THE BRITISH COLUMBIA RANCHING FRONTIER:

1858 - 1896

by

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HISTORY

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The University of British Columbia
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This thesis is an examination of the origins and development of the British Columbia ranching community and livestock industry. The argument is based on the assumption that the settlement of the Southern Interior Plateau stimulated the growth of a peculiar agricultural economy dependent primarily on stock raising, which in turn, played a prominent role in the region's political, economic and social development.

The British Columbia ranching frontier was preceded by the practical foundation of agriculture and animal husbandry in the Oregon country under the guidance of the Hudson's Bay Company and its maturity under the independent American settler. With the discovery of gold in British Columbia, the American ranching frontier extended northward temporarily to fulfill the demands of the mining market and in the process the Interior livestock industry was established.

Through the implementation of a pre-emption system and the hesitant introduction of pastoral leases, the colonial administrations slowly came to realize that the settlement of the Interior Plateau depended initially upon the promotion of stock raising. In its first stage of settlement, the isolated ranching frontier did not experience serious competition for site nor did one ethnic, social or economic group control the region's development.

With the gradual decline of the mining industry and
the frustrations surrounding the transcontinental railway, the new province of British Columbia entered a decade of economic recession. For the Interior ranching community, however, it represented a period of gradual economic expansion and growing influence in the political sphere. Once railway construction was finally commenced in 1880, the ranchers' concentration upon stock raising during the past two decades stimulated a period of unparalleled prosperity and land consolidation for the established Interior ranching population.

After 1885 the character of Interior settlement and the livestock industry began to experience the inevitable transitions of a more mobile and industrialized society. While the cattle ranchers, as the largest landowners, maintained a comfortable livelihood, they were visibly alarmed by the formation of large ranching companies and the growing competitive strength of the Alberta ranching frontier. Nevertheless, while the broader problems of the ranching industry now required a more united front, the established ranchers continued to operate on an independent, individualistic basis. Ultimately, this led to tension within the ranching community itself and a declining role in the economy of the province.
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Table I. THE PRINCIPAL RANCHING AREA OF BRITISH COLUMBIA: THE SOUTHERN INTERIOR PLATEAU

Table II. PRINCIPAL ROADS, TRAILS AND CATTLE DRIVES
SOUTHERN INTERIOR PLATEAU

Traditionally the exploration and settlement of British Columbia has been described in terms of three major influences; the fur trade, the gold rush and the railway. In the process, there has been a tendency among its historians to emphasize the historical evolution of the Fraser Valley and Vancouver Island. As these areas have been the focal points of population, government, industry and culture since 1849, this emphasis is understandable. Nevertheless, it is misleading to treat the province of British Columbia as no more than a business civilization centred upon the coastal region. It is important to realize that the province has developed as a series of inter-related regional and sectional entities, each with its peculiar historical background.

Not only did British Columbia, "the spoilt child of confederation", develop in isolation from the rest of Canada, but its Interior, the intermontane region, also evolved as the subordinate and isolated economic hinterland of the successive regional metropolises, Victoria and Vancouver. It was this geographical isolation from the coastal region, although never complete in an economic or social sense, which promoted the particular historical evolution and character of the Southern Interior Plateau in the nineteenth century. Although originally exploited as a mining frontier, its economy became increasingly dependent upon livestock and agriculture once the initial gold excitement in the Cariboo
began its slow decline. Although clearly discernable as a distinctive geographic area, the Southern Interior Plateau encompassed segments of three designated political districts. This meant that its politicians could not always cooperate on common issues as a cohesive unit. In terms of settlement, the region was equally diverse. Small pockets of population were interspersed along the main arteries of communication and river valleys from Quesnel in the north to Osoyoos on the International boundary. While the settlers were united to a certain degree by the conditions of the frontier, social inequalities were immediately evident. The comfortable ranch and life style of the Cornwalls at Ashcroft was considerably removed from the log shanties constructed by the early pre-emptors, packers and cattle drovers. In essence, the society which began to take shape in the British Columbia Interior after 1858 was transient in nature, multi-ethnic in population and diversified economically. Hence, historians using traditional approaches have found it difficult to fit the Interior's historical development into that of the province as a whole. Some seem almost to have ignored it.

The foundation of the livestock industry and the subsequent development of ranching communities coincided with the mining frontier. While it has always been a secondary industry in British Columbia in terms of production and capital investment, livestock raising was a major economic endeavour in the Interior before 1900 and, perhaps as important, for many, it represented a particular way of life. It was the first
generation of ranchers who provided a sense of permanence in a region dominated by a highly transient and mobile mining population during the first decade of settlement. Once the mining population began to withdraw in the late 1860's the ranchers emerged as the dominant economic and social group in the Interior, a position they retained until the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Yet, despite the obvious influence of the ranching frontier upon the economic and social development of the Interior before 1900, this phase of British Columbia's history has received only limited attention from scholars.

The local or regional historical writing dealing with the coastal province's early agricultural development reflects both the strengths and weaknesses of the province's historiography. The first generation of historians, which included among others, Alexander Begg, R.E. Gosnell, F.W. Howay, and E.O. Scholefield, was primarily concerned with a narrative of events and the provision of biographical information on prominent British Columbians. Their works, nevertheless, do pause long enough to reaffirm the fact that British Columbia never has been and certainly never will be a predominantly agrarian province. The geography of the province, in the long term at least, relegated agriculture to a supplementary rather than a primary role in the economic system. Of British Columbia's approximately 230 million acres, only three per cent is considered to be arable land. But, just because the amount of arable land represents a relatively small fraction of the
province's land surface, it is quite wrong to dismiss agriculture as of limited consequence in British Columbia's development, and to assume the province did not possess at one time a viable rural population, if not a broadly shared rural consciousness. Such assumptions have led historians and others to ignore agricultural developments and specifically to overlook the role of the stock raiser in the province's early history. R.E. Gosnell was guilty of this discretion as early as 1914 when he portrayed "cowpunching" as a means by which disillusioned miners passed the time on the plains of Lilloet and Cariboo until the railway arrived. Almost fifty years later, Martin Robin's *The Rush for Spoils* admits the "profane reality of bunch grass" in the Interior, but argues without sufficient supportive evidence that British Columbia was not originally settled by agriculturalists and that the culture which eventually "gelled" by no means had an "agrarian hue". Robin dismisses too abruptly the province's development before 1890 as it does not coincide neatly enough with his major thematic concentration, "the Company Province". It should be noted that in Yale district for example, which in 1881 contained about twenty per cent of the province's population and which has been traditionally considered a mining area, more than fifty per cent of the male population were classified as either farmers or stock raisers.

Professor Margaret A. Ormsby's familiarity with the region on both a professional and personal level has resulted
in the most balanced assessment of the Interior's historical development before 1900. In her early research, she devoted considerable attention to the ranching era in the Okanagan valley where for many years stock raising was the "sole source of revenue.....and it expanded greatly as conditions for it were ideal". In her provincial study, British Columbia: A History, the author portrays the Interior Plateau as "stock raising country" and comments upon the dominant members of the ranching community "who, even under the exigencies of frontier life, maintained the customs and standards of their upper middle class and country-gentry background". Nevertheless, her recognition of the significance of the ranching era, valuable as it is, still leaves us with an incomplete picture of the Interior livestock industry and ranching population.

Beyond the work of Professor Ormsby, the evolution of the first generation of ranchers has been better served by amateur historians than by their professional counterparts. As the North American cattle ranching industry originated in the United States, it has been assumed by some Canadian observers that the British Columbia ranching community was American inspired, if not American dominated. This is the impression put forward in F.W. Laing's important article, "Some Pioneers of the Cattle Industry". Laing, probably quite unintentionally, leads one to believe the Interior ranching community and industry was more or less a northern extension of its counterpart in the American Pacific Northwest.
In terms of scale of operation, means of transportation and the general operational techniques of the industry, there is considerable validity in this assessment. But when one examines the demographic data more closely, one finds that it was not only Laing's "American cattlemen" whose actions were tempered by an aggressive colonial government, but also a broad spectrum of other ranchers which included Australians, Italians, Englishmen, Irishmen, Frenchmen, Scots and Germans.\(^{13}\)

Other non-academic studies recognize the existence of the ranching era in British Columbia's Interior, but volunteer more in the way of narrative chronology than historical perspective.\(^{14}\) Nevertheless, the recent interest in local history can prove very useful to the historian intent upon a more academic approach. Mary Balf's study of Kamloops is a case in point. Although basically a collection of topical anecdotes it provides accurate information about the Kamloops region, and particularly of the early ranchers. Balf's study alters the perspective put forward by F.W. Laing and Ormsby. It devotes equal significance to both the small scale, often poorly educated and socially unconnected rancher, as well as the gentleman farmer of upper middle class heritage. Although the author may exaggerate the "routher and tougher breed" of Kamloops cattlemen, her presentation exemplifies the need to approach the Interior ranching community with caution. It was neither dominated by the American stereotyped cowboy, nor was it controlled by a unique, indigenous group like the
"cattle compact" in the neighbouring North West Territories.\textsuperscript{15}

To this point, no historian has attempted to place the Interior's ranching community and the livestock industry within the broader context of early British Columbia settlement. The result has been that even two recent and most excellent studies, Robin Fisher's work on "Indian-European Relations in British Columbia"\textsuperscript{16} and the late Robert Cail's survey of the \textit{Disposal of Crown Lands}\textsuperscript{17} both suffer at times from this historiographical vacuum. Despite their highly competent and often imaginative interpretation of the sources, in their frequent reference to the settlement of the British Columbia Interior before 1890, one senses the writers' frustrations in dealing with this rather nebulous and largely undefined settlement frontier. Who were the cattle ranchers who had grazed their cattle on Indian reserves and exerted pressure upon the colonial and provincial administrations to reduce the Indian claims? How did the Harper brothers, Jerome and Thaddeus, assemble the largest ranching operation east of the Cascades without the benefit of either crown pre-emptions or pastoral leases? The early Interior ranchers were an integral part of the diversified business community who dominated the region's economic development before 1890. Their success was based as much upon individual initiative and personal capital as upon generous government leases or external investment. To that extent, the British Columbia ranching frontier shares a common bond with its American counterparts. The cattle companies
with their professional managers and Board of Directors, did not begin to play a prominent role in British Columbia ranching circles until the late 1880's. Despite the increasing domination of the cattle companies after that point, the small scale independent rancher continued to typify the Interior ranching frontier before the turn of the century.

Our knowledge of the character of the Interior ranching population, as well as the role performed by this group in the political and economic development of the coastal province, has remained a little known phase of British Columbia's history before 1900. This is unfortunate for the settlement of the Interior Plateau stimulated the growth of a peculiar agricultural economy based largely on stock raising which, in turn, played a prominent role in the region's development from 1858 to 1896. Hence, the major purpose of this study is to re-examine the initial period of settlement upon the Southern Interior Plateau. In the process of describing and assessing the origins and early development of the Interior ranching community and livestock industry, this study will attempt to arrive at an understanding of why this region, and one of its first important industries, ultimately failed to allow British Columbia to become self-sufficient in livestock produce. Why did a province with apparently adequate grazing potential rely to a considerable degree upon American sources for beef until 1880, and then, after only a few short years of self-dependence and prosperity, once again give way
to alternative competition, this time from the North West Territories? The answer to these questions rests in the complexity of factors surrounding the development of the Interior ranching community itself.
CHAPTER I

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA RANCHING FRONTIER

EARLY INFLUENCES

In examining the practical foundation of agriculture and animal husbandry in the Pacific Northwest this chapter will focus naturally upon the two major protagonists; the Hudson's Bay Company and the independent American settler. This focus leads logically to consideration of first developments in the Oregon country. It is here that any assessment of the ranching frontier in British Columbia must commence.

Although black cattle belonging to Spaniards were seen on the Northwest coast of America by English explorers as early as 1792, the practical foundation of both agriculture and animal husbandry in the Pacific Northwest took place during the period of British-American Joint Occupation after 1818. The men of the Northwest Company, who monopolized the Interior trade of the Pacific Northwest between 1813 and 1821, were responsible for the initiation of cattle raising in the Oregon country. This particular enterprise presumably commenced on April 23, 1814, when the ship Isaac Todd landed at Astoria with "two young bulls and two heifers from San Francisco." The breeding of livestock, by the Northwest Company, however, was carried on in an indifferent manner. With the ascendancy of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Columbia River Valley and New Caledonia regions after 1821, and Governor Simpson's
carefully implemented austerity program, the nucleus of a potential livestock industry began to take shape in the Pacific Northwest.

For twenty years the Hudson's Bay Company encouraged the development of stock raising in the Oregon country as a subsidiary operation of the fur trade. When the American settlement frontier reached the region in the 1830's and 1840's, the settlers began to raise livestock as the most logical means by which to utilize the land. As the settlers expanded throughout the Columbia basin, the Hudson's Bay Company retreated gradually northward. By 1860, the Oregon ranching community held a surplus of livestock without a local population large enough to absorb it. Consequently, when the mining excitement commenced in the colony of British Columbia, Oregon ranchers and livestock dealers responded immediately. The herds of cattle and sheep they drove to the British Columbia Interior proved to be the foundation of the livestock industry in the British colony. The extension northward of American ranchers in search of markets was a relatively straightforward occurrence. What is more difficult to explain was the inability on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company to respond to the market opportunities opened by the expansion of the mining frontier.

The initial policy of the Hudson's Bay Company regarding livestock in the Pacific Northwest was directed
In 1827 and 1833 respectively, Fort Langley on the lower Fraser and Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound, both engaged in farming and stock raising. In fact, Fort Nisqually represented an important turning point in the Company's policy. When the London Committee authorized the expenditure of three thousand pounds for the purchase of cattle in December 1834, it acknowledged that cattle raising was to play an integral part in the Hudson's Bay Company's future in the Pacific Northwest. Shortly thereafter, one of the arguments put forward by the Company in support of its claim for renewal of its monopoly charter was that it not only intended to expand its agricultural operations in the Oregon country, but also to encourage the settlement of its retired servants "and other immigrants" in that region. On May 30, 1838, the Company's license was renewed for twenty-one years.

The extent of the Hudson's Bay Company's interest in stock raising ultimately was revealed in 1839 when the Puget Sound Agricultural Company was formed as a satellite of the parent Company. Under the nominal supervision of John...
McLoughlin, the company was designed to fulfill the terms of an agreement with the Russian-American Fur Company whereby the British company would provide provisions, including beef, to the latter's coastal posts. Furthermore, the newly created agricultural subsidiary was also intended to breed a sufficient stock of cattle and sheep at its central locations, Fort Nisqually and Cowlitz, to permit the export of hides, horns, tallow and wool to England in the returning ships. To fulfill its new contract, one of the Company's first decisions was to purchase over six hundred cows and three thousand sheep from California. From the outset, however, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company had difficulty in meeting its contractual obligations. Although the Nisqually operation provided sufficient quantities of beef and the Cowlitz farm ample grain, McLoughlin's attempts to produce enough butter fell far short of the necessary requirements. In the summer of 1841, the poor quality of Spanish cows forced McLoughlin to transfer surplus cattle to Nisqually from Forts Colvile, Okanagan and Walla Walla. The Russian-American Company was so dissatisfied with the Hudson's Bay Company's capability to provide foodstuffs that this part of the agreement was discontinued when the leasing arrangement was renewed in 1849.

Despite production problems and the lack of success in attracting settlers who would work for a few years as servants, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company saw its herds
increase substantially. The topography and the climate of the Puget Sound basin was ideally suited for the grazing of livestock. There was an abundance of highly nutritious short grass vegetation, easy accessibility to streams and rivers and comparatively mild winters. At Nisqually, the evidence of company employee, Michael Simmons presents a pleasant picture:

All over the tract were bands of horses and cattle and herds of sheep. They had five or six white herdsman and fifteen or twenty Indians; they lived in houses scattered over the plains... The cattle were in small bands lying all over the prairie and appeared tame; in the summer time a good many ranged in the woods and marshes when the grass was dry on the plains.

This period of tranquillity and expansion for the Hudson's Bay Company and its agricultural subsidiary south of the forty-ninth parallel was shortlived. First of all, the Company's attempts to settle families upon one thousand acre leaseholds was an unqualified failure. More important, however, was the aggressive movement of American settlers into the Oregon and Washington territories in the 1840's. Contemporary reports reveal that the American settlers were partly responsible for the rapid dispersal and depletion of the Corporation's herds. The Company was faced with the alternative of either standing by and watching their stock slaughtered and removed by boat or moving its livestock northward to Vancouver Island or to one of the Interior posts. It is not surprising therefore that shortly before the
diplomatic discussions respecting the Oregon Boundary Treaty in 1846, an unknown number of the Company's horses and cattle were driven north from Cowlitz and Nisqually to Fort Kamloops. According to Professor Ormsby, this was probably the first livestock to be brought into the Southern Interior Plateau of British Columbia. Although the Boundary Treaty guaranteed to the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company their possessory rights south of the Forty-ninth parallel, their influence on the livestock industry on the American side was submerged after 1846. The British corporations, nonetheless, had been responsible for laying the foundation of the livestock industry in the Pacific Northwest. Although the Spanish cattle imported from California and the Sandwich Islands were of inferior breeding to those introduced by American settlers, their survival and adaptation with a minimum of supervision illustrated the considerable potential of the region for stock raising.

It must be mentioned at this point that the fur traders were not the only pioneer agriculturists and breeders of livestock in the Old Oregon country. As early as 1834, Methodist Jason Lee and his associates established a mission in the Willamette Valley with the aid and encouragement of Chief Factor John McLoughlin. Their involvement in agriculture and animal husbandry was in part a
logical way to encourage the Indians to settle down and adapt to the white man's way of life and religious faith. Their commitment to stock raising was formalized in 1837 with the organization of the Willamette Cattle Company. Its first decision, with McLoughlin's financial involvement and cooperation, was to employ men to drive a band of six hundred cattle northward from California. The successful outcome of this enterprise laid the foundation for the prosperity of the initial settlers in the Willamette Valley, and opened the way to the expansion of cattle ranching in the Oregon country. The migration of more than one thousand people into the Columbia Valley in 1843 with as many as two thousand head of cattle assured the dominance of American interests in the Oregon Country. Within a few years this overland migration resulted in the replacement of the light-bodied and half wild Spanish cattle by superior American stock.

The arrival of settlers and the availability of good grazing land led to the rapid expansion of the herds as the most practical method by which to utilize the natural resources of the region. Settlers occupied the Willamette Valley, then pushed southward into the Umpqua and Rogue river valleys. Once the Oregon treaty was finalized, they moved into the country north and east of the Columbia River. Further impetus to raise livestock was created by the California gold discoveries of 1849. Enterprising Oregon cattlemen drove their surplus cattle southwards to this lucrative market. Yet, while the mining potential in Cali-
fornia and southern Oregon provided the ranchers with their first steady market, it also had an adverse effect upon the Oregon economy. As early as April, 1849, the Governor of Oregon, Joseph Lane, complained that farms in Oregon were being neglected and that "a large portion of the horses and oxen" of that territory were being taken to the California mines. This situation in Oregon foreshadowed an important sideline of the later Cariboo mining experience. Potentially lucrative employment in the mining endeavours almost always enticed a sizeable portion of the region's labour force to abandon their current occupation and devote themselves, for a short time at least, to the new opportunities. This temporary economic instability in the American Northwest was, however, shortlived. By 1860 the State of Oregon and the Territory of Washington contained a combined population of 64,059 inhabitants. The corresponding totals for livestock were equally impressive; 63,106 milk cows, 10,203 oxen, and 109,073 cattle, for a total of 182,382. This meant that with the advent of the Fraser gold excitement in 1858, the American livestock industry was poised and ready to exploit a potentially lucrative market.

While the Oregon livestock industry developed, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company had continued to operate its establishments at Cowlitz and Nisqually on a reduced scale. In April, 1847, the parent Hudson's Bay Company ordered the associate company to remove the majority of the
livestock from south of the Forty-ninth parallel. This decision was but one aspect of the company's plan to withdraw from American territory and henceforth to concentrate its activities north of the International boundary. In terms of agricultural and pastoral pursuits, this meant the expansion of farming operations at Fort Langley and the recently established Fort Victoria. This development was reinforced two years later when the British Parliament decided to create the colony of Vancouver Island. On the understanding they were to finance and supervise the establishment of "a settlement or settlements of resident colonists", the Hudson's Bay Company assumed proprietary rights to the newly constituted colony.

On the southern tip of Vancouver Island, the Hudson's Bay Company once again set out to promote agricultural settlement. They continued to propound the belief that land must be high priced and that the most attractive colonist was the gentleman with sufficient capital to hire labour. With the price of land at one Pound an acre and every landowner required to bring out five single men or three married couples for every one hundred acres purchased, the fur trade company's scheme under Chief Factor Douglas quickly proved to be a poor means by which to promote colonization. By 1852, only eleven men had bought land. This restrictive land policy was in sharp contrast to the situation in Oregon and Washington Territory at this time. Here, under the Donation Land Law of 1850, lands were granted free of charge to settlers who had occupied and cultivated land for four
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years, or title could be granted after two years upon pay-
ment of $1.25 an acre. Hence, while the American region
grew steadily, the Company's efforts to attract a landed
gentry continued to falter throughout the 1850's. The
agricultural operations that did exist on Vancouver Island
were centred at Craigflower, Constance Cove, Viewfield and
Colwood. At these farms the Puget Sound Agricultural Company
hired bailiffs on a contractual basis to supervise the
agricultural activities. As the extent of pasture was
limited and the nucleus of herds were of the inferior Spanish
breed, the establishment of stock raising was a slow process.
In fact, if the McKenzie records are any indication, the
southern end of Vancouver Island never did reach a level of
self-sufficiency even for its own local beef requirements.
What beef there was produced locally was quickly absorbed
by the requirements of Her Royal Majesty's squadron at
Esquimalt.

As the Hudson's Bay Company, with the cooperation of
the British Colonial Office, set out on its ill-conceived
colonization scheme on Vancouver Island, the fur trade in
the New Caledonia Department continued to turn a profit for
the corporation. With the Company's retirement from the
Columbia River district increasingly inevitable, the com-
plexion of the New Caledonia fur trade changed considerably.
First of all, as early as 1846, Company officials had accepted
the proposal of Alexander C. Anderson to search for a new
route for the Interior brigade. Within a year Anderson had traversed the three main overland routes to and from the Thompson River to the lower Fraser and advised Douglas the most feasible route to the Interior was by way of the Coquihalla, Similkameen and Tulameen rivers to Fort Kamloops. The major drawback of this trail, known as the Hope trail after 1849, was that the high summit elevation meant it was only free from snow in the summer months. Nevertheless, Douglas believed it had definite advantages over the route directly down the Fraser canyon via Yale or the Harrison River route by way of the Anderson-Seton chain of lakes. In fact, the Hudson's Bay Company had little choice but to adapt its activities to one of these new highways. By 1848, the Okanagan Lake brigade trail, the most accessible route from the south to the northern Interior, was effectively closed to peaceful trade by spreading Indian unrest in the Columbia basin on the American side of the boundary.

Fort Kamloops, or "Thompson River Post", had traditionally served as an entrepot and garrison for the New Caledonia area. The pack-train route from Fort Alexandria, on the Fraser, to Kamloops and on to Fort Okanagan on the Columbia, had long been regarded as a permanent line of communication. When the traditional transportation route was interrupted after the 1846 boundary settlement, Kamloops was not abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company. Instead, Kamloops was entrusted with the raising of horses for the
large pack-trains the fur trade required. The horses grazing on the bunch grass on the bench land surrounding Kamloops gave the first indication of the district's potential as a fine stock raising country. It was during these years that farming became an important factor at Kamloops. In line with Governor Simpson's policy of rigid economy, Company employees were instructed to produce hay, cereals, vegetables and such crops as would render them self-sufficient in food provisions. Livestock arrived periodically from Nisqually. Nevertheless, it is evident that to the personnel of the post, farm products remained a luxury. The fort journal on several occasions records the slaughter of worn-out horses as provisions for the men and it is significant that the serving of beef, flour and potatoes on Christmas Day, 1859, was an event worthy of special mention in the fort journal.

It is evident the Hudson's Bay Company for some reason did not fully appreciate the stock raising potential of the Kamloops region. If they had done so, the market for beef and mutton that came with the Cariboo gold rush would not have so readily come under the control of the American cattlemen. In fact, the behaviour of the Hudson's Bay Company's leaders was curious throughout the 1850's. The men who directed this corporation were shrewd businessmen. They had moved aggressively into the Pacific coast trade and in the process strengthened their inland fur trade market. Yet, while aware of gold in considerable quantities in the Thompson river district as early as 1852, their only reaction
was to veil the discovery in secrecy. One can understand this decision in terms of the Company's desire to continue the exploitation of the fur-bearing regions of the Northern Interior. But senior officials such as James Douglas, who had personally witnessed the spontaneous activity engendered by the California gold rush, must have realized it was only a matter of time before the mainland north of the forty-ninth parallel would witness the onslaught of gold hungry miners. This was surely a remarkable opportunity for the Hudson's Bay Company, already well into a stage of economic diversification as a business enterprise, to prepare for the arrival of a captive market. In this instance, the Company's leaders failed to react positively and in the process were soon to lose their position as the dominant influence on the mainland of British Columbia.

* * * * * * * * *

Before 1858, the British territory between the Rocky Mountains and the sea coast was considered a land remote, a vast Interior where the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company carried on their traditional duties without interference from intrusive settlers. This determination to resist American expansion and to perpetuate the Company's stranglehold upon the region was responsible in part for the initial suppression of information concerning the territory's mineral resources. For some years before the northward penetration of the American mining frontier, Company officials had been collecting gold-dust from Indians and from its French-Canadian
employees. But until 1856, as Professor Ormsby points out, the amount the Company acquired was small, and it was only at this date that most of its officers learned to recognize gold in its natural state. Within a year, however, Douglas was informing his superiors that the lure of gold had carried the miners to the Thompson River. At this point it was only a matter of time before the news of the new mining fields reached the population centres along the Western seaboard.

The ensuing mining excitement can be seen as a major transitional point in British Columbia's history. The important question was jurisdiction over the vast and sparsely populated mainland. The immediate future would witness either the extension of British colonial authority or the expansion of American territorial influence officially northward. As it turned out, a series of decisive manoeuvres by James Douglas ensured British jurisdiction over the potentially rich goldfields. As early as December, 1857, Douglas issued an ordinance which declared all mines in the Fraser and Thompson districts belonged to the Crown. Then on February 1, 1858, a mining licence system was introduced to regulate the mining population and to provide a framework of taxation. As Douglas' only justification for initiating these regulations came through his position as the Hudson's Bay Company's senior official on the mainland, he lacked the political status to administer them. This problem of political authority was solved when Sir Edward Lytton, the newly appointed Secretary of State for the colonies, initiated the next British decision.
In a bold move, Lytton authorized the termination of the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly in the territory west of the Rocky Mountains and introduced legislation in the British parliament to constitute a new colony, British Columbia. Hence, as of August 2, 1858, the monopoly of the "Honourable" Company over the mainland north of the forty-ninth parallel was officially dead. Its authority on the Pacific Slope had been replaced by that of a colonial government wherein the Governor was granted full and absolute power to make provision for the administration of justice and, subject to review by the British parliament, the right to establish laws and ordinances.

In 1858 the heterogeneous mining population began to penetrate beyond Victoria and up the Fraser River or follow the rejuvenated Columbia-Okanagan Valley route. Their numbers were sufficient to quickly represent a new market for the farmer and stockraiser in the Pacific Northwest. Thus in keeping with the pattern often observed on the North American frontier, the cattlemen followed hard on the heels of the miner, and one of the immediate consequences of the British Columbia mining boom was the development of a trade in cattle and cattle produce. Although San Francisco and Honolulu shared to some extent in the cattle trade to Victoria, for almost a decade Western Oregon was the principal source of meat for Vancouver Island, the lower Fraser Valley and the American towns on the lower Puget Sound. This was a natural economic development for Oregon, as discussed earlier, had become a surplus stock
producing region over the previous two decades. At first, the newly constituted colonial government did not resist, but encouraged the movement of American livestock into the Colonies. It was obvious to Douglas that neither the settled region of Vancouver Island nor the mainland was capable of feeding the rapidly expanding mining population. Furthermore, through the application of a ten per cent ad valorem tariff, the flow of cattle and other foodstuffs provided the New Westminster government with an immediately source of revenue.  

The response of American cattle dealers and ranchers to the northern market was immediate. As they were limited in the expansion of their American markets by geographical barriers and the non-existence of a railway, they welcomed this new opportunity. As early as the summer of 1858, herds began to move northward from the Willamette, Umpqua and Columbia River valleys. Once the cattle drivers reached the Columbia River, the route divided. Cattle destined for the Interior were sent, either by boat or overland trail, to the Dalles, and then driven northward by way of the Okanagan Valley; those headed for the coastal market were carried by boat to Monticello (now Kalama), and then were driven northward by the old Cowlitz road to the head of Puget Sound. From this point they were transported by steamer down Puget Sound to Victoria, the main coastal market.

The route by way of Puget Sound to Vancouver Island and the lower Fraser Valley had decided advantages over the
alternative Okanagan Valley route. It was shorter and more economical. Save for the crossing of the Columbia River, the livestock could be brought by land from Western Oregon to the Puget Sound Basin, where they could be grazed until the British Columbia market warranted their transportation across the Sound. Furthermore, the Douglas administration had declared Victoria a free port. American livestock entering Vancouver Island, therefore, were not subject to the ten per cent \textit{ad valorem} duty imposed at New Westminster and Kamloops. Yet another advantage of the Puget Sound route was the absence of any hostile Indian population. The drovers and packers ran little risk of Indian harassment from the natives scattered throughout the coastal region.

Despite the logistic and remunerative security of the Puget Sound network, the overland route to the British Columbia Interior was used increasingly by packers and drovers in 1858 and 1859 as the market gradually shifted eastward with the movement of the mining population into the Interior Plateau region. The first cattle drive along the more arduous interior route was organized by General Joel Palmer in June, 1858.47
Basically, Palmer and subsequent drovers followed two routes from the Dalles; one by way of Walla Walla and the mouth of the Snake River to Priest Rapids and the other by way of Simcoe, striking the Columbia above the head of Priest Rapids. After arriving at Fort Okanagan, in Washington territory, Palmer followed the Okanagan River northward, crossing the International boundary south of Osoyoos. This route, established initially by the Hudson's Bay Company brigade, then led northward along the western shore of Okanagan Lake up to its head, then veered toward the Thompson River Valley and Kamloops. As Palmer made a second journey over much the same route in 1859, he was obviously optimistic about the Columbia River-Okanagan Valley route to the Cariboo mines. He was of the opinion that it was cheaper to ship goods by the Columbia than by the Fraser River system. But as he warned in January, 1860, his fellow Americans must move quickly to improve the Interior communications network: or the mining market, particularly in the Similkameen region, would be in danger of falling under "British control". This was obviously a reference to the colonial government's decision to construct a road from Hope to the Rock Creek mining area.

"British control" posed only a minimal threat to the extension of American cattle interests into the Interior market. True, the Douglas administration almost immediately had imposed restrictive custom duties and road tolls to finance an ambitious road building policy. But, in the meantime, as the
London *Times* correspondent Donald Fraser so aptly observed, "even miners cannot eat gold". Essentially, the mining frontier was pushing into the Interior faster than the colonial administration's ability to control it. Whereas in 1858 the nucleus of mining activity had been in the area between Fort Hope and Fort Yale, by the spring of 1859 the old bars were practically abandoned as "a thin line of men, carrying heavy packs, had already begun to crawl north from Yale along the dangerous trail to Boston Bar, Lillooet, Pavilion, the Fountain and on to Alexandria." Before the summer ended, a thousand men were working in the area between Alexandria and Fort George. By the spring of 1860, the strike at Keithley Creek confirmed the considerable supply of gold eastward from the spur of the Rocky Mountains to the Quesnel and Cariboo Lake region. The advance toward the Cariboo had begun.

The movement of the mining population into the Cariboo region provided additional impetus for the promotion of a route by way of the Columbia River, Okanagan and Kamloops. Neither the Harrison River-Lillooet route, nor the yet to be completed Cariboo road up the Fraser Canyon to Lytton proved a valuable means by which to transport livestock. The only wholly internal route suitable for livestock was the Fort Hope to Similkameen trail, constructed under Edgar Dewdney's supervision, but there is little evidence to suggest this was heavily used during the boom years of the Cariboo rush.
The majority of the livestock, which included horses, cattle and sheep, entered the colony by way of Osoyoos and the Okanagan Valley. This is manifest in Governor Douglas' effort to appease the New Westminster merchants by introducing the Southern Boundary Act in December, 1860. This Act abandoned the ten per cent *ad valorem* tariff, and applied heavier customs duties on all goods and animals entering British territory through the Southern Interior.\(^{55}\) As this legislation demanded the continual surveillance of the open plain extending from Boundary creek to the Okanagan Valley, it proved itself virtually ineffectual before permanent border crossings were established. In fact, one suspects that Douglas expected the politically motivated act to be broken. By 1862, the need for American meat at the Cariboo mines had become so urgent that the practical governor directed the Gold Commissioner at Rock Creek to encourage the importation of two to three thousand live cattle duty free.\(^{56}\)

American cattle ranchers and dealers were willing to oblige Governor Douglas in his request for increased supplies of livestock to the Cariboo market. The northern export trade had in fact proven very profitable to American cattlemen.\(^{57}\) As R.C. Lundin-Brown pointed out in his prize-winning essay on British Columbia in 1863, in "the Upper Country, the profit obtained by persons employed in the cattle business is very large, as may be seen at once from the fact that beasts purchased in Oregon at $10 per head are sold three or four months
afterward in the north at $50 per head and cost literally nothing for food by the way." This remarkable price difference merely reflected the exorbitant prices charged for practically all commodities in the remote mining camps. In June, 1861, for example, bacon was 40¢ a pound at Lillooet and 75¢ a pound at Keithley Creek. A year later, Ballou, the pioneer express agent of the Interior, reported bacon at Cariboo was $1.50 a pound, beans $1 a pound, flour $1.50 a pound and beef in the vicinity of fifty cents a pound. Outside of beef and mutton, however, the transportation of staples to the Cariboo communities involved a rather precarious financial adventure. The goods, once purchased in either the United States, New Westminster or Victoria, had to be moved by steamer to the head of navigation, Point Douglas or Yale, and then transferred to horse, mule or camel for the arduous five hundred mile trek to the Cariboo. Before the goods were allowed beyond Yale, Hope or Point Douglas, government officials imposed the most resented tax in existence during the colonial period, the road toll.

Although the tax was inflicted equally upon all goods, the stockmen emerged with an important advantage. The final cost of transportation to the mining markets was less to the livestock dealers than to their packing confreres. The early American cattle drovers, men such as Ben Snipes, Major John Thorp, the Jeffrey brothers and the Harpers, were not dissuaded by boundary duties and road tolls. Outside of these expenses, their overhead was comparatively small. Cattle were transported from the American ranching markets with a
minimal amount of skilled supervision and a small labour force. The very restricted number of permanent settlers along the route before 1863 meant competition or legal claim for grazing land along the transportation routes was virtually non-existent. Thus, except for isolated cases of interference from the various Indian settlements scattered throughout the Interior Plateau, the cattleman's real worries were more directly related to the seasonal nature of the mining market itself.

There is little precise information as to the identity of the original cattle drovers or the scale of their operations. One major source, the Hudson's Bay Company Fort Kamloops Journal, is particularly vague in its references; "another band of cattle arrived on their way to the mines", or "a large band of cattle arrived from the Dalles", are typical entries made by Chief Trader William Manson. We do know that following the pioneering cattle drives led by General Palmer in 1858 and 1859, Jerome Harper and J.H. Parsons were said to be "heavy cattle dealers" who each year drove from six hundred to one thousand head of cattle from Northern California and Oregon to the British Columbia Interior. The most frequently mentioned stockmen in the Fort Kamloops Journal were brothers John and Oliver Jeffreys, (sometimes spelled "Jeffrie" or Jefferie") pioneer drovers originally from Alabama. Their first venture into the Cariboo market was in the fall of 1860 when John Jeffreys arrived from the Dalles with "a large band
of cattle."  This initial drive must have proven successful as within a year W.G. Cox reported the arrival of a Mr. Jeffreys with eight hundred cattle who "will, if possible, control the beef market in the Upper Country". Although the Harper-Parsons partnership and the Jeffreys brothers were probably the largest contributors to the fledgling Cariboo market, they were by no means without competition in the peak mining years. There was a host of other smaller competitors; the firm of Snipes and Murphy, Waldron and Company, Major John Thorp and Daniel Drumheller were other Americans also involved in the developing British Columbia cattle trade before 1865.

