultured” settlers who would form an ideal orcharding community. Consequently, from the articulation to the enactment of the imaginary paradise, material and environmental factors

83 Courier & Orchardist, 24 March 1920, p. 2.
exacerbated the orchard’s flawed design. To cope with the continuing labour problem women were gradually encouraged to participate again, forming an important component in the harvesting of fruit.\footnote{\textit{Sproule}, p. 84.}

Of the few men who did see the Orchard City again, one was T.W. Stirling. Upon his return, Stirling was reintroduced to Carruthers and the persistent financial problems that had plagued the S.K.L. and its irrigation works throughout the war. Further government loans were offered, but a long term solution would have to be devised. Under new government legislation introduced in 1920, administrative Irrigation Districts would be set up. Each area that was to become a District was to form a committee of water users elected by District land owners for the purpose of carrying on the activities of the area, registering by-laws and borrowing money from the government.\footnote{\textit{PABC, William George Swan, “Report on the Economic Conditions in Certain Irrigation Districts in the Province.”} (Victoria: Province of British Columbia, 1927), pp. 42-43.} At the first meeting for the election of trustees for the South East Kelowna Irrigation District on November 1920, Stirling, as representative of the K.I.O. and S.K.L. irrigation projects, submitted a request for $220,000 for the water works. It was accepted, and the era of private land companies controlling irrigation came to an end. Cutting his losses, Stirling left for Scotland to inherit and occupy his late brother’s estate, never to return.\footnote{\textit{Ruzesky and Carter}, p. 63.} Carruthers lived the rest of his days in Kelowna, continuing his role in business and politics.

Stirling was not the only one to return to the Old Country. Tragedy struck Nan’s family with the sudden death of her mother due to a fatal stroke. Sadly, the death occurred on the eve of a long-planned trip to Scotland where Nan and her mother would visit family and friends. With the passing of Mrs. Thomlinson, everything was changed. Nan’s father decided that remaining in Kelowna to raise his family would not be possible, and as a result, sold his leather business and organized a trans-Atlantic move back to “old ‘Craigie.’” Pulling into St. Enoch station as the night sky fell across Scotland, Nan could

\footnote{\textit{Courier \& Orchardist}, 21 October 1920, p. 3.}

85
not help but notice “how different these drab surroundings were from the sunny Okanagan.”" Although Nan would spend the rest of her life in Scotland, she would continue to hold fond memories of sunny weather and blossoming orchards.

The legacy of the Great War had profound influences for the orcharding community. For Carruthers and Stirling, the conclusion of the war spelt the end of their promotional activities. In essence, in the post-war age, orcharding as a marketing tool and instrument of development had exhausted itself, no longer serving as the tantalizing ideal for Britons like it had a decade earlier. As a result of its loss of financial meaning, the fruit tree was quickly abandoned by both K.L.O. directors, dramatically illustrated by Stirling’s departure. For soldiers who decided to resettle or relocate to the Okanagan, difficulty in securing promised government loans further dampened enthusiasm for orcharding. In many ways, the Great War can be seen as a “crisis of imperialism,” an enterprise which had been eagerly pursued by a largely unquestioning British population. Certainly an important causality of this conflict was a loss of idealism. But its loss did more than simply make men and women cynical or critical of themselves and their society. In many ways, this idealism had animated imperialism in much the same way that the ideal of orcharding had. Idealism gave imperialism an imaginary form which drove its goals and justified its purpose. With the decline of the ideal, and as part of the economy of imperial meaning, the future form of orcharding would be deeply affected. Highlighted by declining British immigration, the dissolution of land companies and the arrival of non-British settlers, the loss of the orcharding ideal sustained by an imperial connection would mean the slow yet irreversible transformation of the orcharding community itself.

While the armistice reached on 11 November 1918 signaled the end of the European conflict, the cessation of hostilities did not usher in a new age in paradise. Scores of Kelowna men who enlisted had died the heroic imperial death of H.H. Munro, never to return to their precious orchards. Ultimately, the war signaled a powerful blow to the

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88 Harris, p. 85.
imaged landscape and betrayed a destructive contradiction, killing scores of men by the same instrument that secured their imperial rural dream in the first place. However, the fracturing of the landscape was not caused solely by imperialist violence. Inherent in the imaginings held out by promoters was the paradox of labour. Despised as unhealthy and uncouth, labourers were excluded from the imagined community of cultured and educated gentlemen farmers. Ironically, the maintenance of middle-class respectability and order soon revealed the necessity of including the labouring class among the Eden-inspired orchards. Further, paradise was far from perfect. The cost of sending crops to market, physical constraints of the land, and a shortage of capital also led to the erosion of the ideal. While middle-class Britons did come to claim orchard plots, not all found the Elixir of Life a sweet concoction. Some settlers struggled, while others cut their losses and returned home. Many more came and thrived in the orcharding community, but held an occupation other than farming.