The year 1862 marked the greatest population influx into the Cariboo region. After that point the population began to stabilize at about three to four thousand persons and the economic and social structure began to catch up with the sudden growth. This was an inevitable process. As John Robson, editor of the British Columbian admitted to his readers in October, 1862, too many men had come to British Columbia with "the most Utopian and absurd expectations and notions, fancying that with fifty or one hundred dollars in their pocket they would without difficulty reach Cariboo in a few weeks at most, bag a pile of nuggets, and all in one season, return to the bosom of family and friends, little, if any, short of millionaires". For the majority, the opposite was more often the sad reality. In the Cariboo country, the best gold was
found deep in the ground and could only be reached by sinking shafts forty or fifty feet to bedrock. These more expensive works required capital which, after 1860, compelled many miners to form partnerships. Hence, by 1862 the industry had become heavily capitalized and placer mining became increasingly less profitable. Furthermore, the resulting economic dislocation was forcing hundreds of miners to consider alternatives like road-building, packing and ranching, or more often, departing from the region.

Despite the rapid transition in the British Columbia mining frontier, it continued to attract American drovers throughout 1861-62 as is evidenced by the estimated six thousand cattle that entered the mainland colony during this year. The abrupt decline in 1863 was the result of an embargo imposed by the American government as a civil war measure late in 1862. The Douglas administration cooperated with the terms of the embargo by informing J.C. Haynes, collector of Customs at Osoyoos, "not to interfere with any officers of the United States Government following animals smuggled across the boundary." This decision must have irritated the Harper and Jeffreys families, both very outspoken sympathizers of the Southern cause. However, owing to agitation from both American and British officials, the embargo was modified in September, 1863, to permit the export of stock raised in any state or territory bordered on the Pacific Ocean. But, as the Osoyoos records indicate, the modification came too late to allow the
resumption of large scale drives in 1863. Only 1188 head passed the Osoyoos Customs in September and none during the rest of the year. 71

Although the beef embargo was not extended to other articles of food, it reaffirmed what was seen by some colonial observers as a "potentially disastrous" dependence upon the neighbouring Republic for the great bulk of their food. In 1862 the colony of British Columbia imported, in round figures, twenty thousand head of livestock and a little over twenty-seven thousand barrels of flour, to say nothing of beans, rice, bacon and "a thousand and one other articles". 72 The beef embargo therefore accentuated the need for the colony to turn away from the exclusive pursuit of gold and to concentrate more attention upon the production of livestock, cereal crops and vegetables within its own borders. There was by this time a few farms and roadside establishments producing some grain, vegetables and running small herds within the colony, but they by no means satisfied the demands emanating from the mining regions.

A logical result of the 1862-63 cattle embargo was a temporary beef shortage in the Cariboo. On January 24, 1864, a correspondent of the British Colonist wrote from Richfield to inform "enterprising cattle drivers" that not more than "about forty head of cattle" were available in that area and beef was selling at seventy-five cents a pound. 73 Less than a month later, the same correspondent could report that a large herd of cattle had arrived at Richfield and the price of beef
had fallen to fifty cents a pound. Subsequently, other herds must have arrived at the Cariboo mines, for by early June, 1864, the price of beef at William's Creek was only forty cents a pound. The fluctuations in the price of beef in this short period illustrates the highly competitive nature of the beef market. Once herds from Oregon, California and Washington Territory arrived prices would fall off considerably until that supply was exhausted and then prices climbed back to a higher level. In these early years the first drover to arrive at the Barkerville-Cameronton-Richfield region in the spring was guaranteed a handsome return for his labours.

Before 1865 the majority of the Cariboo mining population left the region for the winter months. Consequently, as the cattle drovers found it was financially and physically infeasible to drive their cattle to the Cariboo during the cold months, they turned their herds loose to graze in the milder climes of the Thompson, Bonaparte and Hat Creek valleys. The first indication of this practise was recorded by A.J. Splawn, a young American cattle drover who later published the story of his 1861 experiences. On that occasion, American cattlemen Snipes and Murphy, a Mr. Cock and Major Thorp accepted the advise of former Hudson's Bay Company trader, Donald McLean, to winter their herds in the Hat Creek valley. In following winters, other cattle dealers followed this practise of wintering herds under minimal supervision on the open ranges of the Thompson, Hat Creek, Bonaparte and Nicola valleys before
driving them north in the spring. In this manner herds, other than those of the Hudson's Bay Company, were established in the British Columbia Interior. It was more a case of accident and circumstance than preconceived plan. When the first Interior settlers began to pre-empt land in those valleys in 1862-63, cattle were available from the American owners, but at prices inflated by the mining excitement.

Despite the obvious grazing potential and the advantage of being closer to a profitable market, it is evident that most of the early American cattlemen had no intention of establishing themselves on ranches in the British Columbia Interior. As many of them already were developing ranching interests in Oregon and Washington Territory, they were primarily interested in the transportation of the livestock to the available market, where the stock hopefully would be dispensed at maximum profit. Certainly, the cattlemen were not discouraged by established elements within the colony. At Fort Kamloops, the cattlemen were almost always graciously received by the Hudson's Bay Company official, and were allowed to graze their animals on the branches of the Thompson River. In April, 1862, Benjamin Snipes, later to become an influential rancher in the Dalles area, bought all the yearling calves the Hudson's Bay Company could spare at $25 a head. A month later, the same company offered the Jeffreys brothers four hundred dollars to enable their herds to clear customs at Osoyoos. Although these isolated occurrences do not represent conclusive proof,
it is evident the Hudson's Bay Company now recognized the
need to expand their business activities beyond the traditional
confines of the fur trade. In order to meet the higher cost
of labour and provisions created by the mining discoveries,
the first business enterprise in British Columbia was now in
the livestock business. They sold surplus stock to passing
miners and travellers as well as providing the odd steer to
hungry Indians. 78

By the summer of 1865 the Cariboo region was
beginning to decline as an important market for American live-
stock. One report estimated as many as two thousand head of
cattle were grazing in the Kamloops district waiting for an
improved market. 79 The American ranchers and drovers, however,
were not overly distressed by the development, for in 1864
the British Columbia mining market had broadened to include
the Kootenay mines. By the summer of 1864 there were an
estimated thousand men at Wild Horse Creek, who received most
of their supplies, including beef, from the American communities
of Walla Walla, Lewiston and Wallula. 80 In that same year the
discovery of gold in the Big Bend region of the Columbia River
attracted a considerable movement of miners into that remote
area of British Columbia. Both these markets were served for
the large part by American packers and drovers. While a few
ranches were now in the process of development in the Interior,
the British Columbia cattle industry by no means had evolved
to the point where it was ready to compete with American live-
stock interests. Hence, at this stage, neither the Kootenay nor the Big Bend mining frontiers exhibited any major influence upon the development of stock raising in the Southern Interior Plateau.

Beyond this, the predominant American interest in the Interior livestock market was also on the decline by 1865. According to the cattle import statistics compiled by F.W. Laing, importations fell from 1862 onward, but the decline was rapid after 1865.

**TABLE I**

CATTLE IMPORTATIONS - MAINLAND BRITISH COLUMBIA - 1859-1870

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO. OF CATTLE</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO. OF CATTLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>3,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>2,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>1,897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>4,343</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>1,841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1,299</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL - 22,256

Only the Harper brothers, Jerome and Thaddeus, continued to import cattle from Oregon and California on a regular basis. Most of the identifiable cattle dealers appear to have turned their attentions elsewhere. The Jeffreys brothers, after an ill-fated attempt to outfit a Confederate privateer in Victoria,
returned to Dalles City, Oregon, where John Jeffreys died in February, 1867. Major Thorp abandoned the cattle business to devote himself fully to the development of his gold claim on Antler Creek. Benjamin Snipes, of the firm of Snipes and Murphy, returned to Oregon where he put together one of the most successful ranches in the Columbia basin. Other men pursued business interests within the colony itself; Mr. Cock operated a ferry at Quesnel for many years while another drover, Aschael Sumner Bates, established a lucrative road-side house on the Cariboo road.

As the initial excitement over the mineral potential began to fade, there was increasing evidence that the Southern Interior Plateau of British Columbia was to be settled on a permanent basis. It was already beginning to develop its own identity by 1865. Small ranches and farm sites had begun to appear sporadically along the main lines of communication from Osoyoos to the Cariboo. Admittedly, the trade relationship between the American Pacific Northwest and the British Columbia Interior would continue for the balance of the colonial period. Interior ranchers for some time would depend upon Oregon and Washington livestock to establish their foundation herds. The fledgling ranching community, furthermore, would not immediately challenge the American domination of the beef market in the Fraser Valley and Vancouver Island. But, if colonial leaders and spokesman were serious about the colonies' need to be self-sufficient in livestock produce, it was more than evident by 1865 that this dependence logically
rested with the development of the Interior's ranching potential. The Hudson's Bay Company and the American cattle interests had demonstrated the capabilities of the region for stock raising. Further impetus for its development now depended upon the Colonial government and the settlers themselves.
CHAPTER II

The Ranching Frontier in the Interior Plateau of British Columbia

The Colonial Period

When the members of the Legislative Council initiated the debate upon the prospect of British Columbia joining Confederation 1870, one of the principal topics of discussion was the protection and promotion of the colony's nascent agricultural and stock raising community.¹ As yet, the colony had not released itself from a heavy dependence upon American sources for livestock and farm produce.² There was, however, a bright prospect. By 1870, the potential of the Southern Interior Plateau as a predominantly cattle raising area was firmly established in the minds of the Colonial government and was manifest in an expanding body of ranchers. This growing awareness of the colony's stock raising potential was remarked upon by Governor Musgrave in an optimistic despatch to London."Your Lordship will observe the significance of the fact that attention is now directed to obtaining a market for produce which is raised among ourselves, instead of all our supplies being drawn from abroad. Probably next year there will be little or no beef imported in Victoria. The Upper country of the Fraser being already supplied as cheaply with meat and breadstuffs as any other portion of the colony".³
As the initial chapter argued, the establishment of stockraising in the British Columbia Interior was the result of the interaction of a variety of factors, paramount of which was the discovery of gold and the subsequent attraction of American cattle drovers and dealers to supply the region. After 1863, however, the American involvement in the Interior beef market began to decline, as the majority of American cattlemen turned their attention to markets south of the International boundary. From this point forward, it was the colonial administration and the established ranchers who would determine the economic and political direction of the Interior ranching frontier. Unlike the very prominent profile of the cattle industry and ranching frontier in the American West, the Interior ranching community developed in the shadow of the mining excitement, particularly in the early years of the colonial period. Yet, despite their less influential position, in terms of the permanent settlement of the Interior Plateau after the initial mining boom, it was the ranching community perhaps more than the transient mining population, which provided a sense of stability to the extensive geographic area.

Given the significance of the ranching community in this regard, the essential purpose of this chapter is twofold. As the colonial government struggled to establish itself upon the mainland, the successive administrations under Governors' Douglas, Seymour and Musgrave took decisive steps to regulate
and control the development of the Interior. This is particularly true with regard to the disposal of Crown lands and the Indian land situation. To a large extent, however, the physical isolation of the Interior Plateau reduced the impact of these legislative decrees designed and passed in New Westminster and Victoria. Consequently, it is equally important to identify the early ranching population and describe their response to the new environment. The individual ranchers who established themselves during the colonial period represented the nucleus of the Interior ranching community. It was these men who guided the initial pattern of settlement and laid the groundwork for the growth of the Interior livestock industry after Confederation.

* * * * * *

From the outset of the gold rush in 1858, miners, colonial officials and journalists commented upon the potential of the Interior Plateau for stock raising. The correspondent of the London Times, Donald Fraser, was wary of the Interior's "inaccessibility", but enthusiastic about the Similkameen valley as a stock raising locality. R.C. Mayne, a lieutenant in the British Engineers, also expressed restrained enthusiasm about the development of the Interior until effective communication links could be established with the coastal settlements. But he did predict the Bonaparte and Thompson River valleys would be the "natural starting point for civilization and settlement; starting from these points, civilization would
gradually creep forward and extend finally to the valleys of the frontier." Other observers were less enthusiastic about the Interior's agricultural and pastoral amenities. Walter Cheadle, while on a tour of North America with Lord Milton in 1863, praised the "great nutritiousness of the pasturage about Kamloops", but thought the agricultural potential had been "grossly misrepresented." Fellow Briton, Duncan Macdonald, was even more pessimistic. He concluded that "British Columbia is a miserable country, neither adapted for cattle nor suited for cereal".

Conflicting opinion upon the British Columbia Interior's prospects is hardly surprising. The Interior Plateau was to a large extent unexplored, vaguely mapped and years removed from a systematic land survey. It was also a region of tremendous geographic, topographical and climatic variance. If one entered the Interior by way of the Fraser River route, he viewed terrain that was clearly non-productive except for the flat or benches, elevated above the bends of the river. Only after passing the small town of Lytton and following the Thompson River towards Kamloops did the region open into the characteristic "rolling country" of narrow, elongated valleys, three to four miles wide. If one entered the region by way of the Osoyoos boundary, the dominant characteristic was that of dryness and lack of vegetation; in other words he found the "lithographic landscape" which so aroused the curiosity of Cheadle. One fact was perfectly
evident from the outset of settlement. If agriculture, including stockraising, was to be pursued on the Interior Plateau, it would be upon a moderate scale and would vary directly in accordance with the intensely variable and localized climate and topography. Nevertheless, while British Columbia's Interior would never be an agricultural region on the scale of California or the Canadian prairies, it was perfectly capable of supporting an agricultural population.

Despite the lack of consensus about the potential of the Interior for agricultural pursuits, there was considerable enthusiasm about the excellent quality of bunch grass in the country immediately east of the Cascade Mountains. The colonial government, however, was in an awkward position with respect to the development of its stock raising potential. In addition to the problem of communication, the Interior hinterland's future stability clearly depended upon the promotion of permanent settlement. Yet, while the colony's economy remained heavily dependent upon the mining frontier, the colonial administration led by Governor Douglas was forced to placate this vested interest, even if it meant the temporary delay of the promotion of a more settled populace. For instance, Magistrate Cox at Rock Creek might express alarm that a certain American would soon control the beef market in the Upper Country as a result of large importations, but the immediate concern of the government was to see that sufficient livestock reached the Cariboo since the required supply could not be provided from within the colony. To
counterbalance this decision, cattle breeding within the colony was encouraged by the remission of duties for those settlers importing cattle to stock their ranches.  

Although the Douglas administration could not deter American importations, it moved decisively to regulate the settlement of British Columbia. As early as February 1858, Douglas had forwarded to the British Colonial Office a copy of the first proclamation concerning public lands. From these proclamations, emerged the colony's first comprehensive land ordinance in January, 1860. The principles were clearly defined. The paramount principle established the constitutional right of the Crown to all lands, mines and minerals; lands were to be divided into town, general country and special settlement, and offered for sale by public auction at a nominal upset price of ten shillings an acre. Although a soon abandoned principle, at first it was understood that no land was to be open to purchase without first having been surveyed and mapped under government authority.

The most important provision of the 1860 land ordinance, however, was the establishment of the pre-emption system. This development was a direct response to the weakness of the original Hudson's Bay Company land experiment. The Royal Engineers, sent out by the Colonial Office in 1858, could not survey at a pace that could meet the demand for land surveys reaching New Westminster, the centre for their operations. In addition, the cost of transporting the Engineers to localities where surveys were required often would have exceeded the
price of the land itself. To solve this survey problem and to promote the acquisition of unsurveyed agricultural land, the 1860 ordinance authorized the occupation of such land to the extent of 160 acres, with a pre-emptive right to title for any person immediately occupying and improving the land. At the same time, the Douglas administration made provision for the purchase "of large tracts of unsurveyed country land....by persons of larger means,(but) in order to guard against the speculative holding of land....5 shilings an acre (was) to be paid down, and the residue at the time of the survey." Occupation of the land was made the absolute test of the title, and no pre-emption was to be granted without fulfilling that "imperative condition".

The Colonial Office and the Douglas government took the view that the encouragement of settlement was more important than the enrichment of the treasury from the sale of public lands. In January 1861, a government proclamation reduced the price of land to the rough equivalent of one dollar an acre, and allowed pre-emptors to acquire additional land at ten shillings an acre. Fortunately for the cattle rancher, who ostensibly would purchase additional land for grazing purposes, the settler was under no obligation to improve his more-recently purchased land. However, he was still obligated to improve his first claim or forfeit it to another who would put the land to "beneficial use". Less fortunately, later governments did not enforce the related statutory provisions
respecting improvements, and inevitably speculators reaped large profits in defiance of an admirable principle. It is acknowledged that from the 1860's until 1910 there was scarcely a public figure in British Columbia who did not acquire agricultural, mining or timber land for speculative purposes.23

The new land laws, however, were not devised with the promotion of the colony's livestock industry as a top priority. The restriction of pre-emptions to 160 acres as well as the subsequent 1863 ordinance, which limited the land a pre-emptor could purchase in addition to his pre-emption to 480 acres, suggests that Douglas was originally more concerned with the promotion of agricultural settlement than stock raising on a large scale. The most logical omission in the original land act was any legislative provision governing the use of pasture land. As it turned out, the lack of a pastoral lease system was to have immediate repercussions once persons commenced the establishment of permanent ranches. Confined to the limited extent of their original pre-emptions and purchases, the first ranchers simply assumed the ranges of the Interior Plateau were open to one and all. This practise, similar to the situation in parts of the American West, continued until provision for regulating land was introduced in the Land Ordinance of 1865.

It is apparent that the reluctance of the colonial government to implement more effective control of pasture lands in the first land ordinance was motivated in part by the
colony's dependence upon American importers for the majority of its provisions. As the packers and cattle drovers were essentially transitory in their movements, they insisted upon grazing and watering their stock where it was convenient. The Harpers, for instance, whose refusal to take an oath of allegiance disqualified them from the right to pre-empt, simply occupied land east of Kamloops for the purpose of grazing their livestock. As the following letter indicates, the packers and drovers often trespassed upon the land of bona fide settlers:

A Mr. Cornwall pre-empted a piece of grass land on the line of the Waggon road forty miles beyond Lytton, he merely planted stakes at the corners of his pre-emption, but did not put up any fence...a man named Courtenay came along the road with 80 head of cattle...he stopped his cattle where water was convenient...during the night his cattle as it appeared in the morning had been grazing on the pre-emption claim of "Cornwall"; and he claimed from Courtenay $1 per head for the cattle...or he would bring an action for trespass...Your Excellency will readily perceive the great inconvenience and injury that could be inflicted on the packing community if such a law holds good....

As this letter from packer spokesman, H. Ladner, to the Attorney-General indicates, if the early packers and drovers had a particular grievance, they reacted quickly and positively by applying pressure on the colonial administration to rectify the situation. While the packers and drovers at first were largely successful in having their own way, a challenge was not long in coming. As early as December 1862, a prominent and influential rancher, Clement Cornwall, served notice to Courtenay, an American cattle dealer, and several
other locals that they were trespassing illegally on his land. As they ignored his notice, Cornwall took Courtenay to court and at Lytton in June, 1863, magistrate Ball upheld Cornwall's claim and the disconcerted American was forced to settle with the recent English arrivals.

At first glance, this court decision simply represents the settlement of a local incident in a remote Interior community. This decision, however, signified the beginning of an important transition in the development of the Interior ranching community. For the first time, someone had challenged successfully the pre-eminence of the packers and drovers and their freedom to carry on business activities as it suited their particular interests. The case stands as evidence of the fact that British Columbia was beginning to attract settlers intent upon establishing themselves on a more permanent basis. The Colonial government had begun to develop a framework of land legislation to encourage the settlement of the Interior. It is evident, however, that the early settlers did not establish themselves in the Interior solely as a response to legislation and government encouragement. It would become increasingly obvious that the successive colonial administrations were adapting legislation on an ad hoc basis to conform to the needs of the early Interior ranching community. Hence, before we continue the examination of the broader framework of the ranching frontier, it is necessary to describe who were the first ranchers, and how they set up their ranching operations. The first settlers demonstrated the suitability of the Interior Plateau for stock raising, not
the colonial government.

It is very difficult to discern who were the first to follow the Hudson's Bay Company into ranching in the British Columbia Interior. Regardless of who should merit this distinction, it is evident that individuals established ranches as early as 1859 and in widely scattered areas of the potential stock raising region. The first herd was introduced into the Okanagan valley by the Roman Catholic priests soon after they established their mission at L'Anse Au Sable in 1859. In November 1860, the Okanagan missionaries were joined in the valley by John McDougall, William Pion and Auguste Calmels. These men drove their initial stock in from Oregon. Immediately east of the Okanagan valley in 1860, Frank Richter settled in the vicinity of the present town of Cawston and pastured his cattle on the ranges of the Similkameen River. While establishing his own herd, Richter supplemented his income by tending the Hudson's Bay Company's horses located at Keremeos. Several hundred miles northward, H.O. Bowe and his partner, Herbert Grinder, were busy building a road house and ranch at Alkali Lake in the Lillooet district. Bowe bought his first cattle, 300 head, from Oregon cattle dealer, Tom Irving, and with his own herd and forty head he took on shares for colonial officials, he made his start in the cattle business. Some authorities claim the Bowe enterprise was the first cattle ranch established in the Interior outside the earlier involvement of the Hudson's Bay Company.
A large majority of the colonial ranching population had pursued some other career before turning to ranching, often totally unrelated to agriculture or stock raising. Among those with some relevant ranching experience, however, were the cattle drovers and dealers who decided to remain in the Interior and establish themselves on a more permanent basis. The Harper brothers, a dominant force in the early cattle industry, had gained previous livestock experience supplying cattle to the California gold markets. Two other ranchers with previous experience were John Wilson and Lewis Campbell. Campbell, son of a Maryland farmer, entered a partnership with Yorkshire emigrant, John Wilson, in the early 1860's and engaged in the importation of cattle from Oregon. Their practice was to winter livestock at Campbell Creek, east of Kamloops, and then drive them to the Cariboo market. Another American, Benjamin English, founded a ranch in Venables valley after five years experience driving cattle from Oregon to the Cariboo. Other prominent ranchers gained their knowledge of livestock through the butcher business. Both Charles Beak and J.B. Greaves, later partners in the Douglas Lake Cattle Company, served early apprenticeships in the butcher shops of Cariboo centres.

The Hudson's Bay Company was another important source for the Interior ranching communities. Chief Trader Donald McLean left the Company post at Kamloops in 1860 to establish a ranch on Hat Creek at the mouth of the Bonaparte
River. William Manson, Archibald McKinley and William Anderson were other long time officials who left secure positions to try their hand at ranching. The Hudson's Bay Company establishment at Kamloops was especially important as an alternative form of employment for men who lacked the capital or experience to start their own ranches. George Bohun Martin, long time member of the legislative assembly and prominent Interior rancher, worked for Kamloops Chief Trader, J.W. McKay, upon his arrival in British Columbia in 1862. From 1868 to 1870, William James Roper, proprietor of the Cherry Creek ranch west of Kamloops, served as a packer and teamster at Fort Kamloops. Though it had lost its charter and monopoly control, the Hudson's Bay Company continued to exert an important economic and social influence in British Columbia.

While the "Honourable" Company employed future ranchers, the Colonial Office, with full cooperation from the governors, encouraged the emigration to British Columbia of young, educated Upper Middle Class Britons to offset the large American population attracted by the mining. These young men, primarily from England and Ireland, arrived in a steady stream during the colonial period. Although a relatively small group, they were to exercise a powerful influence over the economic, political and social development of British Columbia. Among the group were several young men who decided to establish ranches in the Interior Plateau. Henry and Clement Cornwall,
for instance, paused only briefly in Victoria in 1862 before proceeding to the Interior where they pre-empted land on the Thompson River. The sons of Reverend Alan Gardiner Cornwall, Champlain-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria, both brothers had received degrees from Cambridge; Clement graduating in law from Magdalene in 1858 and Henry in engineering from Trinity in 1861. As their diaries do not allude to why they were attracted to British Columbia, one can only speculate why two men, by birth and education members of upper class English society, would leave their comfortable English situation. The availability of cheap land, a commodity denied them in England, was probably a strong motivating factor. In light of their education and background, they perhaps had some expectation that it would secure them important positions within the colonial administration. Whatever their reasons for emigration, by July 1862, the Cornwalls had begun to assemble by pre-emption and purchase an estate which eventually would contain 6,452 acres.

The Irish were also prominent in the establishment of the original Interior ranches. J.C. Haynes for instance, commenced a twenty-five year career in 1861 as government administrator, politician and rancher in the Osoyoos district. The Okanagan valley, however, seemed to hold a special attraction for these educated young Irishmen. When for example, Thomas Ellis arrived from Ireland, he was immediately introduced to Victoria society by colonial official, Peter O'Reilly; an old friend. Bored by the seemingly endless round
of church and games like "battle door and shuttlecock", Ellis soon left for the Upper Country. Once there he located a pre-emption at Penticton as it seemed "a very good place for wintering cattle". This was to be the beginning of the largest ranch in the Okanagan valley. Tom Ellis, however, was not the first Irishman to settle in that area. This distinction belongs to three former Irish army officers; C.F. Houghton, Forbes George Vernon and his brother, Charles Vernon. Charles and Forbes Vernon were natives of Clontarf Castle, Dublin, where their father owned a considerable estate. The land Houghton had initially chosen as a military grant in 1863 was disallowed as it had shortly thereafter been set aside as an Indian reserve. In partnership with the Vernon's, Houghton then pre-empted land five miles east of Priest's valley at Cold Springs. In May, 1869 an agreement was signed at Coldstream Creek whereby the Vernons relinquished all claim to the Priest Valley ranch to Houghton in exchange for his interest in the Coldstream ranch. Near the Vernon's ranch lived Edward Tronson, son of the inspector of Police for Kilkenny in Ireland. He established his Okanagan ranch after several years with the Bank of British Columbia, an abortive mining experience at Big Bend in 1868 and an apprenticeship at the Vernon ranch.

These men, among others, played a prominent part in the Interior during the colonial period. Besides possessing the considerable capital necessary to establish ranch operations immediately, they enjoyed the educational background and
influence needed to gain political, legal and administrative appointments. Clement Cornwall was the first elected representative to the colonial assembly from the Yale district, John Martley was for a time a rather unpopular Justice of the Peace for the Lillooet community while Charles Houghton did exploration and survey contracts for the government before being elected the first federal member of Parliament for Yale-Kootenay. Although attracted to one another by background, education and a sympathetic ear in Victoria, these transplanted Britons by no means controlled the early ranching frontier in British Columbia. Though they were its most conspicuous and dominant figures, they were a comparatively small group scattered throughout the Interior Plateau. Though they enjoyed exceptional influence and access to capital, before their land holdings were to assume any great value, they too faced the essential problems of transportation, markets, labour shortages and inflated livestock prices.

In contrast, a less affluent and genteel group of men had been drawn to British Columbia by the lure of gold between 1858 and 1864. Many of this multi-national population turned to agricultural and pastoral pursuits only after attempts at mining, packing, merchandising or one of the many activities made possible by a prosperous mining infrastructure. When the Cariboo, Kootenay, Big Bend and Rock Creek mines began to demand more capital investment, there was a rush of Canadians, Americans, Frenchmen, Italians, Mexicans, Chinese, Britons and even the odd Australian to record pre-
emptions in the region east of the Cascades. Although many of these early land claims were later absorbed by the wealthier ranchers or simply abandoned, they represented the major proportion of the pioneer Interior ranching population.

Their backgrounds were as diversified as any pioneer society. Many of the men had drifted northward from the California mining region. Others left comfortable livelihoods in Eastern Canada. Charles Semlin, a prominent Cache Creek rancher and future premier, had taught school at Simcoe County, Ontario until 1862. Whitfield Chase, who pioneered the Shuswap district, had studied law in his hometown of Otego, New York, worked as a builder in Victoria and prospected before establishing a ranch. The Frenchman, Laurent Guichon, mined in California, then invested his earnings in a Cariboo supply business before he decided to purchase some ranch land with his brother Charles in the Nicola valley. Luc Girouard, born and educated in Quebec, had worked for the Northern Pacific railroad, then mined in California and then at Cherry Creek before eventually settling upon stockraising as a livelihood. It is apparent that the majority who settled the Interior Plateau in the colonial period were by no means united by common experience or background. If there was a common denominator it is to be found simply in the attraction of the colony's mining wealth. This situation would appear to stand in sharp contrast to the ranching frontier in the North West Territories where clearly discernable and cohesive social groups asserted themselves from
the outset of settlement. The occupation of the ranching country in British Columbia in fact seems to display more of the demographic diversity characteristic of the ranching frontiers of the United States.

Despite the diverse social and cultural background of the early ranchers, they were drawn together by the common nature of their economic enterprise. The almost complete dependence upon the mining market forced the colonial ranching population to orient themselves toward a wide diversification of economic pursuits. Unlike the later ranching frontier in the neighbouring Territories, where the generous lease system allowed for large scale cattle ranching and where the railway was soon to open a rich potential market, stock raising in British Columbia was concentrated on small land holdings, confined by a limited local market and oriented toward self-sufficiency. The Cornwalls, for instance, who possessed the necessary capital to concentrate solely upon the production of livestock if so inclined, of necessity pursued other agricultural and business activities. Besides their cattle, the brothers grew oats, barley, wheat, alfalfa and vegetables. As soon as they completed construction of a house for themselves, they immediately commenced construction of a "40 by 60 foot Road House". Henry Cornwall spent the winter of 1862-63 in Victoria to arrange for the machinery for a saw-mill to be sent from San Francisco. Similarly, the Harper's, besides their expanding involvement in the Interior cattle market, were busy in the promotion and
operation of their saw-mill at Yale, and a flour mill at Clinton.

In this context the Interior Plateau of British Columbia can be seen in the early years of the colonial period as an open frontier where business opportunities were more diversified than was characteristic of more agrarian frontiers. The first settlers, as well as developing their own property, responded to the service opportunities created by the mining population. As the Cariboo region approached its zenith, the operation of a well located road house was a potentially lucrative investment. Although very few records have survived relating to these early establishments, the day books of John Boyd, rancher and proprietor of the Cottonwood House and ranch in the Cariboo district, have been preserved. While the roadside house was largely utilized for overnight accommodation, Boyd and his partner, Mr. Heath, did a steady business selling flour, beef, bacon, beans, potatoes, coffee, tea and hay to the assortment of travellers who passed their way. These particular ranchers did not develop their own livestock production to any extent. Instead they preferred to purchase their requirements from either the Harpers or Van Volkenburgh and Company when the local market warranted it. The Cariboo Road was lined with roadside houses similar to that of Boyd and Heath's, and as long as the Cariboo continued to attract the miners, these establishments subordinated their ranching operations to the more lucrative provision of supplies, liquor and a place to sleep.
By 1865, however, the changing emphasis of the mining frontier compelled the roadside operators to devote more energy to the improvement of their land and stock.\textsuperscript{63}

The economic diversification of the early ranchers had wide implications for the development of Interior agriculture and its livestock industry. From the commencement of settlement, the majority of ranchers were essentially mixed farmers. They might concentrate on the production of livestock, but their isolation demanded the production of other commodities and the pursuit of subsidiary economic activities. Furthermore, specialization in stockraising was hampered initially by the cost of foundation herds. As the American cattlemen were fully aware they could realize high prices at the mines, they demanded exorbitant rates from settlers intent upon establishing ranches. The Cornwalls bought their first beef cattle at Lytton from an Oregon drover, a Mr. Stroud, at 60 dollars a head for cows and 40 dollars for two year old steers.\textsuperscript{64} At the time Clement Cornwall noted in his diary the excessive cattle prices and the ensuing pressure it would surely place upon intending ranchers.

Faced with the considerable cost of establishing a ranch, many of the colonial ranchers established themselves initially through partnerships. Either for financial or practical reasons, two or more individuals would pool their capital, purchase and graze their herd on a common range and then once settled, dissolve the partnership and ranch on an
individual basis. Partnership in the original purchase was especially common. In 1865 Lewis Campbell joined with John Wilson to drive a herd of cattle from Umatilla, Washington Territory, to the Kamloops vicinity.  

In the same year Thomas Ellis, in partnership with Andrew Macfarland, purchased cattle from Oregon. In 1866, the year of the Big Bend excitement, Newfoundlander Thomas Wood and Ottawa native, Cornelius O'Keefe, brought in their herd from the Willamette valley. These men held the cattle jointly until 1871, when Wood sold out to Thomas Greenhow, and settled at the foot of Woods Lake. The family business arrangement exemplified by the Cornwalls, Harpers, Guichons, Moores and Van Volkenburghs also proved to be a successful way to establish a ranching operation. In the Harper's case, Jerome devoted himself largely to the financial side of the operation while Thaddeus handled the practical aspects of ranch management and the organization of transportation to market. As for the Cornwalls, Henry increasingly carried out the day to day activities of the ranch as Clement was away a great deal on political and business matters.

Another factor inhibiting expansion and encouraging diversification was the seasonal labour shortage, despite the ready availability of Indian and Chinese labour. The Fort Kamloops journal is replete with entries commenting upon the Hudson's Bay Company's difficulties in attracting good reliable agricultural workers. The Cornwalls complained of the same situation and in the early years usually did the daily chores themselves. There is little doubt the continuing lure
of the mines and the correspondingly inflated wage structure hurt the development of the colonial ranching community and particularly those of modest means. The foundation of an Interior ranch, outside the pre-emption of land, was a considerable investment in terms of labour and capital. As the land units were almost universally unfenced, the care of livestock, particularly in winter, was a time consuming and laborious operation. In especially severe weather the wandering cattle had to be located, herded to the ranch headquarters and fed. Building and agricultural implements had to be transported from the coast, subject to road tolls and all the inconvenience of a rudimentary transportation system. It was not surprising that many of the original pre-emptors left their ranch sites for a portion of every year to supplement their incomes. Many never returned.

After having established the identity of the early ranchers and some of the problems associated with the establishment of a viable ranching operation, it is necessary to turn once again to the role of the colonial government in the development of the Interior ranching frontier. The significance of land policy, in particular, is crucial to the development of Interior ranching enterprises. By 1865, certain government officials located in the Interior were most concerned about the seeming reluctance on the part of the colonial government to regulate the pasture lands of the mainland. Thomas Elwyn, the magistrate at Lillooet, and G.B. Wright, a prominent road contractor, had both warned Douglas that although bunch grass was luxuriant and apparently
plentiful, it would not last if grazed indiscriminately by cattle drovers, packers and ranchers. 68 With the passing of the Land Ordinance of 1865, the colonial government, now led by Governor Seymour, finally took action to regulate grazing land. According to section 51, the Governor was empowered to grant pastoral leases of unsurveyed and unimproved land to pre-emptors or persons who had purchased land in the immediate vicinity. 69 Settlers could lease land on the condition that they stocked it within six months with the proportion of animals to each one hundred acres specified by the local Stipendiary Magistrate.

This first lease legislation, in theory, was designed to protect the pre-emptor and promote settlement. Besides declaring all land leased for pastoral purposes liable to pre-emption or purchase without compensation, the Colonial Office instructed Seymour to limit all leases to seven years with no right of renewal. A further limitation upon the cattlemen was the clause which stipulated only five hundred acres of waste land could be leased for cutting hay, and then, only for five years. 70 Despite the threat of these controls, which were never fully implemented, the pastoral lease system attracted considerable interest. The majority of applications came from the Yale district as the first ranchers scurried to control what they realized to be potentially valuable and limited grazing land.
## TABLE II

### RETURN OF PASTORAL LEASES - YALE DISTRICT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Lessee</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Rate/Acre/Annum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E.G. Perry</td>
<td>Yale</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>4 cents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitfield Chase</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1,085</td>
<td>4 cents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornwall Brothers</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>3 and 1/3 cents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.H. Stanford</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>3,430</td>
<td>3 and 1/3 cents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Ingram</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1,711</td>
<td>4 cents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Uren</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1,154</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Hare</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2,425</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.A. Vernon</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>3,252</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.G. Pemberton</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>3,505</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Duck</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1,710</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Heuling</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gannon, McKinlay &amp;</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Stewart</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.B. Greaves</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4,940</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles A. Semlin</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2,880</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wilson</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>10,980</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Morton</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1,710</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Peranet</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1,147</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Fortune</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2,055</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Gotin</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1,151</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haynes &amp; Lowe</td>
<td>Kootenay</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there is no concrete evidence, it is obvious that the new lease system possessed a tremendous scope for patronage. The largest leases were granted to the Cornwall brothers and John Wilson while other prominent ranchers such as J.C. Haynes, J.B. Greaves, Charles Semlin and Charles Vernon received permission to rent sizeable acreages. Conspicuous by their absence from the list of lessees were the Harpers, the major livestock dealers during the colonial period. One did not have to be a British subject to obtain a lease at this time as there were several Americans on the
list. Why the Harpers did not acquire a pastoral lease for their considerable number of livestock however, must remain a matter of conjecture at this time.

In fact, the granting of a pastoral lease to the Cornwall brothers in 1865 stimulated a vigorous local controversy. Clement Cornwall, besides being the first Cambridge alumnus to ranch in British Columbia, was sitting as the first elected member of the Legislative Council for Yale district when the lease system was formulated. His close affiliation and cooperation with the Seymour administration did not endear him to some of his constituents and brought heated criticism from journalist and politician, John Robson, self-acclaimed "champion of the people". Robson, who characterized Cornwall as "that Gentleman of the Seventeenth Century Abroad," had previously expressed his strong opposition to Cornwall's "Pounds Bill" which he portrayed as an attempt "to infringe the rights of settlers, the packers, the stock-raisers and the drovers." 

Hence, once word circulated that the Cornwalls had applied for a large lease in the Hat Creek valley both Robson's newspaper, The British Columbian, and The Cariboo Sentinel were quick to comment on the situation. New Westminster's paper opposed the "Hat Creek Valley Speculation" as it was "one of the best and most used cattle ranges in the Upper Country." The Barkerville newspaper was concerned not so much with terms as with the extent of the leases; 

We cannot conceive any benefit the government would derive from allowing so much land to get into the hands of one or two persons. We would be glad to see every inch of ground
from Yale to Cariboo taken up and occupied by bona fide settlers, because that would be evidence of the country's progress, but to parcel out the best lands of the colony among a few capitalists would only bring upon us an incubus (sic) like the Hudson's Bay Company to stop settlement and ruin the country.

Clement Cornwall, obviously resentful of being characterized as a monopolist, defended his application and the new pastoral lease system. He argued in some detail that the land involved in the proposed lease, besides being useless for agriculture due to high altitudes, was used only infrequently by the packers.76

Had you Sir, before publishing that article, read the existing law you would have seen that the land even when leased would have been open as before for pre-emption and purchase and as to packers not being able to feed their animals when passing through leaseholds, what can be easier than the Government to insert a clause in these leases reserving such a right for them and for cattle drovers.

One rather suspects that John Robson was using the lease controversy as a vehicle to further his campaign against Clement Cornwall. Magistrate Nind saw no objection to the lease proposal and granted it to the applicants. In fact, he believed the Cornwalls actually underestimated the number of cattle that Hat Creek valley could support.77

Other Interior ranchers appeared satisfied with the terms of the new lease system, if lack of official correspondence is an indication of their satisfaction with the new regulations. Certainly, the colonial government had moved positively into the regulation of the region's pastoral land and Nind's recognition of the need for large leases was an encouraging sign
for the development of the livestock industry in the Interior.

Although the provision for pastoral leases was the most important colonial legislation influencing the ranching frontier, there were several other ordinances enacted for the regulation of the ranching industry. This legislation in actual fact was designed more to meet the situation on Vancouver Island than on the mainland. Indeed, this legislation appears to have been initiated on an ad hoc basis as the need arose rather than as part of a carefully construed policy on the part of the colonial administrations to encourage the stock industry. The 1869 Fence Ordinance, which was introduced by Victoria member, Amor De Cosmos, allowed for any area in the colony to be designated a fencing district if so desired by a convention of two-thirds of the district landowners.\(^78\) If this prerequisite was met, no person living within that area could claim damages for trespass because of cattle straying on to his land unless his property was protected by a "lawful fence". If cattle strayed into land protected by such a fence, the owner of the stock was liable for damages. The fencing legislation met with little enthusiasm in the Interior where open range was considered sancrosanct by the ranching population. That fencing which did exist was limited to the immediate vicinity of the ranch headquarters. Even Clement Cornwall, once the proponent of a Pounds law for the colony, had altered his position. As far as he was concerned "if it (fencing district) comes into force here it will do us great injury".\(^79\)
As it turned out, no fencing districts were established in the Southern Interior Plateau during the colonial period. In that same session, a new enactment, the *Cattle Ordinance*, was passed by the legislative council. Once again it was designed primarily to control the cattle stealing and shooting apparently prevalent among the settlers and Indians on Vancouver Island. The sections that applied to the mainland provided district magistrates with the authority to restore stolen cattle, to impose penalties on anyone possessing the carcasses of stolen cattle and to encourage the registration of brands. Of more significance for Interior ranchers was the passing of the *Toll Exemption Act* in 1871. This legislation, which was introduced and guided through the House by Interior members, Thomas Humphreys and Clement Cornwall, exempted all farm produce transported out of the Interior from the resented road and ferry tolls. Although the colony's transportation difficulties were unresolved at this point, it was hoped that relief from tolls would encourage the Interior ranchers to send their cattle, wool and hides to the coast.

It is clear that as the colonial period progressed, the colonial administration was gradually evolving a comprehensive land policy to regulate and promote the settlement of the colony's crown land. In the process, however, the traditional territories of the Native population were being encroached upon by cattle drovers, packers and ranchers.
It was increasingly evident the Interior tribes were caught in the midst of an aggressive, expanding frontier where the climate of opinion, both among the settlers and government officials, supported the manipulation of the native people. To quote one recent assessment, "settlement brought groups of Europeans who had come to transform the wilderness, and with varying degrees of consciousness, to change the Indians who were seen to be a part of it." Land was essential to the continuation of Indian culture in British Columbia. As various studies have shown, the extent to which an indigenous people have retained their land is the best single criteria on which to judge their survival. But, at the same time, the cattle ranchers survival and growth potential depended upon the availability of land, and in the era of the open range, they required considerable amounts to attain a level of profitable operation. Hence, although they did not instigate the pressure upon the Indians to conform to white settlement, the early ranchers certainly supported the Indian's relegation to a minor role in British Columbia society.

For his part James Douglas did articulate a comprehensive Indian policy from the colony's inception. He envisioned the settlement of Indians on reserves where, among other benefits, they would be secure against the encroachment of white settlement and reciprocally the whites secure from the possibility of "having the native tribes arrayed in vindictive warfare." Each family was to have a portion on the reserve for its own use and to ensure its
retention, the Indians were denied the right to sell or alienate their land. In assigning reserves, Douglas and his officials followed no set pattern other than an honest attempt to include within the reserve boundaries if possible all Indian settlement, graveyards, gardens, hunting lodges, berry patches and fishing stations.\(^6\) Despite Douglas' admirable principles and personal effort, there was no codified system for the reservation of Indian lands at the time of his retirement in 1864. Although the 1865 Land Ordinance specifically withheld from pre-emption all Indian Reserves or settlement, the legislative right of the Indians to hold lands remained largely undefined. This was most unfortunate for British Columbia's Indians, as successive colonial administrations were less sympathetic to the territorial privileges of the native peoples.\(^7\)

Douglas had appointed certain officials to lay out reserves throughout the mainland colony. In the Yale district, which encompassed a large percentage of the Interior Plateau, thirty-nine reservations were defined covering 18,759.5 acres.\(^8\) The largest of these reserves were those in the Shuswap Lake vicinity and at Kamloops. This was not surprising. The original tract of land laid out extended more than forty miles along the South Thompson river from Kamloops. As this was potentially valuable grazing land, the local Indian tribe felt immediate pressure from cattle drovers and pre-emptors. This pressure took different forms.
On the political front, colonial settlers from the outside utilized the available channels of communication to apply pressure on the colonial government. As early as May 3, 1864, Robert Thompson Smith, one of the appointed Yale representatives in the legislative council, introduced a petition calling for the reduction of the reserves from the "current ten acres per Indian" as it was "seriously interfering with the resources of the colony." In February, 1866, Clement Cornwall, by this time the first elected Yale member, asked the Colonial Secretary to inform Council as to what steps had been taken to reduce the "extensive reserves on Okanagan Lake and the Thompson River."

Meanwhile Interior ranchers did not wait for the reservations question to be resolved by the Legislative Council. Magistrates from throughout the ranching country cited instances of Indian lands being used by white men for pasturing cattle. An editorial in the British Columbian claimed Chief St. Paul of Kamloops had rented his entire tract from Fort Kamloops to the Little Shuswap Lake to Jerome Harper as a stock range for the meagre sum of $25 a month and "thus one of the most valuable ranges in the country is locked up, and anyone who attempts to cut hay or otherwise make use of any portion of it is hunted off by the Indians." A short distance eastward, Phillip Nind reported that Chief Nisquaimilth had rented a portion of the Shuswap land allotment to a stock raiser. James Todd, a former Hudson's
Bay Company employee at Kamloops, was enthusiastic about the establishment of a 520 acre ranch near Nisquaimilth's camp and confident that "with a horse or so" he could buy the chief "over to his views". This was unfortunate for both the Kamloops and Shuswap Indians had exhibited considerable enterprise in agricultural and pastoral pursuits. Nind, whilst a champion of white settlement, did admit the Shuswap tribe were "in better circumstances than the generality with a great number of horses and some cattle."

These activities were merely the precursors of a concerted effort, once Douglas was safely retired to reduce the larger Indian allotments, particularly in the Kamloops and the lower Fraser areas. The Indians resented this reversal of policy, but offered no overt resistance to the reduction of their traditional territories. Within a year of Douglas' retirement, Walter Moberley was sent out to reduce the reserves of the Shuswap Indians by Governor Seymour. Moberley informed Trutch, Commissioner of Lands and Works, that Nisquimilth objected to the reduction not because of the threat to his people's fishing and hunting territory but because of the loss of the "considerable sum of money from white men for the use of the land". J.C. Haynes, government agent responsible for the Okanagan area as well as an aspiring rancher, believed the two Okanagan reserves should also be reduced; as he put it "twenty square miles is much too large considering that the natives occupy land in several other
places and remain on the reserves but for a short time in each year." The pressure to reduce the Okanagan reserves was reinforced by complaints from local ranchers that the Indians had interfered with their livestock in the Mission valley.

By October 1866, Joseph Trutch was able to announce the reduction of the Kamloops and Shuswap Lake claims to holdings of 6,000 and 5,000 acres respectively. This opened some valuable grazing land for pre-emption and there was an immediate movement of prospective ranchers into the area. This process stands in marked contrast to the Alberta ranching frontier, where the Indian land situation was relatively stable before the majority of ranchers and the lease system were introduced to the region. In the British Columbia Interior, the settlement of the Indian land question directly coincided with the early development of the ranching community. As the dominant symbols of settlement in the Interior, the colonial ranchers held a distinct advantage over the "vagrant" Indian, content to cultivate a few small patches of potatoes here and there.

As the Indian reserve situation personifies, the colonial government was ready to take steps to remove any obstacles to the permanent settlement of the Interior Plateau. They had also responded to the region's capacity for stock raising with a system of pastoral leases. In the final analysis, however, the establishment of a viable
ranching industry depends upon the demand for livestock. Unfortunately, as the Interior cattle industry was beginning to establish itself on a more permanent basis in the mid 1860's, the gradual recession of the Cariboo market was beginning to have a detrimental impact upon the colony's development. In 1866 the discovery of new diggings at Big Bend on the Columbia River and the Bridge River country revived the mining industry temporarily. Interior ranchers, however, were restricted from exploiting these new markets by their inaccessibility. In April, 1866, a Mr. Greenbaum of Lillooet left that community with eighty head for the Big Bend country.101 This is one of very few records of an Interior rancher attempting to exploit the Big Bend market. Although H. Ladner, an experienced Cariboo packer, cleared a trail to French Creek and Captain Houghton spent a year looking for a suitable route by way of the Okanagan to the Columbia River, it became evident that they could not compete with the American interests centred at Colville, Washington. As it turned out, however, the Big Bend activity provided only a temporary reprieve. By January, 1867, only fifty men remained at French Creek.

Although a viable market for livestock continued in the Cariboo before 1870, most ranchers had to content themselves with the building of their first houses, corrals, stock yards and the variety of endeavours involved in the foundation of a ranch site. For the more ambitious and well
financed, men such as the Cornwalls, the building stage could involve a considerable investment. Clement Cornwall's diary contains a breakdown of expenses incurred while making improvements upon his pre-emption claim.\(^{102}\) He personally invested over two thousand dollars before he had purchased his first cattle.\(^{103}\) Hence, in order to help meet the high costs of purchasing livestock and establishing the ranch operation, the Cornwalls depended upon their auxiliary activities which included besides the Road House, a grist mill, and contracts to feed and care for government horses. Most aspiring ranchers did not share the financial advantages of the Cornwalls. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Cornwall records include references to "hired" men like Charles Semlin, Jacob Duck and Alex Pringle. These men, like many in ranching frontiers elsewhere, were compelled to work as ranch hands for their wealthier neighbours before they established their own successful ranching operations.

For most Interior ranchers, the colonial years provided a valuable learning experience, an experience that was sometimes costly to those who had capital. Many had literally no previous experience in either stock raising or agriculture. Clement Cornwall readily admitted in 1866 that he was still very much in the process of learning the cattle business. When he discovered other "cattle breeders" in the neighbourhood weaned their calves he and his brother quickly followed suit.\(^{104}\) The Cornwalls were also very careful to
allow their herd to reach a certain size (250-400 head) before they sold stock in any quantity. This was a judicious practise for despite the optimistic reports of some early observers, the Interior Plateau was prone to severe winters. The region was particularly subject to dramatic fluctuations in temperature over a short period of time. The resulting hard crust on the snow often proved fatal to livestock attempting to reach the grass below. Consequently, the wise rancher retained a considerable quantity of feed on hand from November to March. A notable exception to this rule were the Harpers, who on numerous occasions were cited as having lost considerable stock to winter conditions. The Harper losses were caused in part by the large scale of their livestock operation. While their headquarters was at Clinton and their main concentration was on the Cariboo market, they also maintained ranching operations at Harper's Camp east of Kamloops and in the Cache Creek area. They did not supervise their stock as well as smaller stock raisers, but were able to absorb recurring losses because of their dominant position in the Interior livestock market. At the same time, their apparently non-chalant attitude towards the condition of their cattle did not endear them to British ranchers like the Cornwalls, who spent long winter days searching for cattle to whom they had long since given individual names.

In assessing the ranching industry's economic development during the waning years of the colonial period,
it is appropriate to focus on the Cariboo and upon the dominant cattlemen who came to control the main market for Interior ranchers; the Harpers and their American confreres, the Van Volkenburghs from Lyons, New York. How this came about is difficult to discern from available sources. For instance, it is not clear if the major Cariboo livestock importers, the Harpers, Benjamin English, A.S. Bates and the Van Volkenburghs, merely sold their cattle on the hoof or whether they also controlled the preparation and marketing of the beef. We do know that in 1865 Benjamin and Isaac Van Volkenburgh, in partnership with Ben English, opened a slaughter house at Barkerville. Within a period of three years, the Van Volkenburgh interest had expanded its operations to include two meat markets in Barkerville, one in Centreville and one in Richfield. By this time, the Van Volkenburghs possessed an adjoining warehouse for the storage of meat for winter use and had entered a business relationship with their fellow Americans; the Harper brothers. While the Van Volkenburghs were responsible for the marketing of the Harpers' flour and cattle in the Cariboo, the Harpers accepted responsibility for the purchase and transportation of the livestock to the mining market.

To fulfill the terms of this business arrangement, Thaddeus Harper was continually on the move either to the United States or to any Interior ranch where livestock was available for purchase. The Harpers had obviously retained
their ranching connections in Oregon and California for between 1864 and 1867, they paid over five thousand dollars to the Osoyoos Customsoffice. Their cattle imports in this period far outdistanced any of their competitors. The Harpers were also noticed for their aggressive business tactics. On more than one occasion the Cornwalls and Hudson's Bay Company refused to sell them their cattle on account of the low prices offered. The Harpers, because of the scale of their operation, were able to take better advantage of the definite discrepancy between prices in the northern part of the Interior Plateau and the central region. For instance, horse teams were often sent down to purchase flour from the Cornwalls. Flour selling at Ashcroft for 9¢ a pound could go for as much as 22¢ a pound at Soda Creek. The same situation held true for cattle, Though the price of fresh meat in the Cariboo had fallen to 25¢ a pound in 1866 from a high of 60¢ a pound in 1864, the price of beef in the Lytton, Lillooet and Kamloops areas remained in the vicinity of ten cents a pound. This is not to say that Interior ranchers could not demand a profitable price for their livestock if they were inclined to drive them as far as the Cariboo. However, should they elect to undertake such a venture, once they arrived there, they confronted the Harper-Van Volkenburgh network. In terms of livestock marketing in the colonial period, it was a difficult combination to compete against.
By 1870 it was evident the control of the Interior livestock market was concentrated in the hands of several individuals, prominent among them the Harper brothers. At least the *British Colonist* was busy propounding the theory that "nearly all the horned cattle in British Columbia are in the hands of five or six men, and nearly the whole of the sheep in the hands of one man." This concentration of the livestock market, it was feared, would lead once again to the restrictive high prices so prevalent in the boom years of the Cariboo. Aspiring ranchers would not be able to meet the prices demanded for their foundation herds. Fortunately, the fears of some that monopoly control would impede settlement were not to be realized. True, the Harpers and Van Volkenburghs had a stranglehold upon the Cariboo, but that was a diminishing market. The future of the Interior ranching industry depended upon the exploitation of coastal markets and by 1869 there was evidence the Fraser valley and Vancouver Island interests had discovered the potential of the Interior Plateau. In April 1869, J. Reece, the Yale butcher, travelled to the Cornwalls to inquire about the purchase of some cattle. Clement Cornwall sold him nine steers at $70 per head; "a capital sale on the whole and a very good thing that the lower country begin to come up here for its beef." Later in the year Cornwall had further inquiries about cattle from Victoria butchers and by the following spring ranchers such as Thomas Ellis and Lewis
Campbell were selling cattle to Mr. Wren, the Interior agent for Reynolds' meat market in Victoria.\textsuperscript{114}

Although the Interior ranching community seemed capable of surviving on its own, in 1867 a movement had emerged in the Legislative Council aimed at the re-evaluation of the tariff so as to afford better protection to the colony's pastoral interests. Throughout the colonial period the colony had a relatively flexible tariff structure. Certainly, the duty imposed upon livestock never deterred American ranchers and cattle dealers from crossing the forty-ninth parallel.\textsuperscript{115} In February 1867, John Robson, member for New Westminster, moved an amendment to the customs tariff that would have imposed a duty of $5 a head for cattle unless imported for breeding purposes.\textsuperscript{116} This "protection" oriented proposal was part of Robson's evolving philosophy of self-sufficiency for the mainland colony. "In the depressed condition of the colony we felt the need of a rural population to fall back upon and the true policy was to guard with the most tender solicitude the agricultural and manufacturing interests."\textsuperscript{117} After referral to a legislative committee, a new protective tariff was adopted in March 1867. Beef cattle would now demand a duty of three dollars per head; milch cows $2; horses and mules $2 and sheep 75¢.\textsuperscript{118} At this stage, none of the four Interior representatives were involved in the promotion of the revised tariff nor is there any evidence that Interior
cattlemen supported such a measure. Although one can only speculate upon their apparent indifference, it is likely Robson was more concerned in 1867 in the protection of Fraser Valley settlers than the state of the Interior cattle industry. Produce continued to flow across the border from the agriculturally productive Puget Sound region.

Despite the revised Customs structure, the colony's newspapers, and particularly the British Columbian, continued to harp upon the continued dependence on imported livestock.\textsuperscript{119} It was within the context of agricultural self-sufficiency that some British Columbians began to weigh the advantages of federation with Canada. Many observers were particularly concerned about the impact the comparatively low federal tariff would have upon the development of British Columbia agriculture. The prevailing mood among the political representatives was in favour of protection. In February 1869, Thomas Humphreys of Lillooet moved successfully for an increase of the duty on horned cattle to $5 per head and $1 on sheep.\textsuperscript{120} The reaction from the Interior was mixed. While Cornwall supported the motion,\textsuperscript{121} George Kelly, the pioneer rancher in Cut-Off valley near Clinton, criticized the move as likely to result in more expensive beef. He argued that Jerome Harper, the "great cattle trader", would be able by virtue of the higher tariff to undersell American competition with the two thousand head he currently held in the colony.\textsuperscript{122} As far as Kelly was concerned, the proposed tariff would give the Harpers a
"complete monopoly in the beef market." There is no evidence that Governor Seymour accepted precisely these arguments, but he did veto the new tariff proposal in March 1869. The tariff structure on livestock was to remain at the level established in 1867.

The tariff was one of the most prominent issues when the legislative council met at Victoria in March 1870, to debate Confederation. Most members were in agreement that the Canadian tariff would have to be modified if British Columbia were to escape serious economic dislocation. Some considered it too high on livestock, others too low on agricultural produce. The Interior politicians did not distinguish themselves during the debate. Unfortunately, the available evidence does not explain this apparent indifference. Frank Barnard, the Yale member and owner of the Cariboo Express Company, actively promoted Confederation as it would mean improved public works, a railway and fresh investment for the staggering British Columbia economy. On the other hand, Edgar Dewdney, spokesman for the largely American Kootenay district, spoke against it as all his constituents wanted was "money to keep their trails in order and a resident magistrate to administer and carry out the laws." Oddly enough, none of the Interior representatives mentioned the Canadian tariff. In fact, coastal representatives were more articulate about the Interior's future role; Amor De Cosmos took the position that it was "our duty to open the Interior country-Osoyoos, Okanagan, Kamloops, Similkameen
and other districts. To bring the Interior into communication with the seaboard would settle up the best portion of the Interior, provide an outlet for produce, and keep the money that is now sent abroad within our own borders." When the livestock industry came up again, it was usually an Island member who mentioned it. Victoria's Mr. Helmcken, who had never been to the Interior, dominated the discussion on this topic. He recognized the Upper Country's stockraising potential and argued convincingly that the region needed the protective tariff while the ranching communities were in their infancy. Once the railway was completed and herds established, he reasoned that they could openly confront the American competition. Such arguments suggest that the Island delegates were fully alert to the possibilities of the Interior as an important hinterland.

By 1871 the colonial government was well aware that the promotion of the Interior livestock interest was essential if the colony was to be self-sufficient in meat and agricultural produce. The colonial administration had taken positive if hesitant steps to promote and regulate ranching, and the results were encouraging. Applications for pastoral leases increased, particularly between 1869 and 1871. This was despite the fact that from September 1870 to the end of the year lease applications were refused because of negotiations with the Dominion government for
land along the proposed railway. By 1871 leases were once again being granted on condition the government might terminate them if they interfered with the railway right of way. Further encouragement was provided by the 1870 Land Ordinance, which increased the size of pre-emptions east of the Cascades to 320 acres. There was, however, a clause in the amended land legislation which demanded "the continuous bona fide personal residence of the pre-emptor", a restriction added to prevent the practise of constructing a shanty on the claim and running cattle on the land, but living elsewhere.

Certainly, the economic and demographic dimensions of the Interior ranching frontier and cattle industry had expanded considerably during the colonial period. Besides the approximately 70,000 acres granted as pastoral leases in the Yale district, over 1700 pre-emptions were issued for the Lillooet, Lytton, Cariboo, Kamloops, Okanagan and Similkameen districts. A rough breakdown of F.W. Laing's collection of colonial land records adds to our perception of the Interior's growth as a ranching area.
TABLE III
RANCH OWNERSHIP AND APPROXIMATE ACREAGE ALIENATED
BY PRE-EMPTION AND PURCHASE 132

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Approx. No. of Ranchers</th>
<th>Approx. Acreage alienated by Pre-emption and Purchase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Lillooet</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Chilcotin</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cariboo</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>13,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ashcroft</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kamloops</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Nicola</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Similkameen</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Okanagan</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is apparent that at this early stage of development, the Interior ranching frontier was not characterized by large holdings. Outside the exception of a few wealthy ranchers with initial capital and those eligible for military grants, most prospective ranchers commenced operations on a very modest level. The expansion of land holdings did not occur until the next decade. Surviving records also demonstrate a steady increase in the number of cattle upon Interior ranches.
TABLE IV

CATTLE DISTRIBUTION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA INTERIOR COLONIAL PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Cattle</th>
<th>Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>1,520</td>
<td>Lillooet and Lytton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>2,905</td>
<td>Quesnel, Cariboo, Lillooet &amp; Lytton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>5,680</td>
<td>Quesnel, Williams Lake, Lillooet &amp; Lytton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>8,446</td>
<td>Quesnel, Williams Lake, &amp; Lillooet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>10,275</td>
<td>Lytton, Lillooet, &amp; Cariboo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The steady increase in the number of cattle translated into reduced dependence upon importations from the United States. Whereas, in 1862, 4,842 horses and mules, 273 cows and 4,492 beef cattle were imported from the neighbouring republic, by 1870, this heavy dependence had been reduced to 1,037 horses and mules, 182 cows and 1,061 beef cattle. That is not to say that the relationship between the British Columbia and Pacific Northwest ranching frontiers had been abandoned. Aspiring ranchers continued to buy livestock in Western Washington and Oregon to supplement their foundation herds. Furthermore, by the end of the colonial period, Interior ranchers were beginning to concern themselves with improved breeding stock, and at this stage, the American region remained the best available source.
The dominant problem confronting the expanding ranching population when the colony entered Confederation remained their isolation from coastal markets. By 1871 there were several thousand beef cattle in the Thompson, Similkameen and Okanagan valleys ready for the lower mainland and Victoria markets. Although cattlemen were now making the journey periodically it was impractical to drive them down to Cariboo Road because of the narrowness of the trail and the scarcity of good grazing in the Fraser canyon. The ranchers' alternative was to use the Similkameen-Hope route but fallen timber had blocked segments of the trail and high water had washed away the bridges. If the colonial government wanted to ensure the success of its pastoral policy and the future growth of the Interior hinterland, the proposed transcontinental railway was very much a necessity. The current transportation routes were not only a financial burden to maintain, they were virtually impassable during a winter of heavy snowfall.

In its state of relative isolation, it is not surprising that by the end of the colonial period most observers agreed that only the very best and most accessible land in the Interior Plateau had been settled. Many newcomers, particularly along the Cariboo Road, had only located temporarily to take advantage of the captive mining market. Once the Cariboo market began to decline, many small farms were abandoned or absorbed by ranchers with visions of larger
enterprises and permanent settlement. These men represented the nucleus of the Interior's first ranching community. As we have seen, there was little in the background or experience of these men to explain why they decided to ranch in that isolated region. Attracted initially by the mining potential, a small minority decided to commit themselves on a more permanent basis. Outside of its attractive natural environment and the potential of the region for stockraising, the Interior had few amenities to offer the original settlers. The transportation network was poor, the mail service was erratic, schools were virtually non-existent and there was an obvious lack of females. Yet, regardless of experience, background or scale of investment the Interior held a curious attraction for the first generation of ranchers. The Cornwalls for instance, were devoted to ranch life. When Clement Cornwall was forced to travel to Victoria for health reasons in 1870, he continually complained of "this great nuisance, wasting the time and money and staying in so dead alive a place as Victoria." He yearned to return to Ashcroft where he could indulge himself in coyote hunting, riding and the general operation of a prospering ranch.

The colonial period had witnessed the formation of a nucleus of legislation which would guide the development of the livestock industry and ranching frontier for the next few decades. The most important legislation in relation to
stockraising were the various land ordinances passed by the successive colonial administrations. Essentially, the land laws were designed to promote individual settlement upon a relatively small scale and to regulate and control the activities of stock raisers. Perhaps because of the industry's incipient state, their small numbers and limited financial resources, neither the Interior ranching population nor their political representatives played a leading role in the formation and implementation of this legislation. They had not developed their interests to the point where they could afford to act as a unified economic entity. In fact, there is evidence to suggest some ranchers resented the implementation of legislative restrictions. The Harpers, for instance, abused the land system on more than one occasion by grazing their cattle on Indian land or unsurveyed, unleased Crown land. This was one inevitable result of the Interior's isolation. The few government agents scattered throughout the Interior could not be expected to enforce laws upon ranchers sparsely settled from Quesnel to Osoyoos. For the most part, however, the ranchers were conscientious about fulfilling pre-emption claims, certificates of improvement and other legal and administrative details even though there was still ample opportunity merely to squat on choice land. Obviously, most ranchers realized the Interior of British Columbia did not possess unlimited amounts of good grazing and agricultural land. Open range predominated in the colonial period, but
it would not be long before ranchers would begin to fence pasture and build their own irrigation ditches to protect the fragile bunch grass from destruction through over-grazing.

The Cariboo region was the principal livestock market in the colonial period. Its existence was the single most important factor behind the initial development and growth of the Interior ranching frontier. Its influence was both beneficial and detrimental to the stockraisers. While it did provide an instant market and attracted ranchers with capital and expertise such as the Harpers and Van Volkenburghs, at the same time its geographical isolation and seasonal nature combined to drive the price of livestock to high levels. Besides encouraging economic diversification, this situation allowed cattle drovers and dealers to ask substantial prices for livestock, which in turn hindered the establishment of herds on local ranches. Yet, by 1871 the Cariboo was a diminishing influence. It was fast becoming evident that the focus of the Interior ranching frontier was moving southward into the Thompson, Nicola, Bonaparte and Okanagan valleys, where the milder climate and easier accessibility to the coastal region would encourage the next phase of ranching development in the Interior of British Columbia.
CHAPTER III

THE INTERIOR RANCHING FRONTIER: 1871-1884

When British Columbia officially entered Canadian Confederation on July 20, 1871, her pioneers stood at an important crossroads. The colony had weathered its first serious economic recession and the remaining population, although small, had cast aside its highly transient character. They were poised and ready to commit themselves to the development of British Columbia's considerable natural resources on a more permanent basis. The terms of Union with Canada certainly seemed to solve some inherent difficulties. Besides assuming the former colony's debt, the federal government promised to commence construction of a railway within two years and to complete it within ten. The railway, so the argument went, would annihilate distance, provide employment and meet the complex transportation needs of the mountain and Pacific region. Only then would the vast economic potential be realized on a national and not merely on a local level.

The Interior population, scattered as it was between the Lower Cariboo country and the emerging ranching communities in the Nicola, Kamloops, Okanagan and Similkameen valleys, at first was not particularly excited by the transition from colonial to provincial status. In fact Clement Cornwall, Ashcroft rancher and aspiring politician, even failed to register
British Columbia's entry into Confederation in his normally detailed diary. On the minds of Interior ranchers were more immediate concerns; available markets for their livestock, the poor state of transportation to the coastal region, the unresolved Indian land question and the high cost of irrigation. The Interior settlers were, nevertheless, soon caught up in the buoyant optimism which pervaded the new province. Representative Government meant members had to be elected for both the federal and provincial governments. The Yale-Kootenay district was to send two of its most prominent ranchers to Ottawa; Clement Cornwall as a senator and Charles Houghton as the member of Parliament. To the Provincial House, the Yale electorate sent two men sympathetic to Interior ranching's development; Charles Semlin, Cache Creek rancher and Robert Smith, government agent at Lytton and a former member of the legislative council. Optimism was engendered further in August, 1871, when the first corps of railway surveyors arrived, a token of the federal government's commitment and an additional market for Interior ranchers. At its first session, the newly constituted Legislative Assembly abolished tolls on the roads leading to the Interior and adopted the Canadian tariff. The abolition of road tolls was particularly pleasing to Interior residents, whose agricultural produce had been subject to this "despised" form of taxation throughout the colonial period. Another cause for enthusiasm was the number of pastoral leases granted in 1871. In the Yale district alone over 25,000 acres were granted in
pastoral leases in the latter part of that year.\(^6\)

In spite of the initial optimism, however, the next decade was to be a frustrating period for the ranchers of the Interior. Many who had established themselves in the colonial period had now attained a level of production in livestock and cereals which demanded a larger market. The small and dispersed settlements in the Interior could not absorb their produce. In Yale district, for instance, the only centres of any size were Lytton, Kamloops, Cache Creek and Okanagan Mission. None of these exceeded two hundred people before 1875.\(^7\) The other main Interior ranching district, Lillooet, was even more sparsely populated. Outside the small towns of Lillooet and Clinton, the population was spread amongst the small ranching concentrations of the Chilcotin valley, Pavilion mountain, Lac La Hache and Alkali lake.\(^8\) Hence, the only alternatives for the Interior ranchers were to meet the growing demand in the coastal region or turn northward to the isolated mining markets in the Cariboo, Omineca and Cassiar districts. With the increasingly competitive state of the coastal market and the transportation difficulties involved, one might have suspected a considerable exodus of stock raisers and farmers from the Interior Plateau. This was not to be the case. Sustained by the belief that the railway would be built, the Interior ranching population continued to develop at a modest pace throughout the 1870's. In fact, the ranching areas of Nicola, Kamloops and to a lesser extent the Okanagan valley, moved ahead considerably
in what generally has been considered as a period of stagnation. This development is an important concern of this chapter.

While the Interior ranching population developed their individual land holdings and expanded their market during this interim period, issues did emerge which served to disunite the Interior ranching community at a crucial point in its development. This is particularly evident when one examines the ranchers in a political context. After 1871 both the Lillooet and Yale districts returned men to Victoria who were sympathetic to the protection and enhancement of the stockraisers economic position. These representatives, however, did not act as a cohesive pressure group with particular interests to promote. The two main ranching regions, Yale and Lillooet, were continually at odds over government expenditure on roads, Crown land policy and the railway route. The inability of the politicians to cooperate after 1871 foreshadowed the Interior ranching community's failure to establish a viable livestock association after the railway's completion. If the Interior livestock industry was to expand and compete beyond the confines of the Interior Plateau, it would require a united effort on the part of the region's ranching population and existing divisions would have to be overcome.

* * * *

Once the initial excitement of British Columbia's entry into Confederation began to recede, the province's
population sat back and waited anxiously for the proposed economic miracle. They were to be sorely disappointed. First of all, a route for the proposed railway had to be determined. By January, 1874, seven possible routes through the Rocky Mountain and Cascade ranges to the Pacific coast had been identified. The determination of the route was of course of very great concern to the Interior ranching community. If, for instance, the railway followed the lower Fraser to Hope, passed up the Coquihalla valley and thence by Nicola valley to Kamloops, this would enhance the value of land and encourage the ranching interests in the Similkameen, Nicola and Kamloops areas. If on the other hand the railway commenced at Waddington Harbour, on Bute Inlet, and crossed the Cascade chain by the Homathco valley to Lake Tatla, and from there approached the Thompson river valley by way of the Chilcotin Plains, Lac La Hache and Lake Canin, the route would favour the ranchers in the Lilloet and Cariboo districts. The growing pocket of settlement in the more southerly portion of the Interior would then find themselves isolated and this would hinder the development of their market relationship with the more populous coastal region. As the decade progressed and the pendulum swung back and forth in favour of either Bute Inlet, or a site on the lower Fraser river as a terminus, the Interior ranchers faced the uncertainty surrounding the railway's eventual location. Whatever the decision, it would not serve to unify the Interior's scattered ranching population.
Until the railway was completed, the ranchers resigned themselves to the use of roads and cattle trails to move the livestock. By this time, the Cariboo road was well established as an interconnecting link with the dwindling Cariboo market. However, the stretch between Lytton and Yale, besides being frequently impassable in the winter months, was largely devoid of sufficient feed and perilously narrow in places. Furthermore, once the livestock reached Yale, they either had to be shipped by steamer at considerable expense or driven over a poorly developed trail to New Westminster. There were, of course, alternative routes to the seaboard. The ranchers could drive their stock by way of Lillooet and over the Howe Sound trail or utilize the Dewdney trail, which reached Hope by way of Princeton. Naturally there were conflicting opinions over the route the government should promote and develop. Financial support for the more southerly route was actively promoted by Yale members, Robert Smith and Charles Semlin, for from their viewpoint, it was "the natural outlet for the cattle from the Similkameen, Nicola and other valleys in the eastern part of the province". Meanwhile, Lillooet member Thomas Humphreys was presenting a petition for increased expenditure upon the cattle trail from Lillooet to Bute or Burrard Inlet.¹²

This potentially divisive transportation issue was the subject of a lengthy article in Victoria's Daily Colonist in October, 1873.¹³ This editorial argued that Soda Creek constituted a natural boundary dividing the Interior into
northern and southern zones, the former presumably seeking the seaboard by way of Lillooet and Howe Sound and the latter zone by way of Princeton to Hope and New Westminster. The article also provides an approximate breakdown of cattle numbers in the Interior. Although not precise, it does give a more complete picture of where cattle ranching was being pursued and upon what scale.