Through crises and challenges, the imperial rural discourse and its middle-class values based on gender, class, and ethnicity began to fracture. Despite this, the order represented by the orchard continued to hold limited resonance with the settlers of Eden. This ascendancy was not maintained through indoctrination and coercion, “but as more and more people came to interpret their own interests and consciousness of themselves in the ‘unifying discourse’” of the rural community. Those who were not welcomed into the community were continually framed as Other, providing the foil for the identity of the Imperial Self. Indeed, racist anger over Asian labour acted as a site where class, gender, and ethnicity blended together, allowing for a temporary reconfiguration of the social order. And yet, just as it had always done, the landscape would continue to change.

89 Courier & Orchardist, 22 April 1920, p. 1.
80 Anderson, p. 25.
Nearly ninety years later, it would be difficult to find evidence of the rural paradise in the Orchard City. In fact, it would appear that Kelowna’s imagined landscape of the early 1920s has been completely altered. Surpassing 100,000 people, Kelowna has ironically become a member of the “undesirable class” of cities discussed ominously in the promotional material concerned with Nature, order, and paradise. Where perfumed orchards of Eder once stood, strip malls and condominiums compete for monetary recognition. Only on the remote hills surrounding the city survives the occasional orchard, but even it has been modified by technology with the use of engineered dwarf trees which lend the majesty of paradise a decidedly stunted demeanour. Only in whispers of the landscape can one hear the crack of the cricket paddle or the bellow of the English hunting horn.

And yet, these sounds were once heard over the rustling leaves of the orchard. In the early decades of the twentieth century, land promoters such as Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling initiated a change in the landscape. As boosters and promoters, they were the direct beneficiaries of the provincial liberal order shaped by the discourse of laissez-faire liberalism which embraced their economic pursuits. By trading and selling on the orcharding ideal, these men briefly transformed the space of the Okanagan into a rurally inspired Christian paradise within the powerful grip of British imperialism. While selling the rural dream held the potential for enormous personal profit, the meaning of the orchard was not only felt in economic terms. Indeed, the apple was not just a fruit; it held out the promise of a cultured and distinguished lifestyle for Britain’s aspiring middle class, grounded by a powerful “natural” order inscribed into the landscape. The choice of the fruit orchard as a means of settlement was neither random nor accidental. Moreover, its moderate success and appeal cannot be explained only in terms of business acumen and ingenious advertising.
Like the Okanagan, middle-class Britons possessed a spiritual conception of the landscape, located in a long rural tradition and Biblical affinity. Thus, the conflict between the original inhabitants and the invaders was not one that occurred exclusively upon the physical landscape. The successive battles over ideas, images of identity and land use occurred upon an equally important textual landscape. Buttressed by the regime of British law and its conception of property, the European colonizers were able to impose their vision of property and thus secure hegemony over the landscape. Alienated from their homeland by a new landscape which framed the foreign colonizers as natural citizens of the land, the Okanagan would find it difficult to preserve their idea of the landscape against British conceptions and designs.

While the early Valley élite secured vast tracts of land for cattle ranches, their middle-to-upper class values remained relevant when the landscape changed. Promoting and selling the apple to a imperial audience, Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling began the task of constructing a British middle-class community. With investors and capital from London to India, these men began to transform the arid landscape. With the technology of imperialism, the conquest of water would not only allow orchards to bloom in the desert, it would also mean a dramatic increase in profits for the eager promoters. But the orchard had meaning beyond its use as a tool for financial success. More than a mere vocation, the orchard constructed and informed settler experience along lines of gender, class, and ethnicity. Animated by an English rural tradition expressed in literature and the spiritualism of a Christian paradise, orcharding grounded a British middle-class social order which was “naturalized” and given coherence by its reference to Nature and Eden. Whether reading the London Times at the Kelowna Club, or enjoying an early morning fox hunt, other British institutions and recreational activities complemented the orcharding ideal. Operating within an imperial economy of finance and images, these features of the community ultimately served as the links between orcharding and empire.
Additionally, ethnicity and class would be inscribed into the very soil of the orchard. As an alternative to what the British middle-class perceived to be a decaying and corrupted social order, the appeal of orcharding was found in its transhistorical framing of Paradise. Portrayed as the original and “pure” occupation requiring intelligence and sophistication, its association with divine perfection ensured that the occupiers of the rural landscape could only be the most gifted and intelligent of British society. In this light, discussions of Eden’s health and bliss went beyond the individual and included race, presented in a medicinal language of “degeneration.” In the exclusive manner that orcharding was imagined, the vision of a cultured community defined by bliss and leisure also excluded the “lower” classes, deemed “unfit” and too irresponsible to deal with the gifts of paradise.