**TABLE V**

**DISTRIBUTION OF CATTLE IN INTERIOR—1873**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locale</th>
<th>No. of Cattle</th>
<th>Locale</th>
<th>No. of Cattle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quesnel Mouth</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>Cache Creek</td>
<td>2,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams Lake</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>Savona, Copper Creek</td>
<td>2,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimney Creek</td>
<td>1,310</td>
<td>Tranquille</td>
<td>1,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soda Creek</td>
<td>1,070</td>
<td>North Forks (Thompson)</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alkali Lake</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>Kamloops &amp; South Forks</td>
<td>4,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Bar, down Fraser</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
<td>3,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac La Hache</td>
<td>3,250</td>
<td>Similkameen</td>
<td>3,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavillion</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>Nicola Lake</td>
<td>2,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonaparte, Clinton</td>
<td>1,965</td>
<td>Kootenay</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As more cattle were located in the southern zone, heavier government investment in the southern route was proposed and supported. The editorial cited the example of Samuel Moore of Nicola valley, who had recently driven a band of cattle the 124 miles from Nicola to Hope via the Dewdney trail. Furthermore, another and shorter route to Hope from Nicola lake had been opened in 1872 by Edgar Dewdney in connection with the
Canadian Pacific survey. This shortened the direct overland distance from Hope to the Nicola valley to one hundred miles and recognized the increasing significance of the ranching communities in the southern portion of the Interior Plateau. Meanwhile, as late as 1877, Lillooet and Clinton ranchers were complaining of the government's neglect and incompetence in the completion of the Howe Sound trail.\textsuperscript{15}

The demand for better trails reflected the southward movement of settlement into the more readily accessible valleys between Kamloops and the International boundary. In August, 1872, Frances Barnard, Okanagan rancher and owner of British Columbia's pioneer express line, announced the initiation of a weekly passenger service between Cache Creek and the Okanagan, connecting at the former point with the main line to the Cariboo.\textsuperscript{16} This passenger line passed through the village of Kamloops where the old Hudson's Bay Company was beginning to display signs of development after its decades of isolation. Kamloops had many natural advantages. Situated at the confluence of the north and south Thompson rivers, it was at the centre of British Columbia's largest and potentially wealthiest grazing district. Its vicinity had attracted a small ranching population early in the colonial period.\textsuperscript{17} Besides a salubrious climate, it was now connected by wagon road to the Okanagan and to the Cariboo highway, while an improved trail to the Nicola valley was under construction. Furthermore, with the commencement of C.P.R. surveying in 1871, Kamloops had become the supply
centre and Interior headquarters for survey crews. There was every indication the railway would pass through Kamloops unless the Bute Inlet route was adopted. Consequently, long before the final decision, Kamloops experienced some commercial development. Hotels were constructed, stores established and a local partnership was responsible for the construction of the community's first lumber mill. By 1874 Kamloops was already displaying positive indications that it would become the urban centre of the Interior Plateau.

Although the ranching frontier thus appeared to be moving southward in the early 1870's the Cariboo region was by no means abandoned by Interior stock raisers. The Barkerville and Williams Lake vicinity was becoming an important stopping point for ranchers moving their livestock from the Thompson and Nicola valleys to the markets created by the latest mineral strikes in the Omineca and Cassiar regions. The Harper-Van Volkenburgh business combination, in particular, continued to operate successfully in the Cariboo in the early 1870's.

In fact, they played such a dominant role in the Barkerville area that J.W. Lindhard, a prosperous Danish hotel and saloon operator in the district, publicly accused them of having promoted a beef monopoly for some time:

Now is it just that the farmers, having thousands of beef cattle, should be debarred from bringing them into our market by the market being controlled by one individual who, as it has been
proven repeatedly, lowers the price of beef when others drive in stock so that they shall not realize expenses, only to raise it again when the market is in his own hands.

The Van Volkenburghs may have controlled the retailing of meat in the Cariboo but they did not monopolize the livestock market. True, they bought the majority of their cattle from the Harpers but they also bought from other ranchers.21 Herbert Bowe, Benjamin English and other local ranchers often preferred to sell their stock on the Cariboo market to avoid the lengthy and arduous cattle drives to the alternative markets. Hence, as their herds approached maturity in the early 1870's, northern ranchers were willing to sell to the Van Volkenburgh-Harper interest despite the fact they drove a hard bargain.

The Harpers, however, curtailed their involvement in the Cariboo livestock industry before the Van Volkenburghs. As early as December, 1871, Jerome Harper put the Clinton flour mill up for sale on the grounds he wanted to retire from business. By this time his deteriorating health had forced him to retire to Santa Barbara, California where the family owned a large estate.22 Jerome Harper made his departure in grand style. Before he left, the Harper headquarters at the Clinton mills was the scene of lavish parties, among them champagne lunches for his many guests.23 With Jerome's departure, the remaining Harper business interests were transferred to the care of Thaddeus who, although an astute cattleman, did not possess the business acumen of his
brother. While Jerome believed land accumulation was the best means to acquire wealth, Thaddeus was of a more speculative turn of mind and proceeded to invest ranching profits in a mining venture in the Horsefly area of the Cariboo. 24

During the 1870's, however, Thaddeus Harper's business idiosyncrasies do not appear to have damaged the family's considerable investment in Interior ranching. The extent of this investment was revealed in November, 1874, when Jerome Harper died in his bathtub at Santa Barbara; he was only forty-two years old. 25 As the senior member of Harper Brothers, Clinton, and as a member of Van Volkenburgh and Company of Barkerville and Lightning Creek, Jerome's name was a "household word" in the Upper country. As the Cariboo Sentinel put it, his reputation was synonymous with "energy and industry". 26

Certainly Jerome Harper epitomized many of the qualities found in the first generation of British Columbia ranchers. With little formal education, he arrived in the Interior with the benefit of a wealth of business and ranching experience gained in his native Virginia and California. Instead of investing his capital in the mines he concentrated on providing livestock and flour to Interior markets, particularly the Cariboo. The profits gained from these ventures were reinvested in the outright purchase of good grazing land throughout the Interior Plateau. They acquired land east of Kamloops, in the Cache Creek area, in
the Cut-Off valley near Clinton and eventually in the Chilcotin district. Jerome Harper was also well aware that the colonial government could neither afford to alienate potential investors in the isolated region nor hope to implement fully the legislation designed to regulate and control the distribution of Crown land. Consequently, in some cases, the Harpers used the relative isolation of the Interior to their advantage. They had working arrangements with certain Indian tribes to graze cattle on their reserves. With the Van Volkenburghs, they grazed livestock on Crown land in the Barkerville vicinity without a pastoral lease, and with some justification, they were accused of manipulating and controlling the price of beef. Jerome Harper was obviously ready to bend the rules to promote his interests and the prevailing climate of opinion was compliant. The Cornwalls may have disapproved of the Harper's business ethics, but in an isolated society where status was determined by land and money, the Harpers represented success. In fact, in 1868 George Kelly, a rancher near Clinton, went so far as to recommend Jerome Harper as Deputy Governor of the Cariboo for his devotion to the Interior's economic development.

Upon his brother's death, Thaddeus Harper inherited $176,000 and land later valued at $300,000 and the use to which he put his newly acquired capital is instructive. Harper elected to commence the expansion of his ranching enterprises. Between 1875 and 1877 he applied to purchase an additional 21,499.5 acres in the Lillooet
district, making the former Kelly ranch in the Cut-Off valley the largest ranch in British Columbia.  

Other Interior ranchers followed Harper's belief that security rested in control of deeded rather than leased land.  

The relatively high average of land purchases during the 1870's in the Yale and Lillooet districts, 280 and 400 acres respectively, reflects the growing preoccupation with land consolidation and stock raising.  

It was during this supposedly dormant economic period that Interior ranchers pieced together the large blocks of land which R. E. Gosnell later criticized as being "to the detriment of bona fide settlement and consequently, to the development of agriculture...” Granting that individuals such as Thaddeus Harper, William Lowe, J.C. Haynes and Benjamin Van Volkenburgh were accumulating large holdings, what Gosnell failed to realize was that until the Canadian Pacific Railway linked the Interior with the coast, stock raising was the only feasible means of developing the Interior Plateau's agricultural potential. What is more difficult to explain is the apparent progress of the Interior ranching population when the market situation for their livestock appears to have been in such a depressed state.  

While Interior ranchers added to their land holdings, the depressed state of the British Columbia economy and a surplus of livestock in the Interior had forced the price of cattle to record lows. According to J.C. Haynes, Collector of Customs at Osoyoos and rancher, prices
prevailing in the Interior in 1876 were as low as $12 per head for cows with calves, $17 for steers three years and over, $12 for two year old steers and $6 for yearlings.\textsuperscript{35} The British Columbia ranching frontier was experiencing the same downward trend in the average price for cattle that was happening in the United States between 1872 and 1880.

In the neighbouring Pacific Northwest, cattle were selling at Walla Walla in March, 1874, at $10 a head and in the same month the editor of the \textit{Willamette Farmer} affirmed that stock raising was at a low ebb in the Willamette valley.\textsuperscript{36} Both ranching populations were aware of the market potential in the eastern United States but the distance to the nearest railway connection at Cheyenne, Wyoming, made that trip prohibitive.

Thaddeus Harper's response to this situation is but another manifestation of this stockman's considerable initiative-- an initiative which seems in keeping with the much lauded frontier stereotype. In April, 1876, he announced his intention to transport 800 head of beef cattle to Chicago.\textsuperscript{37} Harper's incredible proposal was to drive them south to Salt Lake, Utah, and then ship the survivors by rail. Besides his own 800 head, Harper purchased another 428 head at Cornelius O'Keefe's Okanagan ranch. After crossing the International boundary, Harper and his nine hired men drove the cattle down the Okanagan river to the Columbia, and followed it to its junction with the Snake river in what is now Northern Idaho.\textsuperscript{38} At this location a
winter camp was established. The Harper drive, however, never made it to Salt Lake, let alone Chicago. A severe drought in California made it more profitable to drive the cattle to San Francisco where they sold for $70 a head.39 Unfortunately, no record of this unbelievably long cattle drive has survived.

The majority of Interior ranchers had to content themselves with the local and coastal markets until railway construction commenced. Although transportation remained a major source of discouragement, Upper Country ranchers were driving their livestock to the coastal towns in increasing numbers by 1875. In that year the Mainland Guardian began to report the arrival of cattle in small bands. The newspaper reports are not always precise but afford evidence that by 1878 there was a considerable flow of livestock arriving from the Interior by way of the Hope-Similkameen trail and the less advantageous Cariboo road down the Fraser Canyon.
TABLE VI
LIVESTOCK ARRIVALS AT NEW WESTMINSTER BY STEAMER—1878.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rancher</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Cattle/Head</th>
<th>No. of Trips</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W.J. Roper</td>
<td>Kamloops</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Murray</td>
<td>Kamloops</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Woodward</td>
<td>Nicola</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Douglas</td>
<td>Nicola</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Campbell</td>
<td>Kamloops</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Beak</td>
<td>Nicola</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.F. Allison</td>
<td>Similkameen</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Guichon</td>
<td>Nicola</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Ellis</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Houghton</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.B. Greaves</td>
<td>Cache Creek</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.A. Vernon</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Cawston</td>
<td>Similkameen</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Barrelo</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Lundbom</td>
<td>Nicola</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Richter</td>
<td>Similkameen</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Gilmore</td>
<td>Nicola</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Moore</td>
<td>Nicola</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Fraser</td>
<td>Nicola</td>
<td>? sheep</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Martley</td>
<td>Lillooet</td>
<td>230 sheep</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.B. Greaves</td>
<td>Cache Creek</td>
<td>426 sheep</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The livestock arriving by this route were largely from the Nicola valley and to a lesser extent from the Similkameen, Okanagan and Kamloops districts. The bands of cattle were relatively small and rarely exceeded 100 head. These drives, however, did provide the Interior ranchers with a cash income and relieved the surplus pressure upon Interior ranges.

Assuming the ranchers were driving primarily two and three year old steers to the coast, at a going rate of $15 a head,
a rancher could realize a profit of $1,000 for a trip to the coast. This cash flow was enough to allow many Interior ranchers to expand their ranches at a gradual pace.

While ranchers began to drive cattle to the coast in increasing numbers, the first attempts to improve the breed of stock were also realized. Again the impetus in this direction came from men who had settled in the Interior during the colonial period. In the autumn of 1872 John Allison imported from San Jose, California, a "magnificent Shorthorn Durham bull" at a cost of $1,000. Unfortunately the bull died before it reached Allison's ranch. That same year, Thaddeus Harper imported some Cotswald rams from Canada, and the following year purchased a pedigree stallion from Willamette, Oregon. In 1877 the first shipment of imported stock from Ontario via the Northern Pacific Railroad went up river from New Westminster for James Steele of the Spallumcheen valley. This livestock was from Whitby, Ontario and consisted of ten Durham short horns, eight pure Leicester and Cotswold sheep and three hogs. In ensuing years, Frank Barnard and Forbes Vernon established wide reputations for their fine breeding horses, but Thaddeus Harper was considered the most diversified stock breeder in the province. In 1882 alone his importations included seven pure bred bulls as well as two expensive animals, a large Spanish stallion imported from Barcelona and a Maltese Janet. The ownership of good breeding stock was an important status symbol within the ranching community.
Besides signifying wealth it implied a knowledge and interest in livestock matters, an important criterion often overlooked by observers of agricultural history. The purchase of purebred livestock in British Columbia was largely limited to its more affluent ranchers. But, in turn, this improved the general quality of livestock in the province, for many of the ranchers made their breeding stock available. It was in their best interest to see the quality of British Columbia livestock improve if the Interior ranching country's first settlers were to compete with the American and newly developing Alberta ranching communities.

While the Interior ranching community struggled to achieve a more stable economic position within the local and provincial community, the province's first generation of politicians, among them the representatives of the ranchers, were making sporadic attempts to adapt themselves to responsible government. The Mainland-Island cleavage, so much in evidence during the colonial period, reappeared in a more virulent and complex form. Furthermore, the mainland itself was by no means a cohesive political entity. There was considerable animosity between the trading and political interests of the Cariboo and New Westminster districts. To complicate matters further, the Yale district, represented by three members, was often internally divided. The electors of Yale and Hope frequently complained that their members were promoting the Interior Plateau to the detriment of their particular interests, interrelated as they were as
much with the Fraser valley as with the sparsely populated region east of the Cascades. Despite this political instability, the Lillooet and Yale representatives in the Legislative Assembly were primarily responsible for the variety of legislation introduced to protect and promote, as the voters' lists reveal, an electorate principally involved in farming and stock raising during the 1870's. It was not until the next decade that the Interior ranching population had developed to the point where they were ready to form their own co-operative organizations. Until the Nicola valley ranchers formed an agricultural society in 1880, the vocalization of their grievances was limited to the infrequent political meetings held from time to time at various Interior sites. As there are no surviving records of these meetings outside brief newspaper accounts, the ranchers influence must be measured by examining who their representatives were, and what kind of legislation they promoted.

The Interior ranchers had the benefit of qualified members in both the provincial and federal parliaments. At Ottawa, Clement Cornwall, Ashcroft rancher, was a member of the Senate until he returned to his adopted province as Lieutenant Governor in 1881. Not only had Cornwall witnessed the growth of the Interior ranching frontier since its inception, but he was an articulate defender of British Columbia's interests. The federal members for Yale-Kootenay in the House of Commons, Edgar Dewdney, also benefited by
his extensive experience with the region as a government
surveyor and rancher. On the provincial level, several
ranchers held seats for either the Yale or Lillooet
districts.

TABLE VII
YALE AND LILLOOET DISTRICT PROVINCIAL REPRESENTATIVES
1872-1885.51

1872-1875 Parliament
Yale district - Robert Smith, Charles Semlin, J. Robinson
Lillooet district - Andrew Jamieson, Thomas Humphreys,
William Saul replaced Jamieson in 1873.

1876-1878 Parliament
Yale district - John Mara, Forbes Vernon, Robert Smith
Lillooet district - William Brown, William Morrison

1878-1882 Parliament
Yale district - John Mara, Forbes Vernon, Preston Bennett
Lillooet district - William Brown, William Saul

1883-1887 Parliament
Yale district - Charles Semlin, John Mara, Preston Bennett;
upon Bennett's death he was replaced by George Martin
Lillooet district - A.E.B. Davie, Edward Allen

Charles Semlin, Ontario born Cache Creek rancher and future
Premier, sat for Yale throughout his career. In 1873 William
Saul, a Clinton rancher, replaced Andrew Jamieson. Saul, in
turn, was defeated by a fellow stock raiser, William Brown,
in 1875. In fact, after 1876 the Yale district was
consistently represented by men whose principal occupation
was either farming or stock raising. Forbes Vernon was well
known in the Interior as a "gentleman" and as a pioneer of
the Okanagan valley. Preston Bennett, an articulate
Englishman, owned a successful ranching enterprise with his
brother in the primarily agricultural Spallumcheen valley.
Upon his premature death, Bennett was succeeded by George
Martin, another native Englishman, who ranched in the
Kamloops area. John Mara, a Canadian from Toronto and
Yale representative in either the provincial or federal
parliaments from 1875 onwards, was not a rancher himself
but a pioneer Kamloops businessman whose familiarity with
the Interior's development was perhaps unparalleled in the
nineteenth century.

Hence, with the preponderance of ranchers
involved in politics, a mark of the ranching community's
evolving political maturity, it is not surprising to find
Yale and Lillooet members introducing legislation directly
influencing the Interior ranching community and the live-stock industry. For example, in January, 1874, William
Saul introduced legislation respecting breeding stock which
was designed specifically to apply to the region north and
east of the Cascade range. This was a significant
development in that it demonstrated the continuation of the
colonial practise of providing separate legislation to
govern stock raising in the Interior region. Colonial
officials had recognized that laws governing stock raising
in the coastal region were not always applicable to the
open bunchgrass country east of the Cascades. Fencing
ordinances might be considered a case in point. Instead of imposing universal guide-lines the colonial administrators simply provided options; a framework which the Interior settlers could institute if two-thirds of the landowners of a designated district agreed to implement the legislation. In the process, the colonial government had introduced certain regulations without alienating the interest group most directly affected. The majority of the acts passed in the 1870's simply were amendments to or extensions of the legislation governing stock raising passed during the colonial period. Specific issues such as branding, depasturing of cattle and bulls running at large were dealt with in detail.  

Other legislation was designed specifically to resolve particular grievances of the Interior ranching community. In April, 1875, Robert Smith of Yale moved the introduction of a provincial pasturage tax to penalize those American drovers who annually grazed their cattle on Canadian soil "thereby destroying what our settlers are endeavouring to preserve for their stock in winter". The flippant manner in which Smith introduced the motion was indicative of the mood of the legislative assembly:

Every year there arrived in the province 2,000 or 3,000 head of beef cattle so poor in condition that it was quite possible to read the votes and proceedings of this house through their ribs (laughter). Our stockraisers were compelled to pay a tax, and the foreign drovers come in with their miserable wretches, fattened them in our fertile valleys, sold the
stock for cash and cleared out without paying any tax. He hoped the government could do something for the farmers for they were pretty well used up.

Though this motion was defeated, Smith was determined to control "this flagrant competition and abuse of British Columbia resources". The following April he reintroduced the motion. This time the newly elected Elliott government, with rancher Forbes Vernon as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, responded sympathetically to Smith's remonstrations. They did not go as far as a pasturage tax but they did instruct Interior border crossings to discourage American cattle drovers from pasturing their cattle on Canadian soil. Although this appears to be a weak response, perhaps this was all that could be done in view of the delicate balance of Island-Mainland relations.

In the same year, John Mara introduced a Bill in the House to amend the License Ordinance of 1867 which had outlined the fee to be paid by American livestock dealers. This proposed legislation was also designed for "the protection of the cattle producer against the ruinous competition of the foreign cattle drover". Mara based his argument upon statistics which indicated that cattle crossing the southern boundary were greatly undervalued and because of the undervaluation the protective purpose of the Canadian ad valorem duty of ten per cent was largely avoided. Mara provided some statistics recently assembled
at the Osoyoos border crossing: 61

45 cows entered valued at $12 per head  
21 yearling heifers entered valued at $6 per head  
22 yearling steers entered valued at $6 per head  
21-2 year old steers entered valued at $9 per head  
17-3 year old steers entered valued at $12 per head  
16-4 year old steers entered valued at $15 per head

On these imports a duty of $148.10 was paid - a fraction over $1 a head and certainly not enough to deter the flow of cattle into the growing Canadian market. Consequently Mara, with the support of rancher-politicians Forbes Vernon, William Brown and William Morrison, proposed what they considered to be a more equitable duty on foreign cattle. This ranged from $50 for less than ten head to $1,000 for imports over one hundred head. 62 While Mara and his associates from the Interior were immediately criticized for introducing legislation which would impose provincial guide lines upon an area of federal jurisdiction, this may be seen as simply opposition of any attempt to restrict access to cheap meat. Mara was forced to withdraw the Bill and substitute another calling for the imposition of a tax or license on drovers importing foreign cattle.

Frustrated in their attempts to protect the Interior stock raisers by creating a tariff wall or licensing American drovers, Interior politicians turned their attention to other pressing problems. Through their pressure a Select Committee was appointed in May 1876 to study the relative claims of the owners of sheep and cattle pastured on public
lands. The direct result of the report was the passing, late in the session, of an Act calling for the "Better Protection of Cattle Ranges". This legislation was similar in many respects to earlier regulations drawn up specifically for the region north and east of the Cascades. It presented land owners in an electoral district with the option of establishing a grazing common upon Crown land. Ranchers could then pasture their cattle upon the common for a set annual fee but, and this was the vital point of the legislation, sheep were not allowed. If sheep entered the common they had twenty-four hours to vacate it or the owners were subject to a $50 fine.

This legislation reflects the traditional confrontation between the raisers of sheep and cattle characteristic of ranching frontiers. This latent antagonism had been very slow to develop on the Southern Interior Plateau. In fact, throughout the first twenty years of settlement, very rarely does one find evidence of friction. This can be explained in large part by the lack of population and by the way the ranching frontier expanded from 1858 onward. Most of the large cattle raisers and particularly those located in the Lillooet district, raised both sheep and cattle from the outset. Sheep had been an important element in the success of many of the earliest ranchers because they were relatively cheap and subject to a lower customs duty, while the final product, mutton, commanded prices as high as beef at the
mining markets. There were profits to be made in sheep and Interior stock raisers were keenly aware of their value. Captain John Martley, Ben Van Volkenburgh, J.B. Greaves and John Clapperton were prominent among the ranchers who drove sheep as well as cattle to the coastal market from 1875 onward. Nevertheless, the inevitable tension between stockmen and sheepmen came at last. While Yale district representatives were prepared to put forward motions in favour of public money for wool and tanning factories in the Interior, Interior ranchers were also aware of the tremendous pressure sheep could place upon grazing land. If allowed to overgraze, sheep were capable of destroying bunchgrass for, unlike cattle, they would feed upon the terrain until it was virtually bare. The legislation to provide for the grazing commons was the first indication that the Interior ranching community wanted to protect the range in favour of cattle over sheep. Legislation passed in 1879 to protect Winter stock ranges was further evidence that the cattle interests had fully awakened to the potential "sheep menace".

The various legislation introduced by the political representatives of the Interior ranching population recognized the importance of land to the hegemony of the rancher in the early settlement of the Interior Plateau. The expansion of the settlement frontier in the British Columbia Interior, however, only served to aggravate the uneasy relationship between the Indians and the white
population, and particularly the cattle ranchers. By article 13 of the terms of union, the Dominion government had assumed responsibility for British Columbia's Indians "and the trusteeship and management of the lands reserved for their use and benefit". In the end, however, the Provincial government proved very reluctant to transfer control over Indian affairs and, as a result, the setting aside of reserves in the coastal province by federal officials became a difficult and contentious issue. As far as most British Columbia settlers were concerned, the Indian was expected to play only a minimal role in the region's future. Therefore he required only a minimal amount of land. This attitude had already been confirmed before Confederation when the 76 official reserves comprised a not overly generous allotment equal to less than one acre per Indian.

In light of the previous developments, it is not surprising that the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Lieutenant-Colonel I.W. Powell, was confronted with immediate problems in the Yale district. No sooner had he been appointed in 1872 than George Walkem, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, was urging him to proceed at once to the Chilcotin valley where trouble was considered imminent if white settlers continued to encroach upon traditional Indian territory which the government had been in the process of establishing as a
There were also rumours about a possible outbreak of hostilities at Cache Creek and Kamloops. In the latter area the Indians were incensed by the outcome of a recent court case in which an Indian had been assessed damages for alleged trespass upon lands, which, although not fenced, were held under a provincial pastoral lease. In 1874 Powell visited Kamloops to meet the local Indians. They told him that they had insufficient land for their large and growing herds of cattle and horses while at the same time white ranchers in the immediate vicinity were able to pre-empt and lease thousands of acres and then beyond this often treated the Indians with cruelty. Despite these implicit warnings the federal government compounded an already delicate situation by reducing the allotments to each Indian family from eighty acres to each family to twenty acres for each head of a family of five.

The Interior Indians and the federal officials responsible for them were caught in an awkward situation. The Provincial government was primarily concerned with the promotion of settlement upon the Interior Plateau and therefore favoured a generous lease system. Unfortunately for the Indian, many of these leases of pastoral land adjoined Indian reserves in the Kamloops, Cache Creek, Okanagan, Shuswap and other suitable ranching locales. The Interior ranchers often drove Indian cattle off their reserve.
pastoral leases and in some cases actually brought prosecution against the Indians for trespassing. This was a serious injustice as these lands were not fenced and good grazing land was not unlimited, particularly as overstocking in the Interior was already destroying the bunchgrass and replacing it with sage brush. Furthermore, an 1873 census demonstrated that the Indians were turning to stock raising and were therefore becoming competitors for a limited range. Father Grendidier of Okanagan Mission reported in 1873 that 436 head of cattle and 1,300 horses were spread between seven tribes, "and they are only a beginning". Their adaption to stock raising, however, could not succeed unless the government or the ranchers themselves showed a degree of tolerance with regard to the pastoral leases and the provinces' Crown land. Indian herds of horses and cattle required as much pastoral land as those owned by white settlers.

For the ranching population of the Interior the situation was clear. The presence of the Indians represented a cheap if somewhat unreliable labour force. But at the same time, they were a potential threat to personal security,77 they did not brand their stock, they did not control their bulls, they frequently set brush fires which damaged grazing land and some had a propensity for cutting steers out of a ranchers' herd. In short, the presence of the Indian was an annoyance.
They wanted the stock raising pursuits of the Interior Indians restricted to their reservations which, despite their reduced size, continued to give offence. In 1878 Whitfield Chase, Alexander McBryan and several other ranchers in the vicinity of Little Shuswap Lake petitioned the government about being enclosed by a "large" Indian reservation, four miles in length and one mile wide.\textsuperscript{78}

Not a horse can be ridden past, nor an animal moved, to and from our farms, without danger of being stampeded by the savages and their dogs, scores of which, starved and ravenous brutes, pertain to each and every lodge. The position of the reservations, they being on every side of us, will induce the passing to and fro constantly of trains of lawless savages, who will throw down our fences leaving them open, allowing animals to stray upon our crops and elsewhere; by their dogs our poultry will be exterminated and our pigs and young stock worried and destroyed.

The attitude expressed here was definitely to the detriment of the long term development and survival of the Interior Indians' culture. By restricting the size of reserves and thereby curbing the development of stock raising among Indians, the governments, at the ranchers behest, prevented the Indians from pursuing in any substantial way one of very few industries that would have enabled them to become self-reliant and not dependent upon the white man.

The 1870's in British Columbia had been a period of economic depression and shattered expectations, though the ranching industry had fared somewhat better than the economy as a whole. When the contract for the construction of the
railway line from Emory Bar to Savona's ferry was finally let to Onderdonk and Company in 1879, and final arrangements for the building of the main line were settled, a new spirit of confidence gripped the province's population. The federal government, once again under the firm control of Sir John A. Macdonald, had accepted the advice put forward by Governor General Dufferin during his visit west in 1876. At that time Lord Dufferin had concluded that Vancouver Island was the centre of the really serious discontent. The solution for the mainland was to survey the Fraser valley route and construct a light narrow gauge line from Yale to Kamloops. This would give access to the best grazing land in the province and provide the Interior cattle ranchers with an outlet to the coast towns. This news was optimistically received by Interior ranchers whose predominance in the agricultural community is illustrated by the fact that although only 2,740 acres had been brought under cultivation in the Yale federal district by 1881, by the same date some fifty thousand horned cattle were grazing upon its pastoral land.

At Yale on May 14, 1880, a blast of dynamite finally signalled the commencement of railway construction. This development was an immediate stimulus to the patient ranchers of the Interior. Within a month of the first blast, Thaddeus Harper and the Van Volkenburghs had bought out Edward Cannell's butcher premises in the rejuvenated
These two men, "probably the heaviest stock raisers in British Columbia," had secured the contract to supply the Onderdonk construction crews with meat. In their quick response the American stock raisers had reactivated the business relationship which had dominated the Cariboo meat market in the colonial period. Under the arrangement Thaddeus Harper was responsible for the accumulation and transportation of stock to cattle yards at Emory, while the Van Volkenburghs, under the title of the "B.C. Meat Market", assumed responsibility for the merchandising of the beef and mutton at Yale and Victoria. The nature of the livestock market had changed since their former partnership. The prices for beef and mutton in 1880 were as low as five to eight cents a pound, a far cry from the captive Cariboo mining market when they had asked for and received up to sixty cents a pound. To realize comparable profits they would have to rely upon bulk retailing but most important, this new market was more readily accessible and increasing daily. By the spring of 1881, Onderdonk had imported two shiploads of coolies, each containing one thousand men. When Governor General Lorne visited the Interior the following year, he estimated that seven thousand men were now involved in the construction of the railway in British Columbia.

Harper and the Van Volkenburghs were not the only
Interior ranchers to benefit from the long awaited commencement of the railway. The *Inland Sentinel*, still at Yale, reported the regular arrival of livestock, mostly cattle, from the Interior and particularly from the Nicola valley. In late December, 1880, Peter Anderson of Nicola arrived at Yale with forty head of cattle, sold ten to Ed Cannell and then proceeded to New Westminster. In March Nicola valley ranchers, Samuel Moore and Alex Young arrived with a band of 120 cattle to ship to the coast. Other prominent ranchers had secured railway contracts. In May, 1881, it was announced that the Cornwall brothers had been awarded the contract to supply beef to the construction crews in the Lytton-Ashcroft vicinity. The announcement included some estimates which indicate the potentially lucrative nature of the railway market. The approximate rate of consumption was in the neighbourhood of ten head per day which was three hundred a month at an average weight per animal of seven hundred pounds. On a yearly basis the Cornwall contract represented two and a half million pounds of beef at approximately five cents a pound, or a profit before expenses of roughly $125,000.

The potential profit from the recuperated livestock industry stimulated increased competition among the province's livestock dealers. In January, 1882, A.M. Nelson opened a meat market at Yale to compete with the
Van Volkenburghs. He purchased his cattle personally in the "Upper Country", principally the Lac La Hache area, and drove them to Yale. J.B. Greaves, still ranching at Cache Creek at this point, was also increasingly involved in the purchase of cattle and their transportation to the coast market. In fact, by the spring of 1882 Greaves had entered so extensively into the purchase of cattle that the Harper-Van Volkenburgh combination admitted to the pressure of his competition. While local demand for British Columbia livestock was at an all time high, the great influx of population into the Western United States, coupled with hay shortages, a drought in the East and heavy winter losses upon the Western Plains in 1880-81 resulted in an acute beef shortage in the neighbouring Republic. Hence, for the first time, American cattle dealers, primarily from the Colvile area, were purchasing stock from the Interior ranchers. Even traditionally independent Puget Sound dealers were turning to British Columbia sources to fulfill the growing demand for beef in coastal centres such as Seattle and Portland.

A more distant but still potential livestock market that also emerged in the early 1880's was the North West Territories. In January, 1880, a beef contractor named Louis Beaupré was reported to be in British Columbia to purchase cattle to drive east by way
of the Kootenay pass.\textsuperscript{98} In May, 1881, John Allison left his ranch in the Similkameen valley to deliver 1,200 head of cattle to his former neighbour and recently appointed Indian Commissioner, Edgar Dewdney, at Fort Macleod.\textsuperscript{99} Unfortunately, no surviving account indicates how many cattle were involved or what route Interior ranchers followed to reach the new ranching frontier east of the Rockies. There is reason to believe British Columbia's ranching community never seriously considered the Northwest as a large outlet for their livestock. For one thing, the federal government had introduced a generous land leasing scheme to promote stock raising in Southern Alberta. Leases of up to 100,000 acres were made available for twenty-one years, at a rate of ten dollars per 1,000 acres - or one cent per acre per year.\textsuperscript{100} This attracted large and well financed ranching companies to the Alberta frontier and almost instantaneously the stock industry ceased to be a small, haphazard enterprise. From that time forward, British Columbia's involvement in the Alberta market was limited largely to the horse market. In March, 1884, for example, Alex Burnell of Crows Bar, Lillooet district, sold five hundred horses in the North West Territories for $6,000.\textsuperscript{101} This considerable profit aroused the interest of the ubiquitous Thaddeus Harper and in April, 1884, he sent his foreman Newman Squires to Calgary with two hundred horses.\textsuperscript{102}
By January, 1884, the Yale to Savona section of the Canadian Pacific Railway had been completed. The provincial economy was prospering and Interior stock raisers were receiving $12 for calves and $25 for two year old steers, an increase of $12 from eight years before. At the same time they were being offered over $40 for cows by Eastern Washington buyers anxious to expand their breeding stock. In February, 1884, J.B. Greaves obtained the railway meat contract previously held by the Van Volkenburgh-Harper concern. The latter apparently had stopped the supply of meat after being abandoned with an unpaid bill for ten thousand dollars left behind by construction superintendent Onderdonk. This did not deter Greaves who instructed his foreman, George Hayes, to drive in cattle for this "lucrative market". This decision closely coincided with the completion of the railway through to Port Moody and at 1:30 p.m. on February 13, 1884, the first cattle train passed through Yale carrying 85 head belonging to J.B. Greaves. The Interior ranching industry, twenty-five years after its inception, finally witnessed the solution of its major transportation problem; its isolation from its coastal markets.

As late as 1880 the livestock industry in British Columbia had been considered by many to be "overdone" and a "risky speculative enterprise". Despite the considerable winter losses in 1879-80 the Interior
ranchers then had more livestock on hand than local and coastal markets were able to absorb. But the sudden and dramatic change with the commencement of railway construction had initiated a period of unparalleled growth and prosperity for the majority of the Interior ranching community. By 1883, Clement Cornwall, the recently appointed Lieutenant Governor, was able to open the provincial parliament with an enthusiastic speech concerning the "remunerative prices" received by ranchers for their herds and the "improved condition of agriculture" throughout the province. Besides the railway construction camps, the Interior cattlemen had been able to exploit a revived Cariboo market, a rapidly expanding coastal market, a growing Interior market and to a much lesser degree, a demand from the United States and the North West Territories for British Columbia livestock.