Not surprisingly, the process of establishing the orcharding ideal was an uneven one. Indeed, in the space between the articulation and the enactment of the orcharding ideal, certain contingencies forced its alteration. Many wealthy English remittance men and middle-class families did take up the promise of perfumed orchards. Some people found success in fruit farming while others struggled to maintain their middle-class aspirations, or gave up the occupation to return to the “Old Country.” Additionally, other people came to the Valley, but took up different occupations. While the values and orientation of the imagined community was certainly informed by the fruit of paradise, the ideal was also eroded by a combination of climatic limitations, capital and labour crises, and a diversified population. The dilemma of labour, a result of the way orcharding was imagined, was a constant problem for the anglophile middle-class. “Unrespectable” domestic activities were recast as “lady-like” to allow middle-class women to maintain the respectability of themselves and the household. While Indians were allowed to enter the orchards for a short time during the labour-intensive harvest, conceptions of the pureness of paradise made their use distasteful and sporadic. The preference was always for male European labour which was the only compatible arrangement with the values embodied by the orchard. And while
the availability of appropriate labour was alleviated by importing "white" labour or from struggling orchardists seeking wage-labour as an income supplement, the Great War greatly exacerbated the order of the imaginary community.

Saddled with high debt levels and faced with declining British immigration following the Great War, the promoters abandoned orcharding as a tool for profit and development. With the sale of K.L.O. and S.K.L. assets in 1920, culminating with the creation of a new, publicly run Irrigation District, the orcharding era of Pooley, Carruthers, and Stirling came to an end. After the First and then Second World War, more non-British immigrants would make their way to Kelowna, until Germans would form the second largest ethnic group in the city. Finally, the erosion of the orcharding ideal must also be viewed within the context of the "crisis of imperialism" and the subsequent loss of idealism which sustained the imperial project. As a part of that damaged ideal, the vision of paradise was invariably eroded as a result. Although orcharding would continue to define the landscape of the Valley for decades to come, the content of its form would differ from its original articulation.

But does that mean that orcharding no longer resonates with the images it did in the past? Although removed from the imperial shadows, the development ethos that propelled the establishment of orchards also informs the marketing of Kelowna by the Chamber of Commerce today. Portrayed as a recreational "Four Season's Playground," the image of vitality and pleasant weather has led to an explosion of people, shopping plazas, and golf courses. However, despite the differences in appearance, certain imperialist "ideals" continue to resonate in the present. Charles Scott, a member of the White Aryan Nation and previous resident of Chilliwack, recently pulled up his stakes and headed west to Kelowna. Swearing off any active participation in white supremacist circles, Scott claimed that his recent move was an attempt to distance himself from the ugly reception he enjoyed in the

Fraser Valley. But what did he find appealing about Kelowna, a city gripped in chronic unemployment? Once he and his family had settled in, he planned to work as an orchardist.²