The most immediate repercussion of the economic rejuvenation in the Interior was an increase in land purchases. Realizing the railway would stimulate settlement and fully aware of the large area of valuable grazing land already designated either as Indian reserve or railway belt, Interior ranchers hastily applied for additional acreage before the provincial government raised the price of Crown land. The provincial government had recently begun to pay closer attention to the administration of Crown land. In 1878, returns outlining
the arrears in rent on pastoral leases since 1870, were an embarrassing reminder that few lessees had bothered to pay their rent and that the successive governments had not taken action. Twenty-one lessees, including the Cornwalls, John Wilson, Charles Semlin, J.C. Haynes and J.B. Greaves were in arrears to the extent of $7,114.63 on land which demanded an annual rent of $2,300. In 1878 the government at last moved to collect. The following year a new land act was passed which demanded immediate payment for land bought outright and eliminated the provisions for free grant pre-emptions introduced originally in 1874.

Before the 1884 Land Act was passed, however, was a period of escalating land purchases in the ranch districts. A breakdown of land applications in that year reveals some significant trends. They confirm that the concentration of settlement had definitely moved southward into the Kamloops, Nicola and Okanagan districts. Individuals were establishing themselves or expanding their holdings in three main areas: the Okanagan valley, the Nicola valley and the Spallumcheen-Grande Prairie-Shuswap region. In the Okanagan, land purchases averaged 1,030 acres per individual, strongly suggesting the pre-eminence of stock raising and the current prosperity of the districts' initial settlers. Although five of the twenty-one purchasers were newcomers, the majority were ranchers who had been established a decade or more. Forbes Vernon added
3,260 acres to his grazing land at Long Lake, the Postill brothers acquired 3,360 acres. Thomas Wood extended his Winfield ranch by 1,920 acres, the Lequimes, Eli and son Bernard, invested in an additional 3,240 acres at Okanagan Mission and Thomas Greenhow exceeded all his neighbours by acquiring 3,450 acres at the head of Okanagan lake. The same situation existed in the Nicola valley where eleven ranchers purchased an average of 1,789 acres each in 1883. Conspicuous among the large buyers were three experienced stock raisers; J.B. Greaves, who acquired 4,000 acres between the Chapperon river and Nicola lake, Laurent Guichon whose 3,000 acres bordered Chapperon lake and Charles Beak who had abandoned the Cariboo Road for three thousand acres at Douglas lake. 113

In the Spallumcheen valley, Grande Prairie and Shuswap area, settlement was also expanding but the situation was considerably different from the Nicola and Okanagan regions. In this more heavily wooded area the average purchase of 374 acres suggests an inclination toward agriculture rather than stock raising among its new settlers. This region was attractive as it was easily accessible to the proposed route of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the Rogers and Eagle Pass. The largest land purchase in 1883, however, was not registered in any of these districts. Several hundred miles to the north-west Thaddeus Harper had begun to assemble the
Chilcotin's largest ranch, through the purchase of 8,000 acres north of the Chilcotin river and west of the Fraser. Thaddeus Harper was advancing into the Interior's most isolated and remote but nevertheless promising ranching frontier; the Chilcotin country.

The Nicola valley, in particular, was experiencing a period of rapid settlement in 1883-84. This was stimulated in part by a widespread rumour "that with the line believed to have been adopted by Major Rogers through Eagle Pass", the chances were increased that the railway would take a more southerly course, passing through the "rising" town of Nicola at Fenson's Mill. This rumour, which caused considerable consternation in Kamloops, proved unfounded when company engineers announced the railway would pass through Kamloops and then proceed southward by way of Ashcroft, Lytton and the Fraser canyon. Expanded settlement brought new tensions - tensions characteristic of ranching frontiers everywhere. Some Nicola settlers were not happy about the large tracts of land being alienated in the area by the more established ranchers.

In 1884, forty-six settlers, led by Peter Fraser, John Cote and Robert Scott, petitioned the provincial government to restrict the purchase of public lands to 640 acres at one time, "which would be ample quantity enough for any bona fide settler, and thus keep out speculators".
For the most part the petition represented the viewpoint of the most recent settlers in the Nicola valley. They resented the activities of the established cattle ranchers who, during 1883-84 alone, had purchased over 25,000 acres of valuable grazing land. After fifteen years of open range the Nicola ranchers were at last being confronted by an influx of settlers who resented the control of the region's best agricultural and grazing land by a small group of original cattlemen. Despite the strongly worded opinion, it stimulated no defensive response from the established ranchers or their representatives in the legislative assembly.

In 1884 the Smithe administration reacted to the encouraging economic state of the province with yet another revised land act. Its major provision raised the price of both surveyed and unsurveyed agricultural land from $1.00 to $2.50 an acre. The pastoral lease system was discontinued, but the act provided that "mountainous tracts of land, which are unfit for cultivation and valueless for lumbering purposes, may be purchased at the rate of $1 an acre". To insure that the land actually was waste land, the applicant had to make a statutory declaration to that effect and the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works reserved the right to refuse any application. Once again the provincial government was imposing legal restrictions which required considerable administrative surveillance.
Previous administrations had not been equal to the task and their negligence had resulted in considerable abuse. This had been particularly true of certain prominent members of the Interior ranching community who had ignored rent on pastoral leases, neglected land surveys and interfered with Indian claims. This new land act simply introduced more restrictions and qualifications for settlers to abuse.

Certainly, the most recent land act had damaging implications for Interior stock raisers. It raised the price of agricultural land, restricted the purchase of unsurveyed land to 640 acres and removed the generous pastoral lease system which had been in operation since 1865. However, the new land act contained an important compensating clause which only served to strengthen the position of the older more established ranchers. Section 76 of the 1884 act provided that title to land applied for under any previous act, even though now repealed, could be acquired as if the present act were not passed. A return tabled March 5, 1885, showed that title to 109,995.25 acres was acquired under this clause by 101 applicants. Among those who fell into this category were a number of the Interior's most prominent ranchers as well as many of its smaller land owners. Of the 109,995 acres, 71,206 acres represented land purchased at a dollar an acre by 35 Interior ranchers. Instead of receiving from the thirty-five applicants, the $178,015 to which the provincial government would have been entitled under the new rate of
$2.50, the treasury was only compensated to the extent of $71,206 at the former rate of $1 an acre. While land transactions may have doubled in 1883 as a result of the influx of population attendant upon the building of the Canadian Pacific and the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railways, an equally significant trend was the large scale acquisition of valuable land at cheap rates by established ranchers. Thaddeus Harper added a further 12,146 acres to his already extensive holdings. Charles Beak and J.B. Greaves acquired 10,574 acres for the Douglas Lake Cattle Company while Forbes Vernon obtained an additional 4,739 acres for his Coldstream ranch. Such acquisitions by these and other Interior ranchers illustrate their position as the most powerful vested interest group in the Interior. It also suggests they had influential contacts in Victoria who kept them fully informed as to changing developments in key legislative areas such as that pertaining to Crown land.

The provisions raising the price of land and limiting the amount of unsurveyed land that could be purchased demonstrated the Smith's government's realization that agricultural land was limited and was therefore to be conserved. But, for those individuals responsible for the promotion of settlement in the Interior, the land situation was not promising. Besides the considerable tracts already set aside as Indian reserves or occupied by established ranchers, there was the unsettled question
of the railway belt. In 1878 the federal government had reserved for railway purposes a forty mile wide belt of land from the Yellowhead Pass to Burrard Inlet. This belt contained valuable pastoral and agricultural land, and once the C.P.R. commenced construction, pressure grew within the province to have the federal overseers open the railway belt to settlement.¹²² Yale members, George Martin and Charles Semlin, came under mounting pressure from their constituents and by January, 1884, they asked Lieutenant Governor and fellow rancher, Clement Cornwall, to press upon the Dominion authorities the need to resolved the railway land situation as soon as possible.¹²³ By the terms of the Settlement Act, the Macdonald government did agree to open the forty mile strip containing 10,976,000 acres "with all convenient speed".¹²⁴ The federal administration, however, moved very slowly with regard to the survey of the railway belt; so slowly in fact that intending settlers were restricted to either squatting on federal land or taking up land in more remote regions of the Interior.

Government delays, both on a provincial and federal level, were not a new experience for Interior ranchers. Since Confederation they had been subjected to a variety of broken or delayed promises concerning the railway, Interior communications, irrigation schemes and land surveys. These problems, coupled with the slow but steady growth of the livestock industry before 1880, had only served to
strengthen the determination of Interior ranchers to overcome the major obstacles inherent to a ranching frontier. By 1885, the Interior's ranching economy had expanded and matured to the point where the cattlemen were enjoying a period of unparalleled prosperity. As we have seen, the major difficulties were concentrated in the interim lull between British Columbia's entry into Confederation and the beginning of railroad construction. Interior stock raisers desperately needed an outlet for their surplus livestock. As existing Interior communities could not absorb local cattle, ranchers were compelled to drive their herds over the Cascade range to the coast. In the process Interior ranchers established stable business relationships with coastal livestock dealers in New Westminster, Nanaimo and Victoria. It was at last evident the coastal region's traditional reliance upon American livestock had been superceded by the aggressive challenge of Interior ranchers operating on an independent basis.

The economic expansion of Interior stock raisers was paralleled by their growing influence in the political sphere. The Yale and Lillooet constituencies continually returned individuals who were either ranchers themselves or sympathetic to the rancher's interests. This was a significant development for their presence insured the continuation of the colonial practise of providing separate legislation to govern stock raising in the Interior Plateau.
An act such as that calling for the Better Protection of Cattle Ranges satisfied the ranchers' basically protective instincts as well as allowing enough scope for their own expansion. Forbes Vernon's appointment as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works was also particularly significant as it initiated what became a tradition of appointing either a Yale or Lillooet representative to this vital portfolio. The utilization of land was crucial to the rancher's interest and it was reassuring to know they had men in political office who were sympathetic to their particular interests and aware of their problems. At the same time, however, this heavy dependence upon political influence discouraged the Interior ranching population from organizing their own stockmen's association. With the completion of the railroad the settlement of the Interior was entering a crucial new phase which would represent the established ranchers with more complex problems.

As livestock was the most marketable commodity in this interim period, stock raising had continued to be the principal activity of Interior settlers. As a result of this continuing preoccupation with stock raising and the further decline of the Cariboo region both as a mining centre and as a provision market, the concentration of settlement shifted gradually southward. The Yale federal district, for instance, increased from a population of 1,316 in 1871 to
While a considerable portion of this new settlement established itself in the central corridor between Lytton and Kamloops, the Nicola and Okanagan valleys also experienced an influx of population. The transition in the Nicola valley was the most pronounced. As it contained excellent grazing land, enjoyed ready accessibility to the coastal markets and was hindered neither by large Indian reserves or the railway belt, settlement was rapid. Small ranching communities began to appear throughout the Upper and Lower Nicola district.

The commencement of railway construction in 1880 provided the Interior ranchers with that long awaited market for their livestock and agricultural produce. For the next five years the ranchers prospered financially as they sold their livestock at profitable levels and, in turn, reinvested their return in the expansion of their ranching operations. By 1885, some Interior ranchers were wealthy men. The establishment of major transportation and communication links has in the Canadian experience stimulated a more diversified and complex society. Therein lies the dilemma of the cattleman. While the railway was essential to the livestock industry's well being, at the same time the railway brought settlement and new and pressing problems. Certainly this is true of the Interior. Kamloops rapidly developed as an important railway and service centre for the surrounding ranching environs. New settlers arrived,
external investment was attracted and occasional skeptics, particularly newspaper journalists, began to question the status quo. Until now the Interior had developed in isolation and as a relatively open frontier. Apart from certain government restrictions upon the ranching community, it had been an era of open range. As Clement Cornwall stated succinctly to the Canadian Senate, in British Columbia, "cattle are raised in great numbers, and roam at will over large tracts of country. Their respective owners but seldom see them at all, and it is only on special occasions when the owner requires to collect a band of his cattle together for market...that he takes the trouble to look after them". 126 With the completion of the railway the established ranchers found themselves under pressure to change a way of life some had cultivated and developed for more than twenty years. Suddenly they found that to own large tracts of land was to be criticized as "monopolist" and an obstacle to the growth of the province. The response of the first generation of ranchers to this changing situation would ultimately determine their place in the development of the British Columbia Interior in the nineteenth century.
On November 7, 1885, Donald A. Smith drove the last spike at Craigellachie, a small station between Revelstoke and Sicamous, and the Canadian Pacific Railway became an accomplished fact. The completion of the transcontinental railway was a major indication that British Columbia's period of isolation within Confederation was over. The coastal province would now have access to Eastern Canadian centres and markets by an all Canadian transportation route. Vancouver would develop as an important entrepot for trans-Pacific shipping to Australia and the Orient. Beyond the Cascades, the Kootenay's mining potential could be exploited on an international scale and the promise of the Okanagan valleys for fruit growing could be further explored. At last, it seemed, the long awaited influx of population would find its way to British Columbia and the Province's considerable natural resources would be developed.

It is difficult for the historian to measure the reaction of the established ranching population to the dramatic changes which took place after 1885. Naturally the ranchers were excited by the railway. As well as the access it provided to coastal markets, existing Interior communities benefited from its practical and administrative
operations. No longer would ranchers be compelled to journey to the coastal cities to experience the amenities of a more civilized society. The railways also assured the Southern Interior Plateau of new settlement. While new settlers promised an expanded market, increased settlement also meant increased pressure on grazing land as well as stress upon established ranchers to break up what many contemporary observers increasingly considered to be overly extensive holdings. Journalists Michael Hagan and Hugh McCutcheon, successive editors of the Kamloops Sentinel, used their editorial influence to criticize the region's ranchers for retarding settlement by "hanging on to extensive cattle ranges of many miles in extent." Dominion Botanist, Professor Macoun, echoed similar sentiments. As far as he was concerned, the monopoly of land by the few to the exclusion of the many could only result in "fictitious" land prices and slower settlement. In fact, these contemporary critics were oversimplifying what had become a complex situation. The presence of the railway line might enhance the agricultural potential of the Interior Plateau's central corridor, but until branch lines were completed and systematic irrigation introduced, stock raising would remain the most viable means of agricultural development. The settlement of the ranching frontier was further complicated by the formation of heavily financed ranching and land companies. These companies, although not numerous in British
Columbia, possessed the financial resources and the management expertise to exercise a considerable influence over the immediate district in which they concentrated their activities. While the Douglas Lake Cattle Company absorbed the property of neighbouring Nicola valley settlers, the Okanagan Land and Development Company was encouraging Okanagan ranchers to subdivide their holdings for speculative purposes and shift the emphasis from stock raising to fruit.

The manner in which the established ranching community reacted to the changing situation of course determined the direction of the provincial livestock industry's development in the decade after 1885. Now seemed to be the time for the Interior ranchers to assert themselves. Their competitors in the American Northwest had not fully recovered from the recession of the 1870's and the fledgling ranching community southwest of Calgary had not evolved to the point where it was seriously interested or competitive in the British Columbia market. Hence, the opportunity to gain a firm foothold in the coastal and Kootenay market was clearly within the grasp of the Interior ranchers. Yet in the first five years after the railway's completion, they failed to gain full advantage of the situation. By the early 1890's coastal livestock dealers were filling meat contracts with Alberta beef and the important Kootenay market was lost to ranching interests located south of the border or in the North West Territories. Stock raising began to fall far
behind the mining, lumber and fishing industries in terms of employment, exports and overall production within the resource oriented economy.

This apparent malaise within the Interior livestock industry, however, did not signify a major transition within the Interior itself. Stock raising continued to be a major occupation in the Interior Plateau before 1896. Of 1,894 registered male voters in the Yale electoral district in 1890, 510 were classified as farmers, 28 as stock raisers, 18 as ranchers and 5 as cattle herders. Of the Province's 106,784 horned cattle, 16,863 head were being raised in the federal Cariboo district while a further 72,120 were accounted for in the Yale district. The breakdown of land use is an even more striking indicator of the Interior's continued propensity for cattle ranching. In the Yale district by 1891, the meagre 15,812 acres currently under crop was completely overwhelmed by the 445,606 acres that were classified as pasture land. At this point, the Interior ranching units were comparatively less diversified than during the earliest stage of development in the colonial period.

Despite these impressive statistics, the Interior ranching community was increasingly on the defensive after 1885. They resented the strong position of Alberta ranchers in a regional market they had grown accustomed to see as their own. They resented the threat posed to their traditional grazing ranges by the Oregon sheep introduced by the ranching companies. Yet for a variety of reasons upon which this
chapter will concentrate, the established ranchers never did mount a unified, effective opposition to these new influences. Perhaps they were already too insulated and self-satisfied to feel the full impact of the changing situation. Many of the ranchers had been located in the region since the colonial period. In the process of committing their energy and skills to the development of the Interior Plateau, they had survived the economically depressed 70's, taken up most of the Interior's best grazing land and developed prosperous ranches. In the era of open range, their success or failure had been determined by individual initiative and a minimum of government interference. Whatever the reason, when the character of Interior settlement and the livestock industry began to evolve in new directions after 1885, the long established ranchers were visibly alarmed by certain new developments, but ultimately failed to mount a concerted resistance to change.

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The economic outlook for the Interior of British Columbia in 1885 was bright. Like the period immediately after Confederation, many of the issues which soon would cloud the ranching industry were suppressed under a blanket of optimism. Once the Canadian Pacific Railway had been completed, ranchers in more remote areas were optimistic branch lines would quickly follow. There were rumours, in fact, of
railways northward from Ashcroft to the Cariboo and southward from Sicamous through the Spallumcheen and Okanagan valleys. There were also two companies vying for the provincial government's approval to build a main line through the Nicola valley to exploit its stockraising and mineral prospects. The demand for livestock remained strong. Besides regular shipments to coastal markets, Interior cattle were still being bought for the American market. Meanwhile, some ranchers continued to prosper from railway meat contracts. East of Kamloops, John Wilson was supplying cattle to Eastwood and Farlow, butchers for the last major section of the Canadian Pacific Railway through Eagle Pass.

At the town of Kamloops itself, the Hull brothers were busy establishing their butcher business. Nephews of a prominent Cherry Creek rancher, William James Roper, John and William Hull were rapidly becoming important members of the Interior ranching community. Upon their arrival in British Columbia from England in 1873, they served an apprenticeship with their uncle before establishing a ranch at Edith and Hull Lakes. The brother's decision to establish a meat market in Kamloops followed William Hull's trip to Calgary by way of the Crow's Nest Pass in 1884 with a band of horses. They astutely realized it would be strategically and financially advantageous to be established in Kamloops and possibly Calgary once the railway connection was completed between the two regions. Hence, while other ranchers concentrated upon livestock shipments to the coastal
markets, the Hulls were busy filling the demand for cattle and horses as foundation herds in the North West Territories. In partnership with Walter Trounce, they obtained a grazing lease to run one thousand head of cattle south of Calgary between Willow and Mosquito creeks.\textsuperscript{15} During the summer of 1886, they shipped 3500 head of cattle and 75 horses from British Columbia to Calgary and William Hull established a ranch near Calgary on Fish Creek. While the Hull brothers did not control the flow of livestock from the British Columbia Interior to the North West Territories, they were the first men to establish ranches and retail outlets in both ranching regions. This provided the family firm with definite market advantages as they could sell their cattle efficiently where the market demand commanded the best prices.

While the movement of the Hull brothers into the Alberta livestock market was an encouraging sign, the rapid growth of the ranching community in the Alberta foothills quickly overcame the initial advantage of the more established Interior ranching frontier west of the Rockies. The freight costs and the higher cost of feed discouraged most British Columbia ranchers from shipping livestock to Calgary and points east. Interior ranchers preferred to sell their cattle and horses to livestock dealers such as the Hulls who had the advantage of contacts and an established operation in the foothill city.\textsuperscript{16} Even the Douglas Lake Cattle Company, which possessed the necessary resources to transport and market the cattle, preferred to transfer ownership of cattle
destined for the Northwest to the Hulls at Kamloops. While Interior ranchers were taking a conservative approach to potential markets, Alberta ranching interests at the same time were establishing connections in the Interior Plateau. A year after Senator Cochrane bought a band of horses belonging to Thaddeus Harper, the Hulls and a Kamloops rancher, Victor Guillaume, returned from Calgary with Hereford bulls, prize winners from Senator Cochrane's famous Quebec and Alberta herds.

While Interior ranchers at this point were generally optimistic about the market situation, they were less enthusiastic about certain other developments. A feeling of bitterness had emerged in the wake of the Canadian Pacific Railway's completion. This disenchantment was directed toward the freight rate structure and the federal government's reluctance to fulfill the terms of the 1884 Settlement Act. By 1887 the Macdonald government was still procrastinating over the administration of the railway belt; the twenty mile strip on either side of the Canadian Pacific Railway which they had promised to open to settlement in 1884. To defuse this delicate situation, in the autumn of 1887 the Dominion Land Board sent its Land Commissioner, William Pearse, to Kamloops. Local ranchers turned out in force at a special meeting to guarantee that Pearse forwarded the "right" information to Thomas White, Minister of the Interior in the Macdonald cabinet. The six articles agreed upon at the meeting were conducive to the development of cattle ranches within the railway belt. While the ranchers agreed that
no leases should be allowed, individuals would be allowed to
pre-empt 320 acres with an option to purchase an additional
640 acres at a rate of $2.50 an acre for meadow and
agricultural land and $1 an acre for pasture land. Those
ranchers who already held pre-emptions were granted the
privilege to purchase 640 acres adjoining their original
holdings. When these qualifications were ratified by the
federal government the disenchantment over the Interior's
railway belt subsided for the time being. The lobby of the
established ranchers had proven successful on this occasion.

While the controversy surrounding the railway belt
was essentially a grievance related to external influences,
the Interior ranchers were experiencing their own local
difficulties. Interior ranchers traditionally had allowed
their cattle to graze freely upon specified winter ranges
throughout the Interior Plateau. They resisted the practise
of stall feeding cattle unless the weather was particularly
severe. The result was two-fold. During particularly cold
winters such as 1880-81, 1886-87 and 1890-91, many Interior
ranchers suffered considerable stock losses.\(^{22}\) At this
stage of the ranching frontier's development, the situation
was compounded by the fact that "the old grass ranges are
pretty well burnt and bare before winter sets in and when
the cattle do paw through the snow, there is nothing for
them to get..."\(^{23}\) Furthermore, when ranchers did suffer heavy
winter losses, the changing nature of the livestock market
placed them at a serious disadvantage. To compete seriously
for the rapidly expanding coastal market, it was now necessary to supply livestock dealers throughout the entire year and not simply during the more convenient summer and fall months. A definite reluctance to adopt to stall feeding in the winter and early spring damaged the Interior ranchers' market position. In order to fill the void, coastal livestock agents such as the Van Volkenburghs, and Porter and Company in Victoria, as well as Hayes and McIntosh in Vancouver, turned to available American and Albertan sources.  

The editors of the Inland Sentinel, the Interior's only newspaper until the Vernon News commenced publication in 1891, commented upon the apparent reluctance on the part of Interior ranchers to adapt to changing ranching techniques and market demands. However, Michael Hagan and Hugh McCutcheon had ulterior motives for criticizing the established cattle-men. As they were committed to the financial success of the newspaper and the development of Kamloops, they recognized and advocated the need for increased settlement in the Interior. Only the attraction of more settlers could provide the necessary tax base and labour force for their vision of an diversified Interior economy with Kamloops as its natural capital. Consequently, their newspaper continually pronounced itself an avid proponent of agricultural development on a smaller scale. Stock raising, "while remunerative, is for all that an element of barbarism, bringing to mind the primitive habit of Abraham, and the devil may care attitude of the modern cowboy...agriculture alone seems to have the basis of sound moral and financial footing..." Kamloops
was typical of many frontier communities. As a service centre, its businessmen were constantly interested in the promotion of growth. Therefore, like ranching frontiers everywhere, they championed the farmer and his enterprise over the rancher who made more extensive use of the land. The Interior ranching population, however, did not react in any visible way to the periodic outbursts of their local newspaper. This was in marked contrast to a similar situation in Alberta where critical editorials in the *Macleod Gazette* resulted in the withdrawal of the ranching compact's stock advertisements and subscriptions until the editor was forced to modify his position. Interior ranchers continued to place their cattle cards in the *Inland Sentinel* safe in the knowledge they had secure legal title to the best agricultural and grazing land in the Interior Plateau.

While the position of the established ranchers appeared relatively stable and secure in the years immediately after the railway's completion, the ranching frontier was experiencing some major transitions. By 1890, external interests had awakened in a large way to the potential of British Columbia as an area for large scale investment. Canadian, British and American entrepreneurs were willing to invest capital in provincial transportation schemes such as railways and steamers as well as in the exploitation of natural resources like coal and lumber. The formation of large ranching and land companies in the Yale and Lillooet districts was an important manifestation of this economic maturity.
While there were only three ranching companies of major size in this early period, these did exert a powerful influence and therefore warrant careful analysis.

In neighbouring Alberta, the formation of large ranching companies was concomitant with the foundation of the ranching frontier. British and Eastern Canadian interests were granted leases of up to 100,000 acres by the Macdonald government to establish extensive cattle ranches in the foothills region southwest of Calgary. The situation was reversed on the British Columbia ranching frontier. In the latter region, like the pattern in the American west, the first cattle and land companies were organized twenty years after the pioneer ranchers had established themselves. Furthermore, the British Columbia ranching companies were not granted leases or specified privileges by the provincial or federal governments. The ranching companies acquired property which had been developed in the past two decades by independent individuals. Another striking characteristic of the British Columbia ranching companies was the prominent role played by established ranchers in these new organizations. J.B. Greaves, Charles Beak and Benjamin Van Volkenburgh, founding shareholders of the Douglas Lake Cattle Company, were all on an intimate footing with the Interior cattle industry and ranching community from the colonial period onward. The same could be said of Thomas Ellis and
Richard Cawston, trustees of the British Columbia Cattle Company, and John Edwards and James Woodland, owners of the Kamloops Cattle Company. Ellis had been assembling and operating a large ranch at Penticton since 1865 while Richard Cawston had managed the Osoyoos ranch of his uncle, William Lowe, before he bought the Richter ranch at Keremeos.  

John T. Edwards, on the other hand, was a Welsh miner who turned to cattle ranching on the North Thompson after achieving some success in the Cariboo. Only the Western Canadian Ranching Company and the Okanagan Land and Development Company were wholly owned by interests not involved in some way with the Interior's development before 1885.

The formation of the Douglas Lake Cattle Company, the first ranching company to be formed in the coastal province, illustrates the newly aroused interest of capitalists in the development of British Columbia's natural resources. Although it was not officially incorporated until 1886, the original partnership was organized in February 1882. In that year, Greaves approached a group of prominent Victoria citizens with a scheme to form a syndicate designed to wrestle control of railway meat contracts from the Harper-Van Volkenburgh combination. He successfully aroused the interest of Charles Thomson, owner of the Victoria Gas Company; William C. Ward, manager of the Bank of British Columbia; Peter O'Reilly, Indian Commissioner and Charles Beak, Interior rancher. When this impressive group of
investors agreed to put up $5,000 each alongside Greaves! $5,000 worth of cattle, the syndicate was legally established. At this stage, the business was interested primarily in buying cattle and selling them to the various railway camps. The purchase and development of the Company's home ranch was arranged and controlled by J.B. Greaves and Charles Beak, who established a formal partnership in 1883. By the time the Douglas Lake Cattle Company was reorganized and incorporated in 1886, the home ranch at Douglas Lake covered an estimated 10,000 deeded acres, the largest ranch holding in the province outside the Harper estate.

Four years passed before the British Columbia Cattle Company was incorporated at Victoria. Its operation was similar in certain respects to its counterpart in the Nicola Valley. Two of its trustees, manager Richard Cawston and Thomas Ellis, owned and operated successful ranching operations in the Interior. Their ranching expertise coincided conveniently with their Victoria partner, Captain John Irving. Best known as the active head of the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company, the American born Irving provided the British Columbia Company with important political and social connections within the provincial establishment. Fully aware of the success of the Hull brothers in combining production and retailing facilities towards the end of 1890, the company purchased the retail meat and ranching business of the Van Volkenburgh brothers. This purchase included ranches in the Chilcotin and Nicola districts as well as retail
meat outlets in Victoria, Vancouver and New Westminster. This was a wise business decision for it provided the new ranching company with immediate advantages in the provincial livestock industry. Not only did they possess valuable ranching operations in two of the Interior's most productive areas, but they also gained direct control over the marketing of the livestock. They were not compelled to deal with independent livestock dealers or other middlemen.

While the British Columbia Cattle Company was consolidating its position in the provincial livestock industry, another large ranching company also was establishing itself. This formation involved the purchase of the extensive Harper interests by the British Columbia Land and Investment Company and the subsequent formation of an associate enterprise, the Western Canadian Ranching Company, to manage this substantial holding. The emergence of the Western Canadian Ranching Company was in large part the story of Thaddeus Harper's physical and financial demise. As will be recalled, Thaddeus Harper inherited $176,000 and ranch land valued at $300,000 upon the death of his brother, Jerome. After his brother's death, Thaddeus had continued to expand through the establishment of the Gang ranch in the Chilcotin and the purchase of the Stewart ranch in the Cache Creek valley in 1886. However, by the time Harper had paid Stewart $25,000 for a ranch, men familiar with the region considered worth $15-18,000, he owed money to the Bank of British Columbia. His real problem, however, seems to have stemmed from an accident at the Gang ranch in 1884. On that
unfortunate occasion he had been knocked unconscious and partially paralysed by a horse's kick. He never did fully recover. Besides drinking heavily, he invested large amounts in his Horsefly mining property and recounted widely his vision of a rich gold mine and his desire to marry a wealthy widow. To finance these illusions, Harper sold the Ashcroft flour mill and then the Stewart ranch to the British Columbia Land and Investment Company. By this time, however, Harper, once one of the province's most prosperous ranchers and entrepreneurs, was being sued for bankruptcy and his remaining property had been placed in receivership. In the ensuing legal case before the Supreme Court of British Columbia, Thaddeus was declared of unsound mind and released from his financial obligations. Despite this reprieve, he was a ruined man.

When an estate as valuable as the Harper holdings went into receivership, and then was put up for sale, the British Columbia Land and Investment Company was one of the few local organizations with the resources to express a legitimate interest. A British concern with head offices in London, England, its local interests were but one aspect of a general financial business which involved insurance and investment brokerage as well as the management of estates and large properties for clients. A director of the Company, Cambridge educated, C.A. Holland, was dispatched to the Gang ranch with the agent for the Harper estate, Yale politician,
Impressed by Holland's report, the English company decided to purchase the Harper estate and two years later an associate company, controlled by British publisher, Thomas Galpin, was formed to manage the large ranching enterprise. The first manager of the Western Canadian Ranching Company was James D. Prentice, Scottish born and educated at Fettes College, Edinburgh, before he emigrated to Canada in 1888. The English ranching company was pursuing a practice common in the neighbouring Alberta ranching frontier of hiring management expertise from outside the immediate locale.

J.D. Prentice was representative of a growing minority within the Interior ranching community after 1885. These men did not own ranches but acted as managers for established ranchers or a ranching company. Like Prentice, they were often men of some education and social standing. In some cases, such as that of J.B. Greaves or Captain Pittendrigh, manager of the Haynes estate, they also had a considerable personal investment in the ranching operation. More often than not, however, these men were hired as managers because the owners were either living or fulfilling commitments elsewhere. This was the situation for Forbes Vernon whose political responsibilities kept him in Victoria for a considerable portion of every year. In the meantime, Ontario born E.H. Wood, himself a local rancher, managed the Vernon ranching enterprise. After Vernon sold his ranch to Lord Aberdeen in 1891, the future Governor General hired W. Crawley Ricardo to serve as manager of the Cold-
stream estate. A Cambridge graduate, Ricardo had gained his ranching experience as a stockman in Alberta. Hewitt Bostock was another British rancher-politician who depended upon a salaried manager. After purchasing the Monte Creek ranch from Jacob Duck for $45,000, Bostock immediately hired Owen Batchelor as manager and left with his bride on a trip around the world. Yet another Englishman, Batchelor was an educated man who had gained previous ranching experience in Colorado and California before deciding upon the British Columbia Interior. The appearance of this largely British managerial class in the Interior reinforced the British group already in residence in British Columbia. In fact, their emergence and the corresponding decline in important American ranchers like the Harpers and the Van Volkenburghs, reaffirms D.H. Breen's observations that after 1885 the influence of American ranching interests was definitely on the decline in Western Canada. However, this does not dispel their prominent influence in the development of the Interior ranching frontier before 1885.

The appearance of the ranching companies represents the major change within the Interior ranching frontier in the decade after the railway's completion. Their arrival, as much as the growing competitive strength of the neighbouring ranching frontier, symbolized the conclusive termination of the era of isolation for the pioneer ranching community and marked further growth in the region's economic maturity.
As they represented a large accumulation of land, capital and political influence, they possessed the potential to direct to a considerable degree the future of the Interior ranching industry. Unfortunately, for the well being of the industry, in the early years of their development, the companies operated as self-contained units rather than as integral parts of the Interior ranching community. Ultimately this led them into conflict with some of the long established ranchers.

Before 1891, however, the Interior ranching community did not appear to be particularly alarmed by the activities of the new companies. There were infrequent outbursts by ranchers who suspected the companies were being granted special privileges. In 1889, for instance, William Roper was angry about the wild land assessment tax on his Cherry Creek ranch. Roper insinuated with some validity that the Douglas Lake Cattle Company had not paid any wild land tax in 1889. Indeed, if the ranching companies were being granted special privileges, it was with the complicity and support of politicians who had represented the interests of the ranching community for the past decade. When the votes were counted in the 1887 and 1891 elections it was evident that the three Yale district ranchers, Forbes Vernon, Charles Semlin and George Martin were firmly ensconced in the Legislative Assembly. By this time, it was understood that Semlin, entrenched in the opposition, assumed responsibility for the west Yale area, Martin the Kamloops vicinity and Vernon the Okanagan and Similkameen. The ranching
interest in the Lillooet district was represented by Edward Allen and A.E. Davie, Premier and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works until he transferred responsibility for the latter position to Vernon. In the federal house, John Mara sat as the Conservative member representing the Yale-Kootenay constituency. If his nomination papers are any indication, the pioneer Kamloops merchant and landowner retained the overall support of the Interior ranching population. This solid show of support for the federal Conservative party was another characteristic the British Columbia ranching fraternity shared with their counterparts in Alberta.

Yale's long standing members in the provincial house were still confronting issues that had arisen from time to time since Confederation. A particularly controversial issue these politicians had to resolve was the problem of irrigation. Lack of good water was generally considered to be the single greatest drawback to agricultural development upon the Interior Plateau. There was either not enough water, which was the case in the dry central corridor from Spence's Bridge to Shuswap Lake, or the water contained a high alkali content, which was the situation in areas of the Nicola Valley and Vernon districts. The question of government involvement in irrigation schemes was not a new one. Semlin had raised the subject in the House in 1875, but the Walkem government had fallen and successive governments had ignored the problem. By the time George Martin, with support from Semlin, introduced a motion in favour of government aid for irrigation schemes, it was generally conceded that
irrigation of lands was beyond the means of the individual settler. A.G. Pemberton, pioneer South Thompson rancher, agreed with the Davie administration's assessment. His letter to the Inland Sentinel reflects an interesting interpretation of this aspect of the Interior ranching situation, particularly as in much as it came from a rancher with twenty years experience in the region.

It is not fair to expect that any Dry Rancher will, at the risk of ruining himself, prospect for an artesian well of water, as most of these are the most needy among us...besides, which, as a rule they are not young men but old pioneers and naturally pause before they take any chances that might ruin them. The well-to-do among us have either enough water or are stockmen who have made their money out of stock...

Pemberton disagreed, furthermore, with the popular assumption that Interior cattlemen, as the largest landowners in the dry belt, were consequently opposed to artesian wells which would bring increased settlement. If artesian wells could provide additional water, he believed many cattle ranchers in fact would be happy to subdivide their land, as "they make more out of the land this way than they can by running cattle on it." Although Pemberton's prognostication was not immediately forthcoming, ultimately many of the cattle ranchers, particularly in the Okanagan district, did subdivide their land and realized handsome profits for their efforts.

The problems surrounding Interior irrigation appeared to be nearer solution when E.B. McKay was commissioned in 1888 to carry out a geological survey of the Thompson, Spallumcheen.
Okanagan and Mission valleys as well as the country between Cache Creek and the lower Nicola Valley. He concluded that the best area for trial boring was the north bank of the Thompson River from Tranquille to the Kamloops junction. Although the McKay report was tabled in 1888 it was overlooked until late in the 1889 session when Semlin called for a special committee to study the artesian well boring project. Then suddenly, the irrigation issue became a source of heated political debate. The Davie government was chastized for the proposed use of second rate equipment and a restrictive $3,000 budget. If they were indeed serious about artesian wells, the Comox member snidely commented that only the best machinery and engineering expertise should be made available. The government, now led by John Robson, the career proponent of agricultural development, decided to struggle along with the experiments. Water was conveniently struck at 500 feet on George Martin's South Thompson ranch in 1890, but no comprehensive government irrigation scheme was then introduced into British Columbia. In 1892 Charles Semlin consequently came under criticism from Cache Creek ranchers who were suffering severely from drought. As Pemberton had predicted, failure to implement a better system of irrigation for the Interior would hurt the small scale ranchers and newer settlers more than the established ranchers or ranching companies. Any intelligent early settler had long since established himself on a favourable location where access to
water for stock or agricultural purposes was not a serious problem. The ranching companies, on the other hand, possessed the financial resources to construct their own irrigation systems. In the fall of 1892, for example, besides employing forty men to build irrigation ditches on the Gang ranch, the Western Canadian Ranching Company was constructing a reservoir dam on Paul Creek to provide water for their ranch at Harper's Camp on the south Thompson.

While the provincial government procrastinated about Interior irrigation, Interior cattle ranchers were continuing to take advantage of existing legislation to protect their most valued asset; range land. The Cattle Range Act of 1876 and the amended 1888 version had provided for the establishment of cattle commons upon Crown Land. Although the scheme generated very little revenue, Commons were established at Pavillion Mountain (3,200 acres) and Big Bar (3,200 acres) in the Lillooet district, and in the vicinity of Nicola Lake (16,000 acres), Minnie Lake (1,600 acres) and Osoyoos (16,000 acres) in the Yale district. The establishment of the latter cattle common in the Osoyoos-Similkameen region initiated charges of "land grabbing" from the cattle rancher's nemesis, the Inland Sentinel. The accused ranchers were immediately on the defensive. In the sharply worded rebuttal from "Keremeos", the principal stock raisers who had signed the commons petition expressed their resentment at being characterized as "monopolists" and reaffirmed their contention that the range land in question was unfit for agricultural settlement. These cattle ranchers, the majority of whom had
been in the Osoyoos-Similkameen district for twenty years, were well established and content with the existing state of affairs. Nonetheless, after the initial attack, for some unknown reason the *Inland Sentinel* did not pursue the issue.

While the *Cattle Range Act* continued to serve as a protective shield against sheep raisers and agriculturists, provincial land legislation continued to promote the growth of Interior cattle ranches. This had been the case since the mid 1860's when colonial officials had initiated a generous pastoral lease system and encouraged individuals to purchase land at relatively low rates. In 1888, as mentioned above, the provincial land act was amended and consolidated once again. Essentially, all this meant was a revision of the former land act. Land was now classified as either first or second class; the former being land suitable for cultivation, lumbering or hay meadows, now cost $2.50 an acre while the latter land, considered unsuitable for any of these purposes, could be obtained for $1 an acre. This revised legislation did not curtail the active land purchase practices of Interior ranchers. They continued to take advantage of the land act clause which allowed them to acquire unsurveyed mountain pasturage for $1 an acre. For example, of the approximately sixty separate applications to purchase land in the Yale and Lillooet districts in 1888, two thirds were made by ranchers who had been ranching in the Interior for a considerable time. There were many familiar names on the list. J.B. Greaves purchased 1,617 acres of mountain pasturage for the Douglas Lake Cattle
Company; Richard Cawston applied for 1200 acres of pastoral land near Keremeos and Herbert Bowe, alleged to be perhaps the first Interior stock rancher, added yet another 400 acres to his Alkali Lake ranch. These were legitimate purchases by active ranchers. What alarmed some informed observers was the sudden trend between 1888 and 1891 toward the purchase of Interior property purely for speculative purposes. Why else would Norman Bole a prosperous lawyer and provincial member for New Westminster, apply to purchase over 9,000 acres in the Similkameen Valley? Why else would Vancouver capitalists such as the Oppenheimers, J.W. Horne, J.C. Keith and Thomas Dunn be purchasing land north of Vernon?

The purchases of large blocks of land for speculative purposes had serious implications for the promotion of settlement in British Columbia, particularly when so little of the province was either arable or easily accessible. Yet the Robson government, with Forbes Vernon responsible for Land and Works, failed to take any action to curb the rampant speculation in Crown lands until 1891. The delay on the part of Vernon suggests the Robson government was heavily influenced by the aggressive coastal business community at this time.

While this extensive speculation in Crown lands had damaging implications for new settlers, the majority of Interior cattle ranchers were relatively insulated against this recent development. In fact their general complacency at this juncture was hurting their economic position within
the provincial livestock market. In March 1889, five car loads of cattle passed Kamloops on their way to the coast. These cattle, on consignment to Victoria butchers, represented the initiation of a trend which would see British Columbia livestock dealers, unable to fulfill contracts with Interior cattle, buy increasing numbers of Alberta livestock. Within three years Richard Cawston, manager of the British Columbia Cattle Company, would admit publicly that the provincial market absorbed seven to eight thousand head of cattle from the North West Territories for the spring and winter markets. In the first three months of 1892 alone, Cawston's company imported one thousand head from the Northwest. In the process, the Interior ranching population was losing its grip on the expanding coastal market. Had the ranges of the Interior Plateau reached their maximum carrying capacity or was something wrong with the manner in which the livestock industry was conducted?

The Interior ranching community was powerless to control directly the flow of cattle from Alberta to British Columbia. But they could improve their market position and perhaps modernize the livestock industry if they cooperated more efficiently in the solution of their problems. As we have seen, Interior stockmen had not organized themselves in any formal manner since the commencement of settlement. The Nicola Agricultural Society had been formed in 1880, but its activities were limited to an annual exhibition
highlighted by a stallion show and horse races. Nevertheless, by 1888 there were signs of new development. In January 1888, an Agricultural society was organized for the Spallumcheen valley by J.M. Lambly, the driving force behind the Shuswap and Okanagan railroad. That same year Charles Semlin took time away from his ranching and legislative duties to guide the formation of an agricultural association for the Ashcroft-Cache Creek area. The big news, however, originated in Kamloops where a meeting to form a provincial stock raisers Association was called for January 7, 1889.

On the prescribed afternoon a group of ranchers from Kamloops and surrounding districts met to form a "cooperative and protective association." The Interior ranchers, twenty-five years after the first ranches were established, had at last felt the need to organize themselves in a formal manner. This unusual delay is in sharp contrast to other ranching areas, where cattlemen's associations dated from the first settlement. The first speaker at the meeting, local rancher and lawyer, William Ward Spinks, intimated why the traditionally independent Interior ranchers now needed a formal association. He argued that acting as individual stock raisers they could not hope to overcome their numerous difficulties. The formation of a cooperative body would allow them to present a united front against external forces such as the Canadian Pacific Railway and to regulate local issues such as branding and improvement.
of breeding stock. The next speaker, J.B. Greaves, agreed with the sentiments expressed by Spinks. As far as he was concerned, the formation of a cooperative association was long overdue. After further discussion, a committee was formed to draft by-laws for the organization. This committee, like the executive which was elected in the evening session, represented the older more established interior ranchers. Curiously, at the organizational meeting no mention was made of the potential threat to the cattleman's interest posed by the arrival of new settlers. Once again, this is in sharp contrast to the stockmen Associations formed elsewhere in large part to protect themselves from the potential influx of a farming population.

After the successful organizational meeting, the British Columbia Cattleman's Association maintained a low profile. In fact, the first scheduled meeting of the directors had to be cancelled for want of a quorum. A meeting was held at Kamloops in March, however, and in early May, John Tait, secretary of the Association, announced the branding roundups for the various districts affiliated with the organization. There was then little news on the progress of the organization until December, 1889, when the first annual meeting of the British Columbia Cattleman's Association was held at the Kamloops court house. By this time the organization had grown to include some sixty members, some thirty to forty or whom were in attendance when Nicola rancher, Samuel Moore, called the meeting to order. After
the reports of the various branding captains, Semlin took
the floor and expressed his desire for more information
about the Association for the benefit of his constituents.\footnote{88}
The rancher-politician believed the Cache Creek and Bonaparte
valley ranchers would only join the Association if it
demonstrated that its rules could materially reduce the cost
of branding. After extensive discussion of the rather mun-
dane branding issue, the members re-elected the first
executive by acclamation and moved into a heated discussion
about incorporation. At this point, Semlin's political
acumen proved a valuable asset. He argued against incorpora-
tion of the Association as a private Bill. Besides costing
$200, and this was an illuminating statement, it would run
the risk of being "thrown out" owing to so few of the pro-
vincial members being genuinely interested in stock raising.\footnote{89}
Semlin's advice was accepted and shortly thereafter the
meeting adjourned to reconvene at the first annual dinner at
the Grand Pacific Hotel. As yet no mention or discussion
of the broader problems confronting the Interior stock
raisers had emerged from this association, theoretically
established to act as a cooperative and protective body.

In fact, the British Columbia Cattlemen's
Association was on unstable ground from its inception.
Organized to promote and protect the ranching interests of
the Interior, it by no means represented the Interior Plateau
as a whole. It did not attract consistent support from ranchers
in the Okanagan and the Similkameen valleys nor did it capture
the attention of ranchers from Ashcroft northward. It was definitely hurt by the emergence of agricultural associations in the Interior. The Ashcroft Agricultural Society and its Kamloops counterpart promoted sectional antagonisms as well as diverting financial support and energy from the cattlemen's association. These organizations were eligible for government grants whereas the cattleman's body did not meet the qualifications for some inexplicable reason. This is important because in this early stage of its development, the British Columbia Cattleman's Association was by no means a wealthy organization. At its first annual meeting it could scarcely boast about a bank balance of $22.82. This financial situation implies that the ranchers were not committed to the point where they were ready to contribute their own money to place the Association on stable financial footing. Despite these problems, the organization continued to hold meetings in 1890. At a "crowded" meeting in June the ranchers expressed their hope that the Association would be incorporated by the next Legislative session. There is, however, no government record or any account whatsoever, to prove the British Columbia Cattleman's Association was incorporated in these years. When the executive was forced to cancel the annual meeting in late 1890 on account of poor attendance, it had become obvious the organization in its original format, had failed. 

The reluctance of Interior ranchers to support the
British Columbia Cattleman's Association as a cooperative and protective agent came at an inopportune time. The complacency exhibited by the Interior ranchers with regard to the increasingly competitive market situation was superseded by the emergence of a potentially divisive issue inherent to most ranching frontiers; the traditional conflict between sheep and cattle. As discussed earlier, sheep raising had been pursued to some degree by the first generation of Interior stockmen. Prominent ranchers such as the Harpers, the Van Volkenburghs, the Cornwalls and Captain Martley had grazed sheep as well as cattle upon their range. But at the same time, sheep remained a secondary consideration. While there were 67,254 horned cattle accounted for in the Yale district in 1881, there were only 5,361 sheep. Their minor importance in the Interior is further exemplified when one considers the 8,000 sheep concentrated in the Vancouver district in the same period. Furthermore, Interior cattle ranges had been legally protected against sheep since 1876 under the terms of the Cattle Range Act. Interior landowners had the legal power to elect a board of overseers with the power to pass by-laws governing the pasturing of cattle and sheep on public lands. Few, therefore, were prepared for the decision made by the British Columbia Cattle Company in 1891.

As already noted, the British Columbia Cattle Company, incorporated in 1890 by trustees Thomas Ellis, Richard Cawston
and John Irving, had purchased the holdings of the Van Volkenburgh family.\textsuperscript{96} As the Van Volkenburgh's Canoe Creek ranch in the Chilcotin was admirably suited for sheep raising,\textsuperscript{97} the new owners decided to take advantage of the promising market for wool and mutton by importing large herds of sheep from Oregon.\textsuperscript{98} Before the importations were made, however, the company approached their federal parliamentary members for Victoria, Thomas Earle and Edward Prior. They wanted these members to approach the honourable Mr. Bowell on the subject of waiving the import duty on a flock of ten thousand sheep.\textsuperscript{99} Interior ranchers were scornful of the idea the Conservative government might grant special privileges to a particular "syndicate",\textsuperscript{100} and their worst fears were allayed when the federal government refused to waive the duty. However, the recently organized cattle company decided to pursue the plan and in September, 1891, Thomas Ellis paid the duty on 9,000 sheep at the Osoyoos border crossing. Nine men had been hired and a "multitude of dogs" assembled to drive two-thirds of the flock to the Company's Canoe Creek ranch and the remainder to range near John Allison's location.\textsuperscript{101} The plan was to fatten the latter flock before driving them to the coastal market over the Dewdney trail in bands of three to four hundred.

By the spring of 1892 the British Columbia Cattle Company's investment in sheep was beginning to irritate
ranchers in the Chilcotin district. Settlers in the Dog Creek, Spring House and Alkali Lake areas expressed their intention to establish a common to protect against the depredations of sheep. In a highly critical letter to the editor of the *Inland Sentinel*, the B.C. Cattle Company was characterized as a group of "greedy capitalists" intent upon a quick profit at the expense of the public. Their large bands of sheep were now on Dog Creek mountain where "the settlers" had grazed their cattle "unmolested" for years. The settlers, furthermore, resented the need for a common as it meant a tax of ten to twenty-five cents a head per year; an amount which many small stock raisers could ill-afford to pay. In conclusion, the settlers advocated strict restrictions of sheep to private property and warned the government supporters, George Martin and Forbes Vernon, that they would pay in votes if they failed to protect the cattle industry. The possibility of a confrontation between the individual cattle ranchers and the ranching companies increased as the year progressed. While the B.C. Cattle Company was in the process of acquiring J.N.J. Brown's Empire valley ranch and moving sheep into the Big Creek area, the Western Canadian Ranching Company brought 8,000 sheep down from the Chilcotin to feed on the Hat Creek range. In fact, when the Gang ranch sheep arrived at the Hat Creek range an irate Phillip Parke, local rancher and magistrate, ordered the sheep off the range at once.

As the situation moved toward a confrontation between
the ranching companies and the established local ranchers, a public meeting was called to discuss the "sheep question" at Ashcroft on September 3, 1892.107 Clement Cornwall, former Senator and Lieutenant Governor, opened the meeting with an emotionally charged presentation. As far as many Interior ranchers were concerned, Cornwall argued, the dry belt of British Columbia, the Fraser and Thompson River valleys east of the Cascades, could not support sheep and cattle "on the same ground", especially when "the greater part of all the said valleys are already fully stocked with cattle, and have been so for a long time."108 Cornwall insisted that the established ranchers had nothing against the limited flocks of sheep belonging to "actual settlers". What they were concerned about was an amendment passed in the last session of the provincial parliament which allowed large flocks of sheep to occupy the summer ranges traditionally reserved for cattle;109

The effect of this is that cattlemen who for nearly twenty years have lived in peace and such prosperity as Providence gave them, have now in their old age this outlook before them, that any man or company who owns sheep or has the care of them, has the privilege to fully occupy with sheep the summer ranges upon which our cattle live...We would be less than men, if we tamely submitted...110

James Prentice, Secretary-Treasurer of the Western Canadian Ranching Company, then took the floor to defend the company's position and legal right to graze sheep at Hat Creek. Besides taking strong exception to the tone and message of the honourable Mr. Cornwall, this recent arrival stressed the straightforward fact that the company he now represented paid
"half the taxes or more" in the Lillooet district and currently were investing large sums which would permanently benefit the local ranchers. He then countered Cornwall's claim that the Western Canadian Ranching Company was controlled by shareholders in Britain and directors in Victoria by pointing out that the Company headquarters were located in the immediate district and any complaint could be resolved locally.

The atmosphere of the meeting was growing tense when Charles Semlin took the platform. Both Semlin and Martin were in an awkward position from a political standpoint as they had supported the amendment to the Cattle Ranges Act in 1892. While neither could afford to alienate the established ranchers or the ranching companies, Martin was clearly more open to attack. Besides being a recognized supporter of the Robson government responsible for the amended legislation, he was employed in a consulting or managerial capacity by the Western Canadian Ranching Company. Both men, nevertheless, must have been relieved when Philip Parke modified the tone of the meeting by introducing a resolution not directly related to the immediate conflict over Hat Creek. Parke's resolution was in support of provincial pressure upon the Dominion government to review the enforcement of all provincial regulations respecting pasturage of livestock within the unalienated lands of the railway belt. From that point forward, the meeting focussed on this complex issue and the well worn debate over federal-provincial legislation. The
tempo of the meeting lost, the gathering adjourned before the ranchers could agree upon what amendment, if any, the Cattle Range Act required, or whether or not a stockmen's meeting should be held at Kamloops later in the fall. Once again, Interior stock raisers had taken definite steps to resolve an internal conflict, but in the end were unable to arrive at effective solutions to the controversy. This conflict over range lands was exactly the sort of situation where conciliatory action on the part of a well organized stockman's association would probably have resolved the difficulties to both parties' satisfaction as indeed is well illustrated in the success of stockmen's associations elsewhere.

Despite the unresolved nature of the sheep conflict, the ranchers meeting at Ashcroft had brought together the two major protagonists now involved in the Interior ranching industry; the older established ranchers and the recently organized ranching companies. Both groups had articulated their position and the newly formed T. Davie administration moved to rectify the situation. A select committee was chosen to inquire into the protection of winter and summer ranges and the desirability of defining certain areas in which sheep could be pastured. In essence, the committee's decision was a moral victory for the ranching companies. As far as the committee was concerned, parties who invested their money in sheep warranted the same rights as other citizens to a fair portion of the public domain. Consequently, in true political spirit, they offered a compromise solution. They
amended the *Cattle Range Act* during the 1893 session, but all the change really represented was a reinforcement of the local electors' privilege of electing overseers to pass by-laws concerning the pasturing of cattle and sheep on public lands. Some provincial politicians, Lillooet member D. Stoddart for one, still operated under the illusion that because the province was large in area, there was ample room for cattle and sheep. The quantity and quality of available and potential arable and grazing land in British Columbia was in actual fact severely limited. If the pastoral and agricultural potential of the province was to be realized, efficient range utilization and management was imperative. This initiative, however, was not forthcoming from the politicians or the ranching community in this period.

The Ashcroft meeting stands as further evidence, that the position of the established ranchers was weakened by their reluctance to act as a cooperative unit. This was readily apparent when Walter Langley, who had owned the Basque ranch for many years, expressed his disagreement with Cornwall over the question of foreign investment in the Interior. Langley was adamant in his belief the region could ill-afford to alienate external capital on the scale introduced by the Western Canadian Ranching Company:

> This whole country had been crying out for foreign capital to come in, and now the first great amount to come in is treated in a highly improper manner. If the impression goes abroad that we look with suspicion upon foreign capital, and call for laws to hinder its use, it will be folly for us to look for any more capital to come in.
Cornwall was defying progress when he opposed in principle the introduction of large scale capital and expertise into the sluggish Interior livestock industry. His antagonism, however, is not difficult to understand. Although he and his brother had arrived in British Columbia with distinct social and economic advantages, these "country gentlemen", as they now perceived themselves, had been intimately involved with the early settlement of the British Columbia Interior. They had learned to love the isolated way of life and seemed to be saddened by the inevitable transitions. As Cornwall later lamented: 116

In those days population was scanty, everyone knew everybody else, hospitality was rife, and people were always glad to see others. As it were the whole country was one's own... Now how different! Settlers all over the country poisoning and cursing "Coyotes", the face of the ground, through overstocking, eaten bare as the palm of one's hand and No Hounds!

The considerable publicity given the sheep question overshadowed a more fundamental problem confronting many Interior ranchers; the marketing of their cattle. Stock raisers were not benefiting from the growing coastal market to the degree expected and it was not completely related to the ability of Alberta ranchers to supply the British Columbia market more efficiently on a year round basis. The root of the problem rested with the internal workings of the British Columbia ranching industry. As Basque ranch owner Walter Langley estimated in 1893, it now cost $10 per head to feed cattle for the spring trade and $7 a head to
transport the stock to coastal butchers. Consequently, unless they drove the stock to the coast themselves, many smaller scale Interior ranchers could not afford to market their cattle. They sold them instead directly to those few individuals and cattle companies who possessed the necessary capital to meet the spiralling cost of feed and transportation. Meanwhile, coastal livestock dealers had discovered it was in their best interest not to compete for the purchase and marketing of cattle. Instead of purchasing livestock upon an open competitive market, they made yearly contracts with a "few wealthy companies or syndicates." The contractors, in turn, supplied the smaller coastal butchers with their meat as the latter could not afford to buy in large quantities. This cosy relationship, which was little better than monopoly control of the livestock market, placed those ranchers who were unable to sell their stock locally or to one of the larger interests at a distinct disadvantage.

Interior ranchers might have been able to overcome their marketing difficulties if they had cooperated as a cohesive, unified group. For a number of years informed observers had been promoting the establishment of a cold storage plant for dressed meat at one of the Interior centres; preferably Kamloops. The advantages were obvious. A refrigerated storage plant, first of all, would allow ranchers to circumvent the cost of winter feed and transport to the coast. Cattle could be slaughtered at their prime in the autumn, and then delivered to butchers at a slight advance of
autumn prices in order to cover the cost of cold storage and pay interest on the capital invested. For example, instead of paying for the feed and transportation of a 1200 pound steer, the freight would be paid on 800 pounds of dressed meat. Then there would be the waste products for hog feeding, the hide for tanning, to say nothing of side products like tallow. Although James Prentice made a special trip to Kamloops to discuss the venture with local ranchers on behalf of the Western Canadian Ranching Company, the construction of a storage plant never passed the planning stages before 1896. There is no surviving evidence to explain why this seemingly logical innovation was not carried forward at this time. At this juncture, however, there was renewed hope that Interior stock raisers could cooperate long enough to establish a more intimate business relationship with coastal butchers.

The concept of a cooperative market was essentially the idea John Edwards and James Woodland had in mind when they formed the Kamloops Cattle Company in September, 1892. As they had found the coastal market closed to them "by a combination" of butchers and cattle dealers, they decided to open a retail outlet at Vancouver and market their own surplus livestock. At this point, they were hoping to attract investment from other Interior ranchers but once again the ranchers traditional preference for independent bargaining superceded the obvious need for cooperation. The concept was forgotten until early in 1895 when certain Kamloops ranchers
re-introduced the idea:

As things are at present the smaller stockmen are not only at the mercy of the larger ones, but they have no chance whatsoever to ship to the coast.

Three experienced local ranchers, Andrew Noble, Thomas Bulman and Thomas Newman were appointed as a committee at the inaugural meeting of the Kamloops Agricultural Association to correspond with interested parties in Vancouver and Victoria. A Victoria firm, H. Cuthbert & Company, had expressed a genuine interest in establishing a formal business relationship with small scale Interior ranchers. Once again, however, a potentially sound scheme failed to materialize. There was no further move on the part of the smaller ranchers to join together and withhold cattle until a more satisfactory market arrangement could be established.

This inexplicable reluctance or ability to establish either a cooperative marketing system or a cold storage plant was compounded by a generally depressed provincial economy. Prices for cattle were particularly low. By February, 1895, the price of beef had fallen to 2-3 cents per pound live weight or an average of $25 a head for prime three year old steers. Despite this situation the cattle ranchers still maintained certain advantages over the other agricultural interests. Since 1892 they had been protected effectively from American competition by the strong enforcement of federal quarantine regulations. This legislation, ostensibly designed to prevent diseased meat from entering Canada, essentially served to placate and protect the poli-
tically powerful Alberta ranching lobby. In the process, the British Columbia ranching community was also protected, particularly from the traditional flow of cattle from the Puget Sound basin to Victoria. Furthermore, the established Interior ranchers, despite the increased cost of feed and transportation, had developed their ranching operations to the point where they were insulated to a certain extent from the full impact of an economic depression. By the mid 1890's the majority of the ranches were fenced, water rights were well defined and labour was readily available at comparatively low rates. They could sell enough livestock on the local market to survive or hold them back until the economic situation recovered. Ultimately, and this became an increasingly common practise, they could subdivide and sell portions of their increasingly valuable grazing land.

Although the ranching community seemed particularly resistant to change, some areas, particularly the Okanagan valley, experienced a major transition in the 1890's. With the extension of the Okanagan and Shuswap railway to Vernon, that region's potential for fruit growing on a commercial scale came to be utilized. The Okanagan Land and Development Company, under the guidance of Scottish entrepreneur George Mackay, led the way in the promotion of a more diversified agriculture and the attraction "of the better class of settler". In the process, the Company influenced the local newspaper, the Vernon News, to attack cattle ranching as a remnant of the past and to label
ranching companies as "monopolists, pure and simple." Mackay's speculative interest in the promotion of fruit growing gained further stimulus when Lord Aberdeen, soon to be Canada's Governor General, acquired Forbes Vernon's ranching interests for a reported 50,000 pounds in 1891. The following year, Aberdeen launched the first commercial planting in the Okanagan when he arranged for two hundred acres to be planted at both his ranches; the Guisachen at Kelowna and the Coldstream at Vernon.

George Mackay and his associates, as well as other Vancouver and Victoria capitalists who bought land in the Vernon district, were interested primarily in land speculation. They were buying available property, sub-dividing it into blocks of ten to forty acres and then selling it at advanced prices as high as $60 an acre. Local ranchers, many of whom had been living in the valley since the colonial period, did not resist this latest development. In fact, some actively supported it either by selling their property to the Okanagan Land and Development Company or subdividing themselves. When Ellis sold the Mackay company 2400 acres of range land at Okanagan Mission, he was quickly followed by D. Nicholson and A. Lefevre, both of whom owned successful 800 acre ranches. Colonial pioneer, Frederick Brent, was another rancher who subdivided; he broke his 2,100 acres into blocks with improved farming land selling for $10-40 and pasture land, $5. This was a phenomenon the Interior shared with other ranching frontiers. The ranchers, after pur-
chasing their land initially at low prices were inevitably confronted several decades later by a settlement frontier. As land values rose, the ranchers seized the opportunity to divide and sell acreages to those who wished to make more intensive use of the land. Many ranchers recognized that it would take many years raising cattle to gain the per acre return now offered in immediate sale.

The potential of the fruit industry and the influx of population into the Okanagan valley illustrates the divergence of the Interior's development after 1890. Stock raising had been the most widely pursued form of agriculture since the Interior Plateau was settled after 1860. Now a new generation of settlers was arriving who saw the potential and need for a more diversified agricultural base; particularly in the horticultural and dairy fields. There was no reason why British Columbia should continue to import the large majority of its dairy products from the United States and from as far away as Nova Scotia. The movement toward a more diversified agriculture, however, was hindered by the continued pre-dominance of stock raising. In 1890, the Robson administration organized the Department of Agriculture to foster interest in and to regulate the horticultural, dairy and live stock industries. The first Minister, J.H. Turner, sent out circulars designed to obtain information as to land owned, area under crop, number of fruit trees, livestock and other similar particulars. Although many ranchers and farmers
were reluctant to volunteer information for fear that it would be used for tax assessment purposes, some very revealing statistics emerged with regard to the continued propensity of Interior settlers for stock raising and the considerable proportion of land still devoted to pastoral pursuits.

Not only was less than ten per cent of occupied land under cultivation on the Interior Plateau in 1893, large tracts of land continued to be held by a comparatively small group of settlers. According to these statistics assembled in 1893, Interior landowners possessed an average of 850 acres per individual.137
TABLE VIII
PROPORTION OF LAND DEVOTED TO STOCK RAISING

INTERIOR PLATEAU - 1893

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Cult. Land</th>
<th>Pasture Land</th>
<th>Land Owners</th>
<th>No. of Cattle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Princeton</td>
<td>1,440</td>
<td>8,770</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Penticton</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>13,899</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Okanagan</td>
<td>5,368</td>
<td>35,599</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>5,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Vernon</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Spallumcheen</td>
<td>8,483</td>
<td>10,348</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>3,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Salmon Arm</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Shuswap</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>1,380</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Grande Prairie</td>
<td>no statistics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kamloops</td>
<td>1,315</td>
<td>23,586</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>5,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Upper Nicola</td>
<td>1,733</td>
<td>130,247</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Central &amp;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Nicola</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Lytton</td>
<td>1,022</td>
<td>801</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Spences Bridge</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>1,759</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Ashcroft</td>
<td>1,346</td>
<td>7,499</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Cache Creek</td>
<td>1,352</td>
<td>4,362</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2,062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Lillooet</td>
<td>1,228</td>
<td>2,040</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Pavillion</td>
<td>1,202</td>
<td>2,478</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Clinton</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>1,510</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Bridge Creek &amp;</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>6,330</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac La Hache</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Lower Chilcotin</td>
<td>868</td>
<td>4,442</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3,286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Upper Chilcotin</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>3,120</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Alkali Lake, Big</td>
<td>3,809</td>
<td>51,495</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>7,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar &amp; Dog Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Soda Creek &amp;</td>
<td>2,717</td>
<td>6,249</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1,519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quesnel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Williams Lake</td>
<td>no statistics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The North Okanagan and the marginal farming area like Salmon Arm, Lytton and Shuswap were the only areas where the concentration of land under cultivation was greater than that
utilized for stock raising purposes. In the more remote areas, isolated by distance or the need for a railway connection, the dependence upon stock raising was paramount. The Nicola valley, now the major ranching district, could not develop as a more diversified region until a uniform system of irrigation was introduced and a branch line connected it with the Canadian Pacific Railway. Despite these drawbacks, it appears that the Nicola valley ranching population was prospering as a stock raising community. While the presence of the Douglas Lake Cattle Company tended to inflate the average holdings, the Nicola settlers owned an average of nearly 2,000 acres, and ran an average of 345 cattle on local ranges. Even at a modest estimate of $25 per head, the average Nicola rancher owned nearly ten thousand dollars worth of stock. To a somewhat lesser degree, the same could be said of the Cariboo ranching country and the most recent Interior district to be settled; the Chilcotin. In fact, the long range future of cattle ranching in British Columbia rested in large part with the direction of settlement in this sparsely settled and isolated region.

When one examines the Southern Interior Plateau before 1896, there is little doubt stock raising had continued to play an important role in the economy and way of life in the decade after the completion of the railway. There is also firm evidence to suggest that to pursue the study of
the ranching frontier and livestock industry further, one must study the region on an even more local and intensive level. The Okanagan Valley, for instance, clearly was evolving in a very different direction than say, the Kamloops or Lillooet districts. Besides the economic diversification implied by the introduction of commercial fruit growing, the Okanagan was attracting a disproportionate number of British settlers with above average financial means, education and social aspirations. The editor of the Vernon News, Angus Stuart, was most explicit when he stated:

There is absolutely no room in this portion of the Interior for that very common type— the man who wants to take up 200 or 300 acres of prairie land near Vernon, Enderby, or some other town, all ready for the plough, and who expects to get it at $1 an acre.

This is not to imply that cattle ranching was redundant in the entire Okanagan Valley by 1896. As late as 1895, Thomas Ellis absorbed the Haynes estate, thereby extending his holdings from Penticton to Osoyoos. But the large cattle ranch, as personified by the extensive Ellis enterprise, had by this time become the exception to the general pattern of settlement.

Furthermore, a new generation of ranchers were reaching maturity by 1896. When Samuel Moore acquired Andrew Noble's Kamloops meat business in 1894 for his son, it represented more than a mere business transaction. John Moore had been born and raised in the Nicola valley. Now, with his father ready to retire, he was assuming the
responsibilities for the family's Nicola ranch as well as a retail meat business. Throughout the Interior Plateau, the first settlers, some of whom had ranched there since the early colonial period, were transferring ownership to their children, simply selling out or hiring managers before they retired to Kamloops, Victoria or more distant destinations such as eastern Canada or Great Britain. Some of the early ranchers were already dead. Thomas Greenhow, prominent Okanagan rancher, had died in 1889. Henry Cornwall's death in 1892 after a lengthy illness was cause for the largest funeral in Kamloops' short history. The following year, two other prominent pioneer ranchers, Moses Lumby and William Pinchbeck, also passed away. Other pioneer stockmen experienced less fortunate endings. Edward James was admitted to the New Westminster asylum while Thaddeus Harper, owner at one time of the province's largest and most successful ranching enterprise, died in relative poverty and obscurity in Victoria in December, 1898. Only a few old friends and ranchers, most notably Premier Semlin, attended his small funeral.

The first generation of Interior ranchers had devoted their careers to the development of the region's stock raising potential. By 1885, many of these men had taken advantage of relatively cheap land and a generous lease system to establish successful ranching operations in some of the Interior Plateau's best agricultural areas.
With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the prospects for the future of their personal enterprises and that of the provincial livestock industry were excellent. By 1896, it was evident that although the ranchers continued to control large segments of the Interior Plateau, the ranching population had failed to realize its potential in some important respects. First of all, their inability to sustain a regionally representative Stock Raiser's Association seriously detracted from their position as a potentially influential lobby in Victoria and Ottawa. Furthermore, it damaged their capability to cooperate on important local issues such as cold storage plants, the marketing of cattle and a badly neglected issue, the overgrazing of range land. Instead, the ranchers depended upon local agricultural societies and their political representatives to resolve problems. This was a mistake. While government supporters Forbes Vernon and George Martin both held the important portfolio of Lands and Works, neither man introduced innovative legislation governing the ranching industry in this period. In fact, they hid behind the existing legislation to placate the ranching companies and independent ranchers when the two interests were in conflict over sheep. Instead of providing legislative initiative to keep in pace with technological change, the Yale and Lillooet members directed their influence toward the preservation of the status quo. In the process, the complexities surrounding
the need for a comprehensive land use policy or irrigation system in the Dry Belt went unresolved, dairying languished, and the cattle industry failed to satisfy even the demands of the provincial market.

While the established ranchers and their political representatives struggled to preserve the status quo, the emerging ranching companies successfully established themselves as a major force in the ranching community. Though there were only three ranching companies of major significance, their formation considerably altered the complexion of the Interior ranching frontier. As corporations they could draw upon a consolidated pool of capital and expertise. The Douglas Lake Cattle Company, for instance, not only benefited from the ranching experience of J.B. Greaves and Charles Beak, it profited from William Ward's influential position with the Bank of British Columbia. The larger scale of their ranching operation also favoured the ranching companies. When individual ranchers suffered heavy losses in the winters of the early 1890's, the losses of the ranching companies were comparatively light. They could afford the men necessary to stall-feed cattle or repair broken fences. They also possessed the capital to build their own irrigation ditches, thereby overcoming one of the Interior's most serious limitations. In essence, the ranching companies could afford to be virtually independent self-contained units within the larger ranching community. The major advantage they maintained over the independent rancher, however, was illustrated
in the market situation. As these companies ran a comparatively large number of stock, they could afford to ship or drive cattle to available markets on a regular basis. In the process, they established important ties with coastal dealers, who from strictly a business point of view, found they could depend upon the companies for a regular supply of beef. The ranchers, unable to compete on the market place with the ranching companies, and seemingly incapable of forming their own cooperative market, were forced to sell their stock at dictated prices to the larger interests. Hence, instead of operating as mutually sympathetic interests sharing common objectives, there was evidence of resentment toward the ranching companies expressed by the smaller scale ranchers as the 1890's progressed.