Appendix 2: Real and Personal Property of Okanagan Stockmen, 1879

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Property Value</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Date of Initial Land Purchase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. E. Lequime</td>
<td>$20,000</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. T. Ellis</td>
<td>15,000 (est.)</td>
<td>Anglo-Irish</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. J.C. Haynes</td>
<td>15,000 (est.)</td>
<td>Anglo-Irish</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. T. Greenhow</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. C. O'Keefe</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. F. Barnard</td>
<td>11,600</td>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>1873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. F. G. Vernon</td>
<td>11,500</td>
<td>Anglo-Irish</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. C. Vernon</td>
<td>11,500</td>
<td>Anglo-Irish</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. J.F. Allison</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Anglo-American</td>
<td>1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. C. Houghton</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>Anglo-Irish</td>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. J. Christian</td>
<td>8,600</td>
<td>French-Canadian</td>
<td>1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. L. Christian</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>French-Canadian</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. F. Richter</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>1871</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 3: Yale Members of Legislative Assembly 1871-1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Member</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Charles Semlin, Robert Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>J. Robinson, (F.G. Vernon), C. Semlin, R. Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>F. G. Vernon, John Mara, Robert Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>F. G. Vernon, J. Mara, Preston Bennett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>C. Semlin, J. Mara, P. Bennett (George B. Martin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>F. G. Vernon, C. Semlin, G. Martin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>F. G. Vernon, C. Semlin, G. Martin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Donald Graham, C. Semlin, G. Martin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BORN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1951</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maritime</td>
<td>7,265 (.37)</td>
<td>9,508 (.15)</td>
<td>30,876 (.24)</td>
<td>66,000 (.19)</td>
<td>115,589 (.2%)</td>
<td>289,481 (.33)</td>
<td>340,441 (.38)</td>
<td>448,790 (.39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>2,790 (.14)</td>
<td>20,587 (.33)</td>
<td>40,740 (.31)</td>
<td>84,686 (.25)</td>
<td>107,953 (.23)</td>
<td>152,535 (.22)</td>
<td>199,053 (.26)</td>
<td>159,100 (.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>396 (.02)</td>
<td>2,567 (.04)</td>
<td>4,329 (.03)</td>
<td>7,496 (.02)</td>
<td>8,240 (.02)</td>
<td>9,226 (.01)</td>
<td>9,622 (.01)</td>
<td>14,760 (.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie</td>
<td>38 ('neg:</td>
<td>967 (.01)</td>
<td>5,194 (.02)</td>
<td>10,097 (.04)</td>
<td>10,117 (.04)</td>
<td>9,573 (.09)</td>
<td>11,827 (.13)</td>
<td>19,908 (.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BORN ELSEWHERE OF CANADA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British or Natives</td>
<td>5,997 (.31)</td>
<td>20,709 (.33)</td>
<td>31,982 (.25)</td>
<td>116,629 (.34)</td>
<td>198,879 (.44)</td>
<td>187,843 (.30)</td>
<td>180,519 (.24)</td>
<td>142,911 (.17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continental Europe</td>
<td>840 (.04)</td>
<td>3,140 (.05)</td>
<td>9,400 (.07)</td>
<td>40,130 (.12)</td>
<td>31,658 (.07)</td>
<td>58,309 (.09)</td>
<td>61,716 (.08)</td>
<td>58,744 (.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>2,295 (.12)</td>
<td>6,567 (.11)</td>
<td>17,164 (.13)</td>
<td>37,548 (.11)</td>
<td>34,926 (.07)</td>
<td>54,706 (.08)</td>
<td>58,963 (.08)</td>
<td>41,265 (.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other or not given</td>
<td>261 (.01)</td>
<td>1,447 (.02)</td>
<td>570 ('neg:</td>
<td>439 ('neg:</td>
<td>551 ('neg:</td>
<td>544 ('neg:</td>
<td>592 ('neg:</td>
<td>912 ('neg:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>19,448</td>
<td>61,958</td>
<td>130,532</td>
<td>325,318</td>
<td>469,556</td>
<td>643,918</td>
<td>768,722</td>
<td>1,121,911</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:

Notes:
Since the 1891 census contains no figures for Indians or Asians by origin, the number of Indians is estimated from figures for 1881 and 1901, of Asians as those born on the Asian continent. Individuals born in Newfoundland are included in the Maritime rather than British possessions. Prairie includes Yukon and Northwest Territories, whose population was minute. Percentages do not necessarily total 100, but are rather each rounded to the nearest percent.

Appendix 4

Source: Jean Barman, Growing Up British in British Columbia (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984.)
Edward Maurice (Ted) Carruthers.
— Photo: Kelowna Museum

Walter Robert (Bob) Pooley and Gertrude Pooley.
— Photo: Kelowna Museum

Thomas Willing Stirling.
Head office of Carruthers & Pooley Real Estate in the Crowley Block opposite the old Kelowna wharf, circa 1905.

— Photo: Kelowna Museum

Appendix 7

The Luxurious Bounty of Eden: the well-tended and respectable homes of Kelowna, British Columbia ("Kelowna, British Columbia, the Orchard City of the Okanagan," Kelowna Board of Trade, 1912)
Appendix 9

Kelowna Board of Trade Brouchure, 1912. Note the size of Kelowna on the brochure’s map. While Vernon had approximately a thousand more people, the Kelowna promoters imagined a larger role for their city, which they reinforced in this depiction.
Appendix 10

The Lovely Bliss of Eden: T.W. Stirling’s orchard is featured as an example of Eden’s gifts, along with several other successful operations. The well-ordered trees and relaxing girls highlight the rural peace and elegance enjoyed by the fruit grower. The labour involved, while not emphasized, is also carefully relaxed. ("Kelowna, British Columbia, the Orchard City of the Okanagan," Kelowna Board of Trade, 1912)
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Theses