By 1896 the era of open range, captive markets and minimum government interference experienced by the first established Interior ranchers was for all intents and purposes a thing of the past. In the next decade, the influx of European and British settlers would encourage the development of a more diversified agricultural base upon the Southern Interior Plateau of British Columbia. As settlers moved into the more remote areas of the Interior, however, the future of the ranching industry was ensured. Interior stock raisers and ranching companies would continue to find a ready market for their product on both a local and provincial level. Ranchers would continue the traditional spring and fall roundups and the search for the ultimate
breeding bull. But, it should have been apparent that unless the second generation of Interior ranchers began to demonstrate a more cooperative approach to the region's particular limitations, the livestock industry would never regain the influential position that it once held in the British Columbia economy.
CHAPTER V

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA RANCHING FRONTIER: THE SOCIAL SIDE OF THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS

This analysis of the British Columbia ranching frontier has concentrated upon the economic and political character of the Interior ranching population. Before we conclude, it is appropriate to examine briefly the social framework and outlook of the Interior ranching community. The society which evolved in this region after 1858 does not appear to have patterned in the mold characteristic of the American cattle country nor did it wholly resemble the "cattle compact" which dominated the Alberta ranching frontier after 1880. The society that took shape was neither "raw, rude and democratic," as Okanagan historian R. D. Kerr would lead us to believe, nor was it controlled by "British officials and ranchers who, even under the exigencies of frontier life, maintained the customs and standards of their Upper Middle Class and Country-Gentry background." In fact, because of its comparatively early settlement and the diverse backgrounds of its early settlers, the society which evolved in the British Columbia Interior after 1858 represents a curious and somewhat unique blend of influences peculiar to that region of Western Canada. However, as the historical sources related to the social development of the Interior are limited, the observations made in this discussion are designed primarily to suggest potential areas for more intensive investigation.
Hopefully, future research will result in a more comprehensive interpretation of the pioneer ranching community as a social entity.

One cannot deny that within the Interior ranching community, there existed a distinct social group which by virtue of birth, education, social connection, marriage and capital, established themselves as important figures within the ranching community. These were the young, educated Upper middle class Britons, primarily from England and Ireland, who were encouraged to establish ranches or accept government positions in the Interior during the colonial period. This group is personified by men such as the Cornwalls, the Vernons, W. J. Roper, and John Carmichael Haynes. As they were men of considerable social and political ambition, or perhaps of more importance, as they were literate men and recorded their experiences, this group has assumed an elevated historical profile which perhaps exaggerates their influence upon the development of the Interior ranching frontier. They are an important group but it would be misleading to portray them as a separate compact or elite. They are part of a significantly larger group of British settlers and officials who, from their base on Vancouver Island, exerted a considerable influence upon the tone and direction of British Columbia society. Nonetheless, through the examination of this privileged group, and the manner in which they adapted to their new environment, the historian can acquire a broader understanding of the social side of the settlement process in the British Columbia Interior.
As we have seen, the large majority of those individuals who chose to establish ranches during the colonial period did so as a direct response to the agricultural market stimulated by the mining discoveries. In this initial period of ranch development, the social existence of the ranching population was controlled by the isolation of the region from the amenities of the more populous coastal district. During the winter months, when the Interior was effectively cut off from the outside world, the time was passed reading, doing chores, writing letters, and carrying for the livestock. In fact, in these early years, there is evidence to suggest that "gentleman" ranchers like the Cornwalls set aside their inbred social pretensions. While they preferred the company of important colonial officials or men of their own class, the Cornwall brothers were not above sharing their Christmas dinner with local characters like "Oregon Jack" or playing a friendly game of poker with their neighbours. On the other hand, some of the contemporary American cattle drovers were less charitable to their English neighbours. A. J. Splawn, an American rancher who made several trips to the Interior during the 1860's, described the English ranchers as "exiled thoroughbreds" and the Vernons as "gentlemen of leisure, with pedigrees longer than their purses."

Although there appears to have been a certain degree of social interaction between ranchers on a local basis, the wide range of socio-economic and cultural backgrounds inherent in the British Columbia ranching frontier meant that they
often adapted to their new environment in totally different ways. The ranchers' attitude toward women and marriage is one clear indication of this diversified response. As an isolated frontier with only a few small concentrations of settlement, the Interior was not an attractive environment for white women. In fact, in an 1870 journey from Yale to Barkerville, C. A. Sargison noted in his diary that there were only six white women along the Cariboo Road above Lillooet and no white females between 150 Mile House and Soda Creek. Hence, some ranchers accepted the logical alternative and took Indian wives. The Yale district marriage register, which survives from 1871 onward, contains the record of a number of marriages between Interior ranchers and Indian women in the early years of settlement. More often than not, however, the ranchers ignored the marital vows and simply lived common-law with their "squaws" or "klootchman." This convenient arrangement was commented upon by Presbyterian minister, George Grant, in his study Ocean to Ocean..., but he was careful to point out that "as might be expected," the ranchers "did not bring them to church." Only when the region attracted a more settled populace in the mid-1870's did the ranchers, particularly those of more modest means and usually of American or European background, begin to marry local white girls or women they met during the annual trip to New Westminster or Victoria.

Conspicuous by their absence from the Yale marriage register, were those young single Britons who arrived in British Columbia with enough capital to establish ranches
immediately. If these men were to maintain standards in accordance with their upper middle, and upper class Victorian heritage, they were certainly not interested in marrying local Indian maidens. Their desire to reproduce, as nearly as possible, the culture which they had so recently left behind, meant they should marry, as nearly as possible, within their own class. Hence, it is not surprising to find that on June 8, 1871, Clement Cornwall married Charlotte Pemberton, the daughter of the rector of Kensal Green, London, in St. John's Anglican church, Victoria.\(^{11}\) She had been staying in Victoria with her sister, Mrs. B. W. Pearse, the wife of the colonial Surveyor General. Clement Cornwall, however, was not the first British rancher to introduce an educated English woman to life in the Interior. In 1868 at Victoria, pioneer Similkameen rancher, John Fall Allison, married Susan Moir, the daughter of a wealthy Ceylon plantation owner and an accomplished poet in her own right.\(^{12}\) That same year she rode side-saddle over the Hope trail to the Allison ranch near present day Princeton. One of Susan Allison's closest friends was Mina Ellis, whom Penticton rancher Tom Ellis married upon a return trip to Ireland in 1872. In those early years, these women periodically visited Charlotte Haynes at Osoyoos; the daughter of a London solicitor and first wife of cattleman and government official, J. C. Haynes.\(^{13}\)

Although the more affluent ranchers from the United Kingdom appear to have made a practise of marrying within their class, their wide dispersal throughout the Interior
plateau and the daily demands of ranch life limited their social interaction. Despite the comfortable new ranch house at Ashcroft and the comparative luxury of a servant and Chinese cook, Charlotte Cornwall was lonely during her early years in the Interior. Her only close friends in the area were the Fosters at Clinton and the Martley's and Carsons in the Pavilion area toward Lillooet. The other great friends of the Cornwalls in the colonial period were the William Charles', who resided at Kamloops while he was the Chief Factor. In fact, the isolation of existence upon a pioneer ranch led some ranchers to acquire homes in New Westminster or Victoria. The Haynes family, for instance, spent part of every winter at Ince Cottage, the former residence of Judge Crease at New Westminster. The Vernon brothers, particularly after they were married, spent a good deal of every year in Victoria.

The large majority of the early ranching population, however, could not afford to maintain two residences, let alone the luxury of governesses, servants, and Chinese cooks. In the financially lean years after the initial mining excitement, it was difficult enough to maintain a viable ranching operation. Consequently, to fill their leisure hours, the settlers were dependent upon their own initiative to organize social activities. Besides the region's great potential for hunting and fishing, the most popular pastime was horse racing. Throughout the Interior Plateau from Keremeos to Soda Creek, local ranchers, farmers, and Indians would gather
together at least annually for a series of improvised races. In 1865 the Cornwalls built a race track near their road house and introduced horse racing to the Ashcroft district.\textsuperscript{17} These particular annual races were a curious mixture of the old and new cultures. While the Cornwalls rushed about appointing stewards and putting up hurdles, the locals were busy organizing and taking bets upon the Klootch races; a popular event which involved Indian women racing about the course with varying degrees of sobriety. After the first races attracted one hundred people as well as the entire local Indian band, the Ashcroft races became an annual autumn event.\textsuperscript{18} Horse racing, and particularly the prestige surrounding the breeding of a fast horse, served as an important social equalizer within the British Columbia ranching frontier. Before the organization of annual roundups and Agricultural societies, the races were the one occasion when the ranching population was brought together. A man who possessed a thorough knowledge of horses retained the respect of his ranching confreres, regardless of his socio-economic status. Alex Bulman, when reminiscing about his father, was careful to point out that although his father had a "great fondness for the cattle business but without a doubt, he liked horses much better."\textsuperscript{19}

While every class of rancher enjoyed the horse races in the early years, they did not compete with coyote hunting as a form of recreation for the Cornwalls and their ranching associates. As early as 1868, three hunting hounds arrived at Ashcroft, compliments of the Duke of Beaufort.\textsuperscript{20} For the
next twenty years, the innovative sport of coyote hunting occupied the Cornwalls' every spare moment. As Cornwall recorded:  

...however attractive other pursuits and sports may be in their way...hunting must be placed first and the rest NOWHERE! 

More especially has this been the state of affairs with us in B.C. a country in its paucity of population so to speak utterly devoid of the rational recreation and amusement indulged in elsewhere by the upper classes of society. Under such circumstances it is easy to conceive what the hounds were to us in the winter. They were the object of life—thev were life itself! 

Although Clement Cornwall admitted "hunting was, as a rule, a sport utterly unknown to the great majority of the people of the neighbourhood," they rarely had any difficulty forming a hunting party. In 1868, Lord Francis Cecil and Lord George Campbell spent a hunting holiday at the manor, but their usual party included a mixture of Britons and Eastern Canadians. The Cornwall journal records, for example, the involvement of their "old friend" W. J. Roper of Cherry Creek, George Kelly of Cut-Off valley, A. G. Pemberton of South Thompson, Jacob Duck from Grande Prairie, Charles Semlin of Cache Creek, and George Martin, "a gallant gentleman, formerly of Her Majesty's Navy." From time to time, the Cornwalls would take their hounds to Kamloops where W. Charles and Captain Layton of the Hudson's Bay Company served as hunting partners, or occasionally they ventured as far as the Okanagan where they chased the "gay, sprightly and plucky" coyote with the Vernons, Price Ellison, and Phillip Houghton. The Inland Sentinel in November, 1886, carried an account of a Cornwall trip to hunt at the Nicola Valley ranch of fellow Englishman, William
Pooley.\textsuperscript{24} By this time five ladies were allowed to join the men on the hunt.\textsuperscript{25} That trip, however, was one of the last made by the Cornwalls. Much as it grieved them, the Cornwalls were forced to abandon the hunt, partly because an outbreak of mange had decimated the coyote population, but also as a result of the inclination of new settlers to put out poison which endangered the hounds.\textsuperscript{26}

In fact, the abandonment of coyote hunting in the mid-1880's was one indication the Interior ranching frontier was undergoing an important transition. Throughout the colonial period and the first years of Confederation, the settlers seemed content without the amenities of a more stable and sedentary society. Organized schools were non-existent, church services were infrequent and what social activities were pursued reflected the ability of people to improvise on a local basis. As we have seen, for certain ranchers of British heritage, this meant the adaptation of standards and leisure pursuits which, to their way of thinking, properly emulated the institutions of mid-Victorian England. There is little evidence to suggest, however, that this small group of ranchers made a concerted effort to impose their attitudes and mores upon the heterogeneous ranching population. Indeed, as the Interior ranching frontier entered a more stable phase of development after 1880, leadership came from a broad cross-section of the population. The institutionalization of education is a good example of this trend. As many ranchers had young families, pressure was exerted upon the provincial government to fund
the establishment of schools. In 1874, rancher Charles Semlin sponsored a Bill through the legislature and a boarding school was built at Cache Creek.27 Within a year, the Cache Creek school, under the guidance of local ranchers, boarded forty students from throughout the Interior. By 1880, Interior settlers were served by schools at Clinton, Lillooet, and Kamloops as well as institutions in the Nicola and Okanagan valleys.28

As most Interior ranchers had attained at least a grade school education, education and self-improvement was an important consideration. The more affluent ranchers, men like Haynes and Ellis, hired governesses to provide their children with the basic elementary education.29 Once this stage was completed, the boys attended school in Victoria.30 William Moore, the youngest son of Nicola rancher, Samuel Moore, was educated by private tutor before attending Queen's University.31 Okanagan rancher, Price Ellison, sent his daughter to Royal Victoria College in Montreal where she eventually wrote a thesis on Oriental Exclusion.32 Other ranchers moved their families to more central locations to allow their children to attend school on a more regular basis. This was particularly true of the Kamloops and Nicola districts where several ranchers maintained homes in Kamloops in addition to the rural ranching operation.33

The provision of higher education for their children was only one indication of the rancher's cultural awareness. Lillooet and Nicola both supported avid debating societies with regular meetings. At many ranches throughout the Interior,
one could find the latest English and Canadian newspapers and magazines. The store owned by Thaddeus Harper, for instance, contained a private library with periodicals and newspapers. An English writer, Morley Roberts, was most impressed by the awareness and concern with world affairs exhibited by some ranchers he met during his tour of the Interior in 1884-85. At the ranch of fellow Englishman, John Hughes, who only recently had married a local Indian, he chatted for hours about politics, agnosticism and atheism. As there was a proliferation of published travel accounts related to British Columbia in the 1880's, it is most unfortunate for the historian that the Canadian Pacific trains generally passed through Kamloops and other Interior centres in the dead of night.

The Interior ranching community's commitment to education was but one aspect of their broadening involvement in community affairs. Besides their ranching duties, there were ranchers active as schoolboard trustees, Indian agents, Justices of the Peace, and supporters of the Church. Although the ranching population on the whole appears to have been multi-denominational, the Roman Catholic church and the Church of England were well established upon the Interior Plateau. Thomas Ellis went as far as to personally finance the construction of a little church on his ranch and supported a clergyman, Father Green, to hold services. Cornelius O'Keefe, a devout Roman Catholic, followed suit at the head of Okanagan Lake. Although this involvement in community affairs was admirable, on occasion ranchers accepted positions
they had neither the training nor the inclination to carry out in a competent manner. For instance, in 1884, Nicola ranchers A. E. Howse and John Clapperton resigned as the local Indian agents after Howse was accused by a Victoria newspaper of kicking an Indian to death upon the Nicola reserve.\(^{38}\) Although they were cleared of the charges, as ranchers with a vested local interest, the government was unwise to think that the local settlers could deal with the Indians in an impartial manner. The federal and provincial governments were fully aware of the general climate of opinion regarding the Interior Indians.\(^{39}\)

Despite the odd incident, there is little evidence to suggest violent crimes were a common occurrence within the British Columbia ranching frontier. As a matter of fact, the Interior ranching community's development is further evidence that the Canadian West did not experience a period of lawlessness in the early stage of settlement. This is surprising when one considers that at the outset, the region had attracted a highly transient population, many of whom had gained first-hand experience with the unrestrained American West, where settlement often preceded the law. Furthermore, in the initial stage of settlement, British Columbia did not enjoy the presence of a trained, full-time police force like the North West Mounted police, as was the case in the prairie west. Instead, law and order was the responsibility of local appointed magistrates, many of whom were ranchers. Despite this situation, the only violent crimes directly involving the ranching
populace came in 1880 when the half-breed sons of former Hudson's Bay Company official and rancher, Donald McLean, and Alex Hare, son of Rancher, Nicolas Hare, were tried and convicted for the murders of Nicola district shepherd, James Kelly, and John Ussher, government agent and chief constable at Kamloops. Outside this unfortunate occurrence, local crime was limited to rustling and the occasional dispute over stock. Observers of this period disagree as to the extent of stock rustling. William Ward Spinks, a lawyer who practised at Kamloops as well as being a ranch owner, pointed out in his memoirs that "most of his cases were irrigation disputes, mine-jumping, disputes over brands and a few cattle stealing cases, but cattle-stealing was not common." Although the newspapers support this contemporary assessment, Mary Balf disagrees and has argued that rustling was always endemic in the Kamloops district, particularly in the 1880's. According to her interpretation, which provides no examples, the small ranchers considered the herds of the larger concerns at their disposal, and asserted that the Douglas Lake Cattle Company was a favourite target. In this case one must seriously question Balf's research. The available sources do not support this supposition and the failure of the ranchers to maintain effective stock associations suggests that the rustling problem was not too serious. On the few occasions when rustling actually did occur, the local ranching community preferred to blame outsiders for such misdeeds. When the British Columbia Cattle Company had 200 sheep stolen in 1892, the
manager Richard Cawston immediately accused "Monatchey Bill, a cowboy from across the line."  

It is interesting that Richard Cawston, a prominent member of the Interior ranching community born and educated in Ontario, would immediately suspect an American cowboy when a crime against property was committed. Although an isolated case, it gives credence to the popular frontier stereotype of the "cussing cowpuncher" who drifted aimlessly from cowtown to cowtown after the Civil War. Granted, men who conform to the description or image of the American cowboy, drifted across the International boundary in search of employment. Cawston's comment, however, tells us more about the attitude of the established Interior ranchers than it does about the American ranchers like the Harpers and Van Volkenburghs who had established themselves permanently upon the Interior Plateau. The sources suggest that there was a general antipathy between Interior ranchers of British and American origin. Clement Cornwall, for instance, simply did not like Americans. On several occasions in his diary, he openly expressed his distrust of the Harpers and while enroute to Ottawa in 1872 he expostulated his feelings concerning the American people:

> It was pleasant on getting into Canada and finding a much better looking and pleasanter sort of people... In Canada the men are robust, healthy looking fellows and a great contrast to the weakly, undersided people in the neighbouring states.

Once again, this is only an isolated example and not conclusive evidence of a prevailing attitude. We really know very little about the American element active in the Interior and even
less about the cowboys who performed the fundamental duties of the ranching operation. David H. Breen, in his study of the Southern Alberta ranching community, argues convincingly that contrary to popular belief, American ranch owners were not numerous in the Canadian West, and their social influence was correspondingly small. This assessment also appears to hold true for the British Columbia ranching frontier.

While neither the British Columbia or Alberta ranching frontiers experienced a dominant American presence on the social level, within the Alberta ranching community the structure of personal relationships retained a somewhat stratified character and one's place remained comparatively well defined. The employee class was usually separated socially from the ranch owners as well as from the farming population. This distinct division of groups is not apparent within the British Columbia ranching population. The large majority of Interior ranch owners, regardless of the size or success of the ranch operation, continued to perform manual labour about their ranches and ride herd on the range. British Columbia ranchers did not attempt to set themselves socially apart as the Alberta cattlemen did when they formed the Ranchmens' Club in Calgary. Instead, they contributed to the formation of pioneer societies open to both old and new settlers and not restricted to any particular occupational group. In fact, the Interior ranching community does not appear on the whole to have been terribly class conscious. This may explain in part why the British Columbia ranching frontier did not experience the tension
between the established ranchers and the farming population apparent in neighbouring Alberta and parts of the Western United States in the 1890's. The comparative tranquillity of the Interior situation in the 1890's can also be attributed in part to the fact that the majority of its ranchers had commenced ranching with little more than a desire to succeed. The ensuing accumulation of land and livestock was the measure of their success and status within the community, as much as their ability to lead a life of social refinement.

The social side of the settlement process has proven to be a difficult subject for the historian to evaluate in a meaningful manner. It requires an intimate familiarity with the district one is studying as well as the availability of adequate source materials to substantiate one's conception of that society. Before a comprehensive interpretation of the Interior ranching community as a social entity can emerge, further research into the nature of British Columbia society in the nineteenth century must be carried out. Certainly, the recent interest in more analytical local histories is a step in the right direction. When this researcher first approached the study of the Interior ranching frontier, he expected to find a ranching society that was dominated by a ranching compact similar to the sophisticated metropolitan group active in Southern Alberta after 1880. Indeed, further research into the subject did confirm that the Interior ranching country attracted a small group of British and Canadian ranchers who maintained an elevated social and political profile. But, by
no means, did this group dictate the social behaviour and development of the region. Their influence was tempered by the isolation of the region, its comparatively early settlement and the slow economic growth of the province. The Interior ranching community, in its isolation, was compelled to adapt its social institutions to this situation. In the process, a populace very diverse in background, nationality, customs, and attitudes established themselves successfully and for the most part congenially upon the Southern Interior Plateau of British Columbia.
CONCLUSION

The study of the British Columbia ranching frontier from 1858 to 1896 reinforces the historian's obligation to approach the settlement of any region in its initial stage of development with caution and without preconceived notions. Every sectional or regional entity has its particular features. Certainly, when one examines the origins and growth of the Interior ranching community and livestock industry, there is a growing awareness that its development after 1858, although not of profound significance, warrants a more careful analysis and appraisal. Though not all historians of British Columbia have been totally deceived, most have failed to appreciate the contribution of the early ranching population to the initial settlement of the Southern Interior Plateau after the decline of the fur trade. The cattle ranching era represents a distinct stage in the settlement of the coastal province.

Unlike the later ranching frontier on the Canadian prairies, the British Columbia ranching experience has not suffered from the traditional assumption, only recently dispelled, that the Canadian ranching frontier was simply a northern extension of the American ranching expansion as it swept westward across the Great Plains. Instead, the origins of the British Columbia ranching community are usually associated, and with some justification, with the more modestly scaled ranching frontier which emerged in the Pacific Northwest after 1846. The American influence in the immediate post 1858 period cannot be denied. The discovery of gold and the subsequent
attraction of cattle drovers and dealers from Oregon, California and Washington Territory laid the foundation of the Interior livestock industry when the Hudson's Bay Company failed to take the initiative. Interior ranchers bought American cattle and adopted stock raising techniques and ranching practises common south of the border. Once the mining markets north of the 49th Parallel began to decline, however, the majority of Americans retreated southward, leaving only a small nucleus of ranching compatriots behind them. Beyond this point, the American ranching experience does not exert a significant influence upon the British Columbia ranching frontier. To comprehend the expansion or indeed, the survival of the ranching population after 1865, one must turn to the settlement patterns as well as the political, economic, and social structure of the diverse ranching populace.

Once the Cariboo market began to recede, the early settlers awakened to the tremendous geographic, topographic, and climatic variations and limitations of the Interior Plateau. Although the region was large in total area, only a restricted percentage of the land was suitable for grazing purposes and an even smaller amount was suitable for agricultural pursuits. Consequently, the control of available and accessible grazing and agricultural land was of paramount importance for those involved in the nascent Interior ranching industry. The early settlement of the Southern Interior Plateau, like other ranching frontiers can be seen in terms of competition for site. The outcome of that competition determined both individual
fortunes and set the contours of the economic and social order.

The more severe implications of competition for site were suppressed to a considerable degree, however, by the fact that from 1865 to 1880 the British Columbia Interior developed in a state of economic and social isolation. Only a small and widely dispersed group of former miners, packers, Hudson's Bay Company employees, and British settlers shunned the amenities of the more settled coastal region and began to exploit the Interior's considerable potential for stock raising. They began to locate themselves either by pre-emption, purchase, or squatting on the best bottom land with ready accessibility to water and the most convenient summer and winter range. After some initial hesitation, the colonial administration also recognized the region's stock raising potential and the role it might play in the release of the British colony from its heavy dependence upon American sources for agricultural produce of all kinds. Hence, they encouraged the small ranching population with a generous pastoral lease system and a legislative framework which ensured some regulation but essentially guaranteed minimum government interference. Isolated from the coastal market by the Cascade range, but possessed of a mobile product, Interior ranchers from Osoyoos to Quesnel began to prosper on a modest level. Although generally concentrated on moderately-sized holdings, confined by a local market and oriented toward self-sufficiency and subsidiary economic activities to compensate for their isolation, the ranchers adapted to their environment in a
responsive and successful manner. By the time railway construction finally commenced and the provincial government began to tighten its policies regarding Crown land, a considerable proportion of the Interior Plateau's best grazing and agricultural land was controlled by a determined nucleus of cattle ranchers who appeared to thrive upon the isolated existence on the frontier.

As a result of its close association with the mining market and partly because the colonial and provincial administrations did not successfully encourage group settlement on a large scale, the Interior ranching frontier displays the demographic diversity more characteristic of the American ranching frontiers than its later counterpart in Alberta. This situation only serves to complicate the study of the ranching frontier, especially when one approaches the ranchers as a social entity. Nevertheless, nationality, education, and financial resources could work to one's advantage in British Columbia at this early stage of its development. The success of the small group of educated and well-connected upper middle class Britons who established ranches certainly supports this supposition. Although they generally did not possess the ranching expertise personified by Americans like the Harpers or the Van Volkenburghs or fellow countrymen such as John Wilson or J. B. Greaves, they persevered, learned the necessary skills and established viable ranching operations. Their willingness to assume administrative positions and pursue political office and important coastal connections was
the key to their influential role within the Interior ranching community. Outside of Canadians John Mara, Frank Barnard, and Charles Semlin, almost all of the Interior ranching districts' legislative and parliamentary members were of British origin, principally from England and Ireland. It was fortunate for the ranching interest that these men had political ambitions. The settlement of the Interior Plateau and the expansion of the livestock industry was complicated in these interim years by the unstable political climate, the unsettled question of Indian lands and the many uncertainties surrounding the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. As the Interior ranching population was not organized in any way, it was important that they have a political voice, particularly in Victoria. In the process, however, the ranchers came to rely too heavily upon their political representatives.

The completion of the transcontinental railway signified the effective termination of the first stage of development for the Interior ranching frontier. From this time forward, competition for site would assume a more intensive yet at the same time, peaceful level. Before 1885 the ranchers were the aggressors. They had supported the suppression of the Interior Indians and had profited from the considerable reduction of their reserves. They had driven their cattle to the coast and successfully competed against the American competition. Now as British Columbia entered a new stage of economic advancement and maturity, the Interior ranching frontier was exposed to new pressures which
illuminated the strengths and weaknesses of the ranching community, and their major livelihood, the livestock industry. On an individual basis, it would be misleading to conclude that the established ranchers collapsed as a political, economic and political force. Many of them adapted to the inevitable transitions of a more mobile and industrial society and prospered. But, there is enough evidence to suggest that the ranching population continued to operate on an independent, individualistic basis when the broader problems of the ranching industry required a united front.

Certainly, the problems confronting the Interior ranching frontier were neither unique nor were they unsurmountable. The appearance of sheep on ranges traditionally reserved for cattle, the increased cost of transportation and feed and the competitive state of the market place were common to ranchers elsewhere on the continent. The logical means by which to overcome these obstacles was the formation of a representative stockman's organization. However, after a brief flirtation with such an organization at Kamloops in 1889 to 1890, the ranchers allowed the British Columbia Cattlemen's Association to die. The other leadership alternatives came in the form of the recently organized ranching companies and the rancher's traditional resort; the politicians. The appearance of land and ranching companies was the major new influence within the Interior ranching frontier after 1885. The prominent figures in two of the major ranching companies were long established ranchers who had adopted
the company format as a superior form of economic organization. They were fully cognizant of the problems confronting the Interior ranching community. Yet, in this period, they seemed content to use their influence to forward the development of the ranching companies as self-contained units rather than as members of a broader ranching community. As the ranching companies were beginning to hit their stride, the politicians-ranchers for the Yale and Lillooet districts were on the decline. Forbes Vernon and George Martin, in particular, had allowed themselves to be caught between the two main forces within the Interior ranching community during the sheep controversy. Their attempts at appeasement only delayed the solution of the broader problem of economic depression which confronted the ranchers as the 1890's progressed.

Unlike the situation in the Alberta foothills, the established Interior ranchers did not anticipate the arrival of waves of "sod busters" with great trepidation. Their superior location, the federal government's hesitation over the railway belt and the expense projected for irrigation schemes discouraged a large influx of settlers. The settlement of the Interior was in a period of transition, but the most pronounced changes were reserved for the Okanagan and Spallumcheen valleys. In those locations the influx of a predominately middle class British population and the new emphasis on fruit farming signified the beginning of the end for the cattle ranching era. The established Okanagan ranchers did not resist this new land use. In fact, as land values
escalated, many ranchers began to subdivide their property; a characteristic common to most ranching frontiers at this stage of development. In large parts of the Interior Plateau, however, and particularly in the major ranching districts of the Nicola and Thompson valleys, and farther north in the Chilcotin, the earlier settlers retained their traditional dedication to stock raising as the best means to utilize the land. Although they were never a tightly knit interest group, the first generation of ranchers provided the Interior communities with an important sense of continuity and stability. Certainly, by the 1890's these first settlers of the southern Interior Plateau had emerged as the established families of the region.

As a ranching frontier the British Columbia Interior shared some important factors with its Alberta and American counterparts. But, like so many aspects of the British Columbia experience, ultimately its development and character were its own. It never acquired that cosmopolitan outlook which so characterized the foothills ranching community despite the fact the region attracted ranchers who would have felt readily at home amongst the would-be gentry of the Alberta foothills. The attitude of the Interior ranchers towards the livestock industry, their economic lifestream, was never more than provincial in outlook. The ranches, with the exception of the few large ranching companies, never approached the size or scale of operation of the major ranching areas in the American southwest or the Pacific region. Yet, in the history of the opening and settlement of British Columbia's Southern Interior
Plateau, the cattle rancher played an integral part in perhaps the most overlooked of Western Canada's ranching frontiers.
1. There have been several provincial histories of British Columbia. The most balanced account is Margaret A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, Toronto, 1971.

2. The ranching region of the Interior, referred to as the Southern Interior Plateau, encompassed the Yale, Lillooet and Cariboo Political districts.


10. ibid, p.47.

   Also see Margaret A. Ormsby, "The History of Agriculture
in British Columbia", Scientific Agriculture, Vol.XX, September, 1939, pp.61-73. This article offers an accurate summation of the coastal province's agricultural development until the 1930's.


NOTES

CHAPTER I


5. Livestock raising and other agricultural pursuits were encouraged at newly constructed Fort Vancouver; at the mouth of the Columbia, Fort Walla Walla, Fort Colville, Fort Okanogan; near the mouth of the Okanagan river in the Upper Columbia region, Fort Boise and Fort Hall.

6. In the Fort Vancouver area at the mouth of the Columbia, the herds of cattle increased very slowly. In fact, not until 1836 did McLaughlin permit any cattle to be slaughtered for meat. The herd by that time numbered 700. W.R. Sampson, "Kenneth McKenzie and the Origins of British Columbia Agriculture", *B.C. Historical News*, June 1973, p.16.

7. For information on the early years of Fort Langley, see Robie L. Reid, "Early Days at Fort Langley", *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I, April 1937, and a supplement entitled "Fort Langley Correspondence", *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II, July 1937, pp.107-194.


11. By the agreement signed in Hamburg in February, 1839, the
Hudson's Bay Company leased a coastal strip south of Cape Spencer from the Russian American Company. In return for this ten year lease, the Hudson's Bay Company would, among other things, pay annually two thousand land otter skins, and for ten years would supply the Russian Company with wheat, flour, salted beef, butter, hams and other provisions.


13. The foundation herds in the Oregon country were of Spanish breed and brought in from California. As William Fraser Tolmie, Superintendent of Nisqually farms from 1843 to 1859, commented, "In body conformation they looked as though they were bred for speed rather than beef". S.F. Tolmie, "My Father, William Fraser Tolmie, 1812-1886", British Columbia Historical Quarterly, October, 1937, p.234.

An 1845 report by Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour showed that at Nisqually and at Cowlitz there were 300 horses, 2,346 head of cattle and 6,857 head of sheep. At twenty-three posts of the Hudson's Bay Company and its satellite company west of the Rockies, there were 1,716 head of horses, 4,430 head of cattle, 1,891 sheep and 1,581 hogs.


17. See the published papers of the British and American Joint Commission, Evidence on the Part of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, Claimant, (Montreal 1868), pp.107-109, and the Opinions Award of the Commissioners.... Pronounced September 10, 1869 (Montreal 1869).


19. J. Orin Oliphant, Op.cit. p.16. For McLaughlin, as Rich points out, (pp.666-667) American settlement, the American coastal trade and the American fur trade were three distinct and independent issues. Settlement he regarded kindly. Douglas, on the other hand, refused to sell cattle to American missionaries until he had learned the position of the Hudson's Bay Company Governor and Committees.


21. ibid, p.32. The federal census of 1850 reported 41,729 head of cattle on farms and ranches in the Oregon Territory. Of these, 9,427 were milch cows and 8,114 were working oxen.
22. *ibid.* p.41.
27. *ibid.* p.98.

31. For precise information on the Company farms, the provincial archives holds the stock books kept by the company bailiff, Kenneth McKenzie, who was hired in 1852 to supervise the Craigflower farm. These stock books contain an inventory of livestock held by the farm. The purchasers of cattle, the transportation of cattle and other daily information is also included.

   As of September 1864, the cattle on inventory at Craigflower consisted of one bull, 11 cows and ten calves. At Broadmead there was one bull, 9 cows, 4 calves, 14 yearlings and 1 steer for a total of 29.

34. *ibid.* p.90.
37. *ibid.* p.182.
41. There are several excellent accounts of the early British Columbia gold rush but the best interpretation is contained in Margaret Ormsby's Provincial history in the chapter entitled the "Gold Colony".

42. ibid. pp.150-151.

43. ibid. p. 142. Ormsby estimated 8,000 miners followed the reopened Columbia River - Okanagan valley route to the Thompson valley in 1858.


51. Palmer expressed his view that the duties collected at Fort Thompson "gave good grounds to apprehend extortion". Palmer was bitter that duty was collected at Fort Kamloops when to his knowledge it was not an official port of entry. He did admit, however, that in the collection of these duties, no discrimination was made between British subjects and American citizens.

52. Donald Fraser, Articles on British Columbia, printed in the London Times, 1858-1862, PABC, p.2.


54. This route had been investigated by Alexander Caulfield Anderson in 1846. After ascending the Harrison River, it involved a series of portages along the Anderson-Seton chain of lakes before arriving at the Fraser River at Lillooet.

55. Colonial Office, Blue Book of Statistics, MSS, PABC. Under a Douglas proclamation issued on June 2, 1859, the customs
duty on bulls, oxen, cows, horses, asses and mules was
4 shillings 2 pence per head and for sheep and goats
2 shillings one pence per head.

56. James Douglas to the Lord Bishop, British Columbia, May
19, 1862, in a typed copy of Douglas' Private Official
Letter Book, 1859-1864. MSS, PABC.

57. Donald Fraser, in his correspondence to the London Times,
commented that he knew two cattle dealers who allegedly
had made profits of several thousand pounds during the
1861 season.

58. R.C. Lundin Brown, British Columbia: An Essay, New West­
minster, British Columbia, 1863, p.21.

59. The British Columbian, June 27, 1861.

60. As of November 1863, road tolls were charged for inland
bound freight. The tolls on goods transported inland by
land or water from Douglas, Yale and Hope were 1 shilling
for every fifty pounds of goods. As of September 1862,
every head of cattle going from Lillooet to Alexandria
by way of the Cariboo Road was subject to a toll of 1
shilling per head.

61. Fort Kamloops Journal, William Manson, Chief Trader, January
1, 1859-December 30, 1862, MSS, PABC.


63. Fort Kamloops Journal, October 1, 1860.

64. W.G. Cox to the Colonial Secretary, March 3, 1861, Colonial
Correspondence Inward, MSS, PABC. On June 6, 1862, The
British Columbian reported the recent arrival at Rat
river of John Jeffreys with 1,000 head of cattle and 300
horses bound for the Interior markets.

65. See A.J. Splawn, KA-MI-AKin: The Last Hero of the Yakimas,
Portland, N.P.D. This book contains a first hand account
of one of the Washington to Cariboo cattle drives. Splawn
was a member of a party organized by Major John Thorp in
1861 to drive a herd of cattle from Yakima to the gold
fields.

66. The British Columbian, October 22, 1862.

p.183.

68. Fort Kamloops Journal, April 24, 1861.
69. The British Columbian, August 5, 1863.

70. J.C. Haynes to the Colonial Secretary, August 31, 1863. Colonial Correspondence Inward, MSS, PABC.


72. The British Columbian, August 5, 1863.

73. The British Colonist, February 16, 1864.

74. The British Colonist, June 21, 1864.


76. Fort Kamloops Journal, April 18, 1862.

77. ibid. May 28, 1862.

78. ibid. February 1, 1861.


80. ibid. p.66.

   His estimates are based upon the surviving records of the Customs Office at Osoyoos and the generally inaccurate Blue Books of the Crown Colony.

82. The British Colonist, March 17, 1867.


3. Musgrave to Granville, October 15, 1869. Great Britain, Colonial Office Original Correspondence, British Columbia, 1858-1871, Microfilm, University of British Columbia Library.

4. Victoria Gazette, February 17, 1859. "The facilities for raising stock in all the Upper Country are remarkably good. Bunch grass of a very superior quality grows in almost every direction being found on the flat and mountain in large quantities. The raising of stock will be a source of considerable wealth to the country, and very profitable to the raisers..."


7. ibid. p.388.


12. M. Begbie to J. Douglas, November 7, 1859, Colonial Correspondence Inward, MSS, PABC. Thomas Elwyn to J. Douglas, July 30, 1859, Colonial Correspondence Inward, MSS, PABC.

13. Cox to Colonial Secretary, March 3, 1861, Colonial Correspondence Inward, MSS, PABC.
14. J.J. Young to Cox, September 28, 1861, Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, MSS, PABC.


16. ibid. p.10.


18. Although Cail's study of the crown land system is the most comprehensive study of this important area, other historians have examined the disposal of land in British Columbia.


F.W. Laing, Colonial Farm Settlers on the Mainland of British Columbia, 1858-1871, MSS, PABC, 1939.


20. ibid.


Government officials in the colonial period centred their speculative activity in the New Westminster, Yale and Hope areas. Colonel R.C. Moody made 11 claims alone in 1860 and received a severe reprimand from Governor Douglas through the Colonial Secretary on April 5, 1861.


25. Crease to Colonial Secretary, July 11, 1863, Attorney General Correspondence Outward, Colonial Correspondence, MSS, PABC.

26. Edward Philip Johnson, "The Early Years of Ashcroft Manor", B.C. Studies, No.5, Summer 1970, pp.3-23. Also refer to the diaries of Clement and Henry Cornwall in the PABC. These diaries and farm records are the most illuminating source for the colonial period with regard to the individual ranch. One must continually bear in mind, however, that the Cornwalls did not typify the nineteenth century rancher. Clement F. Cornwall, "Diary", May 1862 to July 1864, MSS, PABC, p.36. Although he warned Courtenay about trespassing, Cornwall continued to do business with the American, buying 288 pounds of beef at 16¢ a pound in February 1863 (p.51).
27. Clement F. Cornwall, "Diary", 1862-1864, p.85. Cornwall made only a short comment on the Courtenay case in his diary but it is very indicative of his early attitude toward the local community. "The affair caused quite a sensation in Lytton... A very hard matter to club any law into their heads, they are inclined to go on their own private view of a matter".

28. F.W. Laing, Op.cit. p.9. According to Laing's study, some of the original pre-emption records were dealt with in an informal manner by the local magistrates. This was due in part to the lack of prescribed printed forms.

29. It is not possible to put forward a complete demographic breakdown of the colonial ranching population but from the sources available one is able to distinguish major characteristics of the Interior ranching community. The term "rancher" is used in this study in a general sense. The Interior settlers were referred to or classified as "farmers", "stockraisers", "cattle ranchers" and "gentlemen". The valuable accumulation of pre-emption records by F.W. Laing state where they settled initially and how much land they held by pre-emption and purchase. The establishment of their backgrounds before they turned to ranching is a more complex source problem. Available diaries, personal papers, newspapers and government records provide the majority of this information.


32. Inland Sentinel, December 12, 1891. In a discussion with a British Columbian reporter, Bowe stated that to the best of his knowledge, "he was the first man to start cattle ranching in British Columbia".


34. J.B. Kerr, Biographical Dictionary of Well Known British Columbians, Vancouver, 1890, p.119.


36. ibid. p.880. J.B. Greaves, born at Putsy, Yorkshire on June 18, 1831, had an interesting career. A man of little formal education, he left home at fourteen and spent seven years at Belleville, Missouri. In 1854 he travelled to the Calif-
ornia gold fields where he was a labourer until he established his butcher business at Michigan Bar. Upon the discovery of gold in British Columbia, he moved his butcher business to the Cariboo district.


Donald and John McAulay, John McIvor and John Lennard, all former Company employees, had previously left the Company's employ to establish their own ranches.

Manson's ranch was at the 111 Mile Post on the Cariboo Road while McKinley and Anderson pre-empted land in the Lac La Hache valley.


41. Men who legitimately could be classified in this group included the Cornwall brothers, Thomas Ellis, the Vernon brothers, John Carmichael Haynes, George Bohun Martin, Preston Bennett, John F. Allison, John Martley, W.J. Roper, A.G. Pemberton, Charles F. Houghton, Edgar Dewdney, Cavendish Venables, Benjamin W. Pearse, Thomas Lowe, George Foster, William Charles and Captain Layton.

According to the pre-emption records, the locations of these land claims was "about 26 miles from the ferry on the Thompson river on the road leading northwards..."
This rather vague description is reflective of many of the early pre-emption records. The lack of systematic surveys or maps was an important cause of this situation.


44. ibid. p.6.


46. Thomas Ellis, "Diary", March 18, 1865, MSS, PABC.

47. ibid, May 25, 1865, MSS, PABC.


50. *ibid.* p.310.

   Over 3,000 pre-emption claims were recorded during the colonial period: New Westminster (917), Lillooet (758), Lytton (460), Cariboo (397), Hope (119), Yale (100), Douglas (96), Rock Creek and Osoyoos (89) and Similkameen (32).


55. *ibid.* p.209.


58. *ibid.* p.49.

59. Jerome Harper to Governor Douglas, May 4, 1863, Colonial Correspondence Inward, MSS, PABC.

60. For information on the mill, see F.W. Laing, "Early Flour Mills in British Columbia", British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol.V, 1941, pp.201-203.

61. John Boyd, Cottonwood House Receipts and Day Books, Cold Spring House Cash Book, MSS, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Library. Their location was 26 miles south of Quesnelmouth.


63. Pioneer ranchers who ran roadside houses to supplement their incomes included among others the Cornwalls at Ashcroft; C. Semlin and P. Parke at Bonaparte House; Lorenzo Learto at "The Fountain"; Albert Chrysler at 83 Mile House; William Manson at 111 Mile House; W. Henderson's Blue Tent Ranch; Dennis Murphy at 141 Mile House and McLeese's Colonial Hotel at Soda Creek. *Cariboo Sentinel*, May 12, 1866.

64. Clement F. Cornwall, "Diary", 1862-1864, p.25.


67. Fort Kamloops Journal, William Manson, May 9, 1861, MSS, PABC. A common entry by the chief trader would read "Men more or less in liquor all day altho at work".

68. Thomas Elwyn to the Colonial Secretary, November 16, 1860, Colonial Correspondence Inward, MSS, PABC. G.B. Wright to Douglas, February 5, 1862, Colonial Correspondence Inward, MSS, PABC.

69. British Columbia Ordinances, 1865, No. 27.


72. H.M. Ball to Colonial Secretary, October 17, 1864. Lytton Government Agency, Letter book, 1859-1870, MSS, PABC. At a public meeting at Lytton, Clement Cornwall beat W. Armstrong by a majority of 135 voles to win the Legislative Council seat.

73. British Columbian, February 15, 1865. The Pounds bill, if it had been implemented, would have provided for the impounding of every horse, mare, gelding, colt, filly, ass, mule, cow, heifer, etc. found in any forest or open pasture land, or other unenclosed land. This proposal by Cornwall came before the Legislative Council had introduced fencing legislation.

74. The Hat Creek valley is a narrow valley, lying westward of the Thompson river valley. Through the valley ran a trail from Lytton which joined the wagon road at McLean's house on the Bonaparte river.

75. British Columbian, August 24 and 28, 1865.

76. Cariboo Sentinel, August 19, 1865.

76A. British Columbian, October 28, 1865.

77. P.H. Nind to Colonial Secretary, July 25, 1865, Lytton Government Agency, Op. cit. Nind, after consulting with Lytton butcher Chapot, estimated the land could support 1 head per 30 acres whereas the Cornwall estimate was 1 head per 50 acres.
78. *British Columbia Ordinances*, 1869, No. 9.

79. Clement Cornwall, "Diary", 1866-1869, January 24, 1869, MSS, PABC.


83. *ibid*, p.160.


86. *ibid*. p.175.


89. *British Columbia*, Journals of the Legislative Council, May 3, 1864, New Westminster, MSS, PABC.

90. *British Columbia*, Journal of the Legislative Council, February 12, 1866, New Westminster, MSS, PABC.


92. P.H. Nind to Colonial Secretary, July 17, 1865, Lytton Government Agency, Letter Book, MSS, PABC.

93. P.H. Nind to Colonial Secretary, July 12, 1865, *ibid*.

94. *ibid*.

95. *British Columbian*, March 6, 1867.


97. J.C. Haynes to Colonial Secretary, May 27, 1865, *ibid*.
98. Colonial Secretary to J.C. Haynes, June 12, 1865, Colonial Correspondence Outward, MSS, PABC.


101. P.H. Nind to Colonial Secretary, July 17, 1865, Lytton Government Agency, Letter Book, MSS, PABC.

102. British Columbian, April 18, 1866.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erection of houses, wages</td>
<td>$500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and provisions</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigation Ditch</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting up corals</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting up stock yard</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ploughing 25 acres</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting up stable and shed</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erection of saw mill, machinery</td>
<td>(not given)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digging cellar</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3 mile fencing</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaking up 127 acres of land</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$2,045</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

104. ibid. p.160.


107. ibid. p.29.

In true English style they named their cattle with terms of endearment such as "Bos", "Caroline", and "Jenny".


109. Cariboo Sentinel, June 8, 1868.

There is very little biographical information on the Van Volkenburgh family. Originally from New York state, they operated in the Cariboo mining centers before branching out into ranches at Canoe Creek and then in the Nicola Valley. In the 1880's they moved to Victoria. There were at least two brothers, Isaac and Benjamin, active in the family business.

110. Customs Collections at the Southern Boundary and Victoria, 1864-1867, MSS, PABC.


113. British Colonist, April 13, 1868.


115. ibid. May 18, 1870.

116. British Columbia, "An Ordinance to amend the Duties of Customs, February 15, 1865", Ordinances of the Legislative Council, New Westminster, 1865. Specific duties on livestock was 4s/2d for bulls, cows, horses, asses, mules and 2s/ld for sheep, goats, and hogs per head.

117. Robson further proposed a 20% ad valorem duty on all dead meat carcasses.

118. British Columbian, February 16, 1867.

119. British Columbia, Ordinances of the Legislative Council, No. 18, 1867.

120. British Columbian, November 13, 1867.


123. British Colonist, March 18, 1869.

124. ibid.

125. The Canadian Duty on horses was $15 per head and $10 per head for cattle. There was no duty on hay, hops and cereals of all kinds. Government Gazette, March, 1870, Victoria, pp.37-38.


127. ibid. p.83.

128. ibid. p.100.

129. Pearse to Sanders, September 3, 1870 and Pearse to O'Reilly, September 3, 1870, Lands and Works Department, Colonial
Correspondence Outward, MSS, PABC.


135. Colonial Office, Blue Books, British Columbia, 1870, MSS, PABC.

136. Clement Cornwall, "Diary", 1869-1871, July 12, 1870, MSS, PABC.

137. *ibid.* The Cornwalls estimated that they had shown a profit of $6,200 for the year 1868. That is a very respectable showing when you consider the generally stagnant nature of the British Columbia economy. Obviously, the Cornwalls were competent businessmen.
NOTES

CHAPTER III


3. For detailed information on railway surveys in British Columbia, see Sanford Fleming, Report of Progress on the Exploration and Surveys up to January, 1874, Ottawa, 1874.


5. ibid. No. 3, 1872.

6. B.W. Pearce to Bushby, August 25, October 5, 14, 25, Lands and Works Department, Colonial Correspondence Outward, MSS, PABC.

7. British Columbia, Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1875, Vol. IV, Victoria, pp.281-288. The Yale district was divided into six polling divisions. The breakdown of the 1874 voters list was Hope and Yale polling division, 57 voters; Lytton, 30; Nicola, 44; Okanagan, 46; Cache Creek, 20; Kamloops, 88.

8. ibid, pp.281-282. Lillooet was divided into three polling divisions consisting of Canoe Creek, 20 voters; Clinton, 75; Lillooet, 65.


10. Clement Cornwall, "Diary", January 19, 1872, MSS, PABC. When the Barnard Express arrived at the Cornwalls in January 1872, it was their first communication with the lower country in five weeks.


13. British Colonist, Victoria, October 26, 1873.
14. ibid.


Local ranchers who settled in the Kamloops District included Donald McCauley, John Peterson, William Jones, Victor Guillaume, Isaac McQueen, Robert Todd, John Edwards, John McIvor, Andrew Noble and others.


Herbert Bowe delivered 39 head of cattle to the Van Volkenburgh abbatoir in December, 1871.

22. Cariboo Sentinel, October 5, 1872.


24. British Colonist, November 7, 1891.


26. ibid.

The Harper land holdings represented the largest Interior holding before the formation and growth of the Douglas Lake Cattle Company. It included 3,957 acres east of Kamloops, 906 acres at Cache Creek, 14,797 acres in the Cut-Off valley near Clinton and the Gang Ranch in the Chilcotin.

28. Clement Cornwall, "Diary", April 14, 1868, MSS, PABC.
Clement Cornwall did not trust the Harpers. As Thaddeus Harper was assembling his cattle in the spring of 1868, Cornwall went over to Cache Creek to see if he had "any of ours".

29. British Colonist, April 13, 1868.


35. British Colonist, August 19, 1876.


37. British Colonist, April 20, 1876.


40. The Mainland Guardian, every week from mid-March to November, would list the arrival of the steam from Yale and Hope along with the number of cattle on board. In 1878, 1,878 cattle came down by steamer to New Westminster. This is a very conservative estimate of how many head arrived at the coast for it does not take into account livestock driven all the way or sent by the Howe Sound trail.

41. British Colonist, September 26, 1872.

42. Cariboo Sentinel, October 19, 1872.

43. Cariboo Sentinel, April 26, 1873.

44. Mainland Guardian, May 19, 1877.


46. For the period 1871-1884, the province of British Columbia had six premiers who formed seven governments: John Foster McCreight (1871-72); Amor De Cosmos (1872-74); George Walkem (1874-76 (1878-82); A.C. Elliott (1876-78), Robert Beaven (1882-83) and William Smithe (1883-87).

47. Certainly, if available occupation data for the region is recognized as an indicator, any legislation geared toward the promotion of stock raising or agriculture was welcomed by the first settlers. For example, in the Lillooet electoral district in 1878, of 187 registered voters scattered...
through three polling divisions, 83 were classified as farmers and 4 as stock raisers. As for the Yale district, of the 376 eligible voters, 218 were listed as farmers, 24 as stock raisers, 3 as herders along with one lonely shepherd. The Nicola, Okanagan and Rock Creek polling divisions were almost exclusively populated by ranchers or stock raisers.

British Columbia, "Voters List, Yale and Lillooet Districts", Sessional Papers, 1878, pp.70-82.

48. E.S. Cleasby, "The Open Range", MSS, PABC. The first agricultural exhibition to be held in the Nicola Valley was at Quilchena on October 15, 1880. John Clapperton was President, A.E. Howse the Secretary and others active in the society included local ranchers John Gilmore, Robert Hamilton, Florien Mickle, the Moore brothers and Joseph Lauder.

49. Mainland Guardian, December 18, 1873. A meeting of ranchers from Cache Creek, Bonaparte and Thompson River valleys, took place at the home of James Campbell, Bonaparte rancher in December, 1873. Resolutions were passed in favour of fence laws, improvement of stock breeds, a cattle trail to Cassiar and improvement of the Hope to New Westminster trail.


53. ibid. p.228.

54. ibid. p.228.

55. British Columbia, Journals, 2nd session, 1st parliament.


57. British Columbia, Journals, 4th session, 1st parliament, April 19, 1875.

59. *British Columbia, Journals*, 1st session, 2nd parliament, April 18, 1876.

60. *ibid*.

61. *ibid*.

62. *ibid*.


64. "Better Protection of Cattle Ranges", *Statutes of British Columbia*, No. 16, 1876.

65. The average price of sheep per head on the hoof was ten dollars. The customs duty was only 75¢ a head in the colonial period and under the Canadian tariff it was increased to $1 per head.


68. *Statutes of British Columbia*, No. 3, 1879. "An Act to protect Winter Stock Ranges" allowed for the creation of a Board of Overseers upon the petition of two-thirds of resident land owners. The five member board had to power to pass by-laws and to regulate the pasturing of cattle, sheep and swine.


76. ibid. pp.304-306.

77. British Columbia, Journals, 3rd session, 1st parliament, February 16, 1874. Robert Smith moved a resolution to have a militia post established by the Dominion government at some point contiguous to Kamloops, or the Okanagan because the Indians "feel disposed to be troublesome and interior whites are isolated and unprotected".


80. ibid.


83. Inland Sentinel, June 17, 1880.

84. Inland Sentinel, July 1, 1880.

85. Inland Sentinel, September 6, 1880.

86. Inland Sentinel, September 16, 1880.


88. Inland Sentinel, December 23, 1880.

89. Inland Sentinel, March 17, 1881.

90. Inland Sentinel, May 26, 1881.

91. ibid.

92. Inland Sentinel, January 5, 1882.

93. Inland Sentinel, July 20, 1882.


"Since Mr. Greaves has gone extensively into the purchase
of cattle, Messrs. Harper and Volkenburgh have also advanced and prices are now ranging pretty high. Stockraisers are in good humour at present".

96. Inland Sentinel, August 3, 1882.

97. British Colonist, August 3, 1883.
"Willis Thorp and W.H. Crockett returned to the Puget Sound Basin with part of the 1500 head of cattle purchased in British Columbia for the Seattle market".

98. Mainland Guardian, January 17, 1880.

99. Inland Sentinel, May 19, 1881.


101. Inland Sentinel, May 27, 1884.

102. Inland Sentinel, April 24, 1884.

103. Inland Sentinel, January 3, 1884.

104. Inland Sentinel, February 7, 1884.

105. Inland Sentinel, February 14, 1884.

106. Inland Sentinel, February 16, 1880.


108. Inland Sentinel, December 18, 1884.
As late in the year as December, 1884, Ben English had sent seven hundred sheep from his Pleasant valley ranch to the Barkerville area.


110. British Columbia, "Return of all rent due on pastoral leases since 1870", Sessional Papers, 3rd session, 2nd parliament, and 1st session, 3rd parliament, 1878, p.628.


112. The source for the land applications was the Inland Sentinel 1883, but the Government Gazette of British Columbia, 1883 also contains a complete record of applications for land purchases.

113. Other big land acquisitions in the Nicola district in 1883 included William Palmer (1320 acres); Thomas Richardson
(3,000 acres); John English (2,000 acres), and A.E. Howse (2,500 acres).

114. Inland Sentinel, February 22, 1883.

115. Inland Sentinel, April 5, 1883.


118. ibid.

119. British Columbia, "Return...showing...all persons who...applied...to purchase lands...prior to the passing of the Land Act, 1884...Section 76 of the last named Act, and the number of acres obtained by each person", Sessional Papers, 3rd session, 4th parliament, 1885, pp.573-574.

120. ibid. The list of ranchers who took advantage of the clause reads like a Who's Who of Interior Ranching. If not an elite, it certainly suggests an old boy network.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rancher</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T. Harper</td>
<td>12,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Christian</td>
<td>2,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Vernon</td>
<td>4,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Tingley</td>
<td>5,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Ellis</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.C. Haynes</td>
<td>2,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.B. Wright</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Richardson</td>
<td>5,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Beak</td>
<td>5,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.B. Greaves</td>
<td>4,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Nicholson</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.E. Perry</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Clemes</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Pringle</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.J. Kirkpatrick</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.M. Clemiston</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Duck</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John English</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wilson</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Guichon</td>
<td>5,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.B. Martin</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.G. Pemberton</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postill brothers</td>
<td>1,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Wood</td>
<td>2,729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Greenhow</td>
<td>3,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tronson &amp; Brewer</td>
<td>375</td>
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</table>

Continued
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles Lawson</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambly brothers</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eli Lequime</td>
<td>4,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred Brent</td>
<td>1,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Palmer</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James McConnell</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex McEwan</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Bissette</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>71,206</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


NOTES

CHAPTER IV

1. Vancouver, incorporated in 1886, grew rapidly from a population of 2,000 in 1886 to 13,709 in 1891 and 19,000 in 1896. For a study of Vancouver's early development, consult Patricia E. Roy, "Railways, Politicians and the development of the City of Vancouver as a Metropolitan Centre, 1886-1929", M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1963.

2. Kamloops, Sicamous and Ashcroft all experienced the arrival of C.P.R. personnel and their families after 1885. By 1891, 88 C.P.R. employees were registered to vote in the provincial Yale electoral district.

3. Inland Sentinel, May 28, 1885.

4. See the editorials in Inland Sentinel, May 28, 1885, January 17, 1888, and September 7, 1889.

5. Inland Sentinel, September 7, 1889.

6. British Columbia, Government Gazette, 1890, p.906. The Okanagan Land and Development Company was incorporated in 1890. It had a capital stock of $225,000 divided into 2,250 shares of $100 each. The company was guided by 5 trustees, George Grant McKay, James Whetham, F.C. Innes, F.S. Barnard and C.D. Rand. The principal place of business was Vancouver.

7. British Columbia, "Voters list - Yale district, April 30, 1890", Sessional Papers, 1891, pp.562-585. According to the tax assessment roles for the Kamloops district held in the PABC, of 70 assessed farmers and stock raisers in the Kamloops region, fifty had cattle in 1886. These ranchers held a total of 11,403 head for an average of 228 per individual. 15 ranchers held over 250 cattle.

8. Canada, "Animal and Animal products, Yale and Cariboo Districts", Census of Canada, Vol.2, p.116. The heaviest concentration of cattle were at Douglas Lake (12,796), Kamloops (12,796), Cache Creek (7,676), Osoyoos (9,244), Priest Valley (5,298), Alkali Lake (5,410) and Okanagan Mission (5,275).


10. The Nicola valley was thought to be particularly rich in coal and iron ore. For an account of the involvement of
local ranchers in the exploitation of these minerals, see Inland Sentinel, August 24, 1894.

11. The Port Moody Gazette reported cattle from the British Columbia Interior were being purchased by American livestock dealers.

12. Inland Sentinel, April 2, 1885.

13. For biographical information on the Hull family, see G. Gooderham's biographical article, Glenbow Archives, Calgary Alberta, 1971.


15. Inland Sentinel, May 13, 1886.

16. Interior ranchers shipping cattle to the North West Territories at this time included Malcolm McInnis (Nicola), Oliver Evans (Ashcroft), A. McKinnon (Kamloops), Frank Barnard (Okanagan), and R. Hamilton (Nicola).

17. Inland Sentinel, July 22, 1886. In July 1886, J.B. Greaves sold 13 carloads of cattle to the Hulls which were then shipped east.

18. Inland Sentinel, August 5, 1886.

19. Inland Sentinel, August 19, 1886, May 14, 1885.

In 1891 alone, three petitions were tabled in the provincial legislature calling for action to resolve grievances related to the Canadian Pacific Railway and the confusion over the railway belt. See British Columbia, Sessional Papers, 1st session, 6th parliament, 1891, pp.409, 413, 487.

20. Inland Sentinel, September 24 and October 11, 1887.

John Pringle, Jacob Duck, William Palmer and John Peterson were among the local ranchers to attend the special Kamloops meeting.

21. Inland Sentinel, October 11, 1887.

22. Heavy stock losses were reported in the Pavilion Mountain area, Okanagan, Chilcotin and Nicola valleys during the winter of 1886-87. The Nicola region was particularly susceptible to stock losses in 1890-91 because of grasshopper problems the season before.

23. Inland Sentinel, April 2, 1887.
24. In March 1889, five carloads of cattle consigned to Van Volkenburgh & Company of Victoria passed through Kamloops. It was acknowledged to be the first shipment of Alberta cattle to the coast.

25. Inland Sentinel, September 16, 1886, October 8, 1887, April 2, 1887 and November 19, 1887.

26. Inland Sentinel, September 16, 1886.


28. The Government Gazette from 1887 onward records the incorporation of several foreign companies every year. For instance, the same year the British Columbia Land and Investment Company was incorporated, another English company, the Nicola Mining Company, was formed.

29. "Notes on Family History of Richard Lowe Cawston, Sr, MSS, PABC.


31. See Campbell Carroll, Three Bar, The Story of Douglas Lake, Vancouver, 1958, p.38. This account provides some useful information on the ranching company, but it makes no attempt to place the Douglas Lake enterprise in the broader context of the Interior ranching community and the livestock industry.

32. ibid, p.138.


34. British Columbia, Government Gazette, July 8, 1886. The Douglas Lake Cattle Company was formed as a Joint Stock Company under the provisions of the "Companies Act, 1878". The object of the Company was to acquire land in British Columbia for the purpose of raising cattle and horses, to buy and sell lands, to buy and sell horses and cattle, and to carry on the business of farming, stock raising, butchering et al. The capital stock was $400,000 divided into 400 shares of $1,000 each. The principal place of business was Victoria and the original trustees of the company were Joseph Blackbourne Greaves, C.W.R. Thompson and Charles Beak.


38. The British Columbia Land and Investment Company was incorporated as a foreign company in 1889. It absorbed the Victoria real estate and insurance firm of Alsop and Mason. It had a capital stock of 10,000 pounds divided into 1,000 shares of 10 pounds each. Its business office was in Victoria. *British Columbia, Government Gazette*, 1889, p.432. For further information on this company, see *British Colonist*, Victoria, April 5, 1896. The Western Canadian Ranching Company was incorporated at Victoria in June, 1891. It was organized to carry out the business of cattle raising, breeding, and selling at the former Harper ranches. The capital stock was 100,000 pounds divided into 100 founders shares of 1 pound each and 9,900 shares (ordinary) at ten pounds each. *British Columbia, Government Gazette*, 1891, p.502.


40. *Inland Sentinel*, December 28, 1886.
   The Stewart ranch was considered to be one of the best in the Cache Creek valley for hay and grain and as a winter range. The former proprietor, Mr. Stuart, returned to his native Scotland.


42. ibid. November 3, 1891.

43. ibid. November 6, 1891.

44. *Inland Sentinel*, May 4, 1889.
   When the estate was put up for sale, it consisted of 40,000 acres of freehold property, 2,500 head of cattle, 200 horses, sheep, hogs and agricultural implements.


47. ibid. p.869.


49. Pittendrigh managed the Osoyoos ranch of J.C. Haynes after the latter gentleman's death in 1889. Pittendrigh was Haynes's brother-in-law.

50. *Inland Sentinel*, December 24, 1887.
The majority of those men who signed Mara's nomination papers were ranchers. There was Jacob Duck of South Thompson; B. Young, Robert Wood and A.L. Fortune of the Spallumcheen Valley; Price Ellison, E.J. Tronson and Cornelius O'Keefe of the Okanagan valley; John Pringle of Grande Prairie; C. Cooney of Tranquille; John Wilson of Cache Creek and Kamloops ranchers Edward Cannell, John Edwards, William Trounce, John Hull and Lewis Campbell.


E. McKay's report is contained in British Columbia, Sessional Papers, 1888, 2nd session, 5th parliament, pp.559-65.
71. *Inland Sentinel*, March 24, 1888.


76. *ibid*.

77. *Vernon News*, November 5, 1891.

78. British Columbia, *Statutes*, 1891. The land act introduced by Vernon in 1891 was designed to reduce the amount of speculation. A limit of 640 acres was placed upon the amount of surveyed or unsurveyed land that might be brought. No person was allowed to secure other land until he had been in occupation of the first purchase for two years and had made permanent improvements of $5, $2.50 and $1 an acre for the first, second and third class land respectively.

79. *Inland Sentinel*, March 16, 1889.

80. *Inland Sentinel*, March 31, 1892.

81. Canada, "Population, Families and Dwellings", *Census of Canada*, 1891. According to this source, the population of Vancouver had reached 13,709 by 1891, Victoria (18,538), New Westminster (6,678) and Nanaimo (6,512).

82. *Inland Sentinel*, January 24, 1888.

83. *Inland Sentinel*, December 22, 1888.

84. *Inland Sentinel*, January 12, 1889.

85. *ibid*. The committee to draft by-laws consisted of J.B. Greaves, William Spinks, Charles Semlin, Sam Moore and John Wilson. All these men were respected ranchers except Spinks who practised law in Kamloops. The British Columbia Cattleman's Association - the First Executive:

Vice-President - J.C. Barnes (Ashcroft)
President - Sam Moore (Nicola)
Secretary - John Tait (Kamloops)
Directors - John Wilson (Cache Creek), Michael Sullivan
W.J. Roper (Kamloops district), John Edwards (North Thompson district), John Gilmore (Nicola), Cornelius O'Keefe (Okanagan district).

86. Inland Sentinel, January 26, 1889.

87. Inland Sentinel, May 11, 1889. The branding roundups for those affiliated with the British Columbia Cattleman's Association were as follows:
   Kamloops district-Mellors Ranch-James Mellors-Captain
   Thompson River district-J. Edwards Upper ranch-J. Edwards-Captain
   Tranquille district-W.J. Roper ranch-W.J. Roper-Captain
   Nicola Valley district-Chapperon Lake and forks of Nicola-J. Greaves-Captain

88. Inland Sentinel, December 7, 1889.

89. ibid.

90. ibid.

91. Inland Sentinel, June 14, 1890.

92. Inland Sentinel, December 6, 1890.


94. ibid.


96. Vancouver Daily World, November 10, 1890.

97. Inland Sentinel, December 12, 1889.

98. The market price for sheet at this time was $7 a head for Leicester and Cotswold breeds and $5 a head for Oregon sheep. Cattle prices were $3-10 for calves, $25-33 for cows and $32-40 for steers.
   Inland Sentinel, March 2, 1894.


100. ibid. Pioneer livestock dealer and Ashcroft rancher, George Hayes, of Hayes and McIntosh of Vancouver, also forwarded a petition to Ottawa seeking permission to import 40,000 sheep free of duty. As the present rate of duty on sheep was thirty per cent of value, these applications were met with disdain by Interior ranchers.
101. *Inland Sentinel*, October 17, 1891.

102. *Inland Sentinel*, May 7, 1892.

103. *Inland Sentinel*, June 11, 1892.

104. ibid.

105. *Inland Sentinel*, October 1, 1892.

106. *Inland Sentinel*, September 10, 1892.

107. ibid. Those present at the meeting included Peter Morens and R. Curnow of Spences Bridge; George Martin, M.P.P.; Jacob Mundorf, Ben English, Thomas Morgan and D. O'Hara of Bonaparte valley; Joseph Beddard, J. Lehman, J. Barnes and Clement Cornwall of Ashcroft; A. Hance, Harpers Mill; James Prentice, Western Canadian Ranching Company; Walter Langley, Basque ranch; Philip Parke, Charles Semlin, M.P. P., Cache Creek; William Cargill, W.M. Macdonald, Hat Creek; Charles Pennie, Penniestown; John Ward, Spatzum.

108. ibid.


110. *Inland Sentinel*, September 10, 1892.

111. ibid.

112. *Inland Sentinel*, March 18, 1893.

The select committee was composed of members who represented district that were largely interested in stock raising: Forbes Vernon, George Martin, Charles Semlin, Rogers, H. Watt, Smith and D. Stoddart.


114. *Inland Sentinel*, March 18, 1893.

115. *Inland Sentinel*, September 10, 1892.

116. Clement Cornwall, "His book on Coyote Hunting", MSS, PABC.

117. *Inland Sentinel*, February 18, 1893.

118. *Inland Sentinel*, January 25, 1895.

119. *Inland Sentinel*, February 18, 1893.

120. ibid.
121. ibid.

122. Inland Sentinel, September 24, 1892.

123. Inland Sentinel, February 8, 1895.

124. Inland Sentinel, April 12, 1895.

125. Inland Sentinel, February 8, 1895.

126. Canada, House of Commons, "Contagious Animal Act", Revised Statutes, Ottawa, 1892. Also see the British Colonist, Victoria, March 20, 1892. Victoria residents were upset by the extension of Dominion Quarantine regulations to apply to British Columbia. "It is very well known here that the ranchers in Alberta are most desirous to have the quarantine extended to this province, not to prevent the spread of disease, but in order to get the B.C. market for themselves".


The directors of the Okanagan Land and Development Company included Mackay, J. Wulfsohn and W. Sulley. The head offices were located in Vancouver.


130. Vernon News, November 5, 1891.


133. Vernon News, July 9, 1891.


138. ibid.

139. Two railway companies acquired provincial charters to build a railway through the Nicola Valley as far as the Similkameen district but neither company was successful in the
actual construction of a railway at this time.

140. *Vernon News*, May 10, 1892.

141. *Inland Sentinel*, November 9, 1894.

142. Many of the first generation of Interior ranchers transferred ownership of their ranches to their sons. A few of the more prominent transfers included the Okanagan's Lequime ranch to the son Bernard, the Postill brothers took over the Okanagan Mission ranch established by Alfred Postill, the Richter ranch in the Similkameen, the Guichon holdings in the Nicola valley, the Cornwall ranch at Ashcroft and so on.

143. *Inland Sentinel*, September 14, 1889.

144. *Inland Sentinel*, August 20, 1892.

145. *Inland Sentinel*, April 5 and October 28, 1893.

146. *British Colonist*, Victoria, December 12, 1898.

147. *British Colonist*, Victoria, December 14, 1898.

NOTES

CHAPTER V


4. C.F. Cornwall, "Diary", 1866-1869, MSS, PABC.

5. C.F. Cornwall, "Diary", 1862-1864, MSS, PABC.


8. Yale Marriage Register, 1871-1900, MSS, PABC.


10. Yale Marriage Register, Op. cit. Included in this group were such well known Interior ranchers as Antoine Minnaberriet, founder of the Basque Ranch, George Clapperton of the Nicola Valley, Thomas Greenhow of the northern Okanagan, and Isaac Van Volkenburgh of Canoe Creek.

11. C.F. Cornwall, "Diary, 1869-1871", p.350; British Colonist, Victoria, June 9, 1871, p.3.


14. C.F. Cornwall, "Diary", 1869-1871, June 6, 1871, MSS, PABC.


17. British Colonist, Victoria, November 13, 1865.

19. Alex T. Bulman, Kamloops Cattlemen: One Hundred Years of Trail Dust!, Op.cit., p.34.


21. ibid. p.36-37.

22. ibid.

23. ibid.

24. Inland Sentinel, Kamloops, November 25, 1886.

25. The ladies who joined the hunt on that occasion included a cross-section of the local ranching community: Miss A. McWha of Tranquille, Miss J. Douglas, the niece of Church of England's reverend Chisholm, Miss J. Graham of the south Thompson, Miss Meikle of Quilchena and Miss Thompson of Nicola.


27. Mary Balf, Kamloops, A History of the District up to 1914, Op.cit. p.57. The first trustees of the Cache Creek School were local ranchers Charles Semlin, Phillip Parke, William Sanford and John Veasey.

28. For information on the development of educational facilities in the Interior, see British Columbia, Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Education, Sessional Papers, Victoria.


31. E.O.S. Scholefield and F.W. Howay, British Columbia from the earliest times to the present, Volume II, p. 1040.

32. For more information on the Ellison family, see the Price Ellison Papers, MSS, PABC.

33. Ranchers who maintained residences in Kamloops as well as rural ranches included Lewis Campbell, Thomas Bulman, Joseph Lauder, and John Edwards.

34. Inland Sentinel, Kamloops, August 26, 1886.


36. Mainland Guardian, New Westminster, June 17, 1876.

38. *Inland Sentinel*, Kamloops, January 3, 1884.

39. *ibid*.


41. *Inland Sentinel*, November 29, 1885. This issue provides an accurate and detailed account of a bitter dispute between ranching neighbours, William Fortune and Thomas Cooney, over the ownership of cattle.


44. *Vernon News*, January 21, 1892.


46. Clement Cornwall, "Diary", March 4, 1872, 1872-73, MSS, PABC.


48. *ibid* p.110.
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PABC  Provincial Archives of British Columbia

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